THE

HISTORY

OF THE

GROWTH *and* DECAY

OF THE

OTHMAN EMPIRE.

PART I.

CONTAINING THE

Growth of the *OTHMAN EMPIRE*,

FROM THE

Reign of *OTHMAN* the Founder,

TO THE

Reign of *MAHOMET* IV.

THAT IS,

From the Year 1300, to the Siege of *Vienna*, in 1683.

Written Originally in LATIN,

By DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR, late Prince of *Moldavia.*

Translated into ENGLISH, from the Author's own Manuscript,

By N. TINDAL, M. A. Vicar of *Great Waltham* in *Essex.*

Adorn'd with the HEADS

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The TRANS-

THE

TRANSLATOR

TO THE

READER.

IT will be necessary for the more easy pronouncing the uncommon names in this History to premise a few observations concerning the Turkish Orthography.

In the first place, A and E are often used for one another, as are also O and U, hence Soliman or Suliman, Allah or Ellah.

2. Ch is always to be pronounc'd like our K, except when it stands for the Turkish Chim (which read as the first syllable in the English word Chimney,) and then it must be founded as our Ch in the word Church. Wherefore to avoid confusion, the words wherein Ch is to be thus pronounc'd, are always markt with an Asterisk as Chorlu*. Our Author expresses Chim by Cz (as Czorlu) which, 'tis to be supposed is the nearest sound to it in his language. Sch when it stands for Shin or Schin, is pronounc'd like our Sh, as Shah or Schah. Our Author, probably for the forementïon'd reason, expresses also Shin by Sz, as Szah instead of Shah. When sh belong not to one Syllable, they will be printed thus, sh as Ashad, read As-had.

3. J consonant, standing for the Turkish Gim, may be pronounc'd in the beginning of a syllable, as in English; for example, Jenghiz. But at the end of a syllable like ge, in the word Age, as Yelvaj, as if it was Yelvage. So Hejra, as if it was Hedgri. If this be not exact, 'tis however the nearest sound we have to it Our Author always expresses Gim by Dz, as Dzenghiz, instead of Jenghiz, and generally uses the J consonant for the Turkish Ye (which answers to our Y) because 'tis likely in his language, as in Italian, J is pronounc'd like Y. But this would breed confusion to an English Reader.

4. D and T are often used promiscuously, for instance, Erdogrul is sometimes Ertogrul. So Dugra and Tugra.

5 Words, or Names, that have been frequently, tho' corruptly used by us, are preserv'd in the Translation; such as Bajazet, instead of Bayazid; Mahomet, instead of Mohammed; Tamerlan, instead of Timurleng; and a few others, but then the difference is always noted.

As there will be annex'd a short Account of the Author and his History, there is no occasion to say any thing more here, than that the Author's Latin Manuscript History was communicated to the Translator by his Son, Prince Antiochus Cantemir, Minister Plenipotentiary from the Czarina, to his present Majesty King GEORGE.

At the same time were communicated also painted Copies of the Heads of all the Turkish Emperors, taken from Originals in the Grand Seignor's Palace, and with great difficulty procur'd by the Author, as is related in his Annotations. These Copies are small, and will be ingraven just as they are.

Some few Additional Notes are distinguish'd from the Author's Annotations, by being inclos'd between two Crotchets [ ].

THE

THE PREFACE.

Before the Reader proceeds to the following History of the *Othman Empire*, it will be requisite to explain some Particulars, concerning which the *Christian* Historians seem to have been frequently and grosly mistaken. The principal of these are,

I. The reduction of the year of the *Hejira*, to the *Christian Æra*.

II. The Name and Nation of the *Turks*.

III. The Origin of the *Othman Race*, which now fills the *Turkish* Throne

I. *The* Hejira *compar'd with the* Christian Æra.

Many Historians, and those of no little Credit, have, as I find, referr'd several material Occurrences to different years, for want of an accurate knowledge of the *Mahometan Æra*, by the *Turks* call'd *Hajret*, and by us *Hejira* Of this, I shall produce a remarkable instance. Nothing certainly, since the removal of the Imperial Seat to *Constantinople*, has happen'd more memorable than the taking of that City by the *Turks*, whereby all Christendom was in danger. And yet, the year of that fatal period of the *Greek* Empire is so far from being known, that very learned Writers differ about it, some placing it in the year 1452, others in 1453. Hence it may be inferr'd how many errors have been committed in other points of the *Turkish* History, as the days of the Birth, and Death of the Sultans, and the like. To remove these mistakes, I have thought fit to inquire a little more accurately into this computation, especially as I have made use of it in my History I shall not stay to examine the Name, or whether it begins from *Mahomet*'s flight from *Mecca* to *Medina*, or from his death, as some *Mahometans* assert. It suffices for my purpose, to show how to reduce the years of the *Turkish Æra*, to the year of our Lord, by some instances taken from *Christian* Writings.

Ricciolus very rightly places the beginning of the *Hejira*, in the year of our Lord, 622, whose words, (since Authors differ chiefly about the day) I shall here quote. " The dispute (says he, is concerning the " day. For the Astronomers, with *Alfraganus*, *Albutegnius*, and *Jordanus*, " astronomically compute the years of " the *Ismaelites* and *Turks* from *Thursday* " the 15th of *July*, because on that day " happen'd the true New-Moon But the " *Arabians* themselves, and the *Turks*, and " with them the Chronologers, *Scaliger* " and *Petavius*, politically compute from " *Friday* the 16th of *July*, join'd with the " foregoing night, because in the night " following the 15th day, *Mahomet* fled " from *Mecca*, and the same night, first " appeared the New-Moon, and therefore " the *Arabians* begin their New Moon " on the sixth day of the Week or *Friday*, which with them is now reckon'd " Holy " As *Ricciolus* has here mention'd two several ways of computing, without assigning the reason, it may not be amiss to inform the Reader, that *Mahomet* when he introduc'd his Religion into the World, gave this general Rule for the beginning of the New-Moon, to the People ignorant of Astronomy : *When you see the Moon, begin the Fast When you see the Moon, celebrate the* Bairam Now as the Moon is never seen on the first day but sometimes on the second, and sometimes (if the New-Moon happens at Sun-set) not till the third, 'tis no wonder, *Mahomet* himself, being illiterate, or the Nations infected with his Superstition, who believe their Law-giver is to be trusted more than their reason, should take the second day of the Moon for the New Moon itself, and by that rule appoint the Months, Fasts, and Festivals. It is also very probable that *Mahomet* began the computation of the *Hejira* from his flight from *Mecca* His Successors, not to derogate from the Law, or out of negligence, or ignorance, have fix'd the beginning of the *Æra*, not from the Astronomical New-Moon, (which by the Testimony of all the Mathematicians, happen'd on *Thursday* the 15th of *July*) but from the Political, which fell out on *Friday* the next day, and so appointed that day to be the first of the Month *Muharrem*. What has been said is confirm'd by their present manner of computing, of which I have been an eye-witness For tho' now, not only the day and hour, but

also

also the minute of the New-Moon may be pretty exactly known by their *Ephemerides*, by them call'd *Ruznamche**, yet they never begin either the *Ramazan* or *Bairam* ||, till some have testified that they have seen the New-Moon. For this reason, every year about that time, certain Persons are sent by the *Sultan* to a high mountain (nam'd *Istrajadaghy*, about twelve hours ‡ distant from *Constantinople* towards the *Euxine Sea*) to observe the moment in which the New-Moon appears to their sight. When they see it, three of them instantly repair to the *Istambol Effendisi* or Judge of *Constantinople*, one of whom declares, he has seen the New-Moon, and the other two attest his declaration. The New-Moon being thus prov'd by three Witnesses, (for without that number, the *Grand Seignor* himself will not be credited in this case) the *Istambol Effendisi* immediately sends Cryers, at whatever hour it happens, to proclaim thro' the whole City, the *Ramazan* or *Bairam*. By which means, I have seen the *Mahometans* whilst they have been eating and drinking, spit out what they have had in their mouths at the voice of the Cryer, and begin the Fast. If a cloudy Sky hinders the Moon from being seen, or the Messengers are detain'd by the way, after waiting the first and second day, the People are commanded to abstain on the third from meat and drink, whether the Witnesses are come or not. In like manner, the Fast is not ended till the same Persons witness the appearance of the New-Moon of the Month *Shevvel*.

Tho' this be sufficient to remove the Reader's doubt of the truth of *Ricciolus*'s computation, it may not be improper to confirm the same by some farther instances. To this purpose, serve the two memorable conquests of *Constantinople* and *Rhodes*. The former is said, by the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch to happen on *Tuesday* the 29th of *May*, 1453, and the more accurate *Turkish* Historians, on the 20th day of the month *Jemazul evvel*, in the year of the *Hejira* 857. The Christians say *Rhodes* was taken the 25th day of *December* 1522, the *Turks*, the 3d day of the month *Safer*, in the year of the *Hejira*, 929, and add, that the siege lasted five months, beginning in the month *Ramazan*, of the year 928, and continuing the other three months of the same year; namely, *Shevvel*, *Zilcade*, and *Zilhije*, with the two first months of the next year, 729, *Muharrem* and *Safer*, on the 3d of which it was surrender'd. To these, I may add a famous instance in the diploma of Sultan *Murad* III. to the Emperor *Rodolphus* II, in which, both the year of our Lord, and of the *Hejira*, are expresly set down in the following words: "On the first day of *January*, *Anno Domini Jesu*, (on whom be "the divine favour and aid) 1584, which "will be the 27th day of the month *Zilhije* in the 991st year of the transmigra-"tion of our Great Prophet." But according to *Ricciolus*'s Table, the year of the *Hejira*, 991, begins on *Tuesday* the 15th of *January*, 1583, and ends on *Friday* the 3d of *January*, 1584; so the 4th of *January* begins the year of the *Hejira*, 992. Since then the month *Zilhije* is the last of the *Hejira* year, and consists of twenty nine days, it is evident that the 27th of *Zilhije*, is the first of *January*, 1584. By means of these examples it will be easy for the curious Reader to compare the years of the two *Æra*'s together, with the assistance of a parallel astronomical Table, which I shall annex to this Preface **.

Before I proceed to the 2d point, I shall endeavour for the sake of the Curious, to clear a doubt into which some famous Historians have fallen.

The first year of *Othman* I. Emperor of the *Turks*, is by some, as *Leunclavius*, referr'd to the year of Christ, 1300; and

* The *ch* in all words markt with an Asterisk is to be pronounced as in the *English* words, *cheap*, *rich*.

|| *Ramazan*, or as the *Arabians* write it, *Ramadan*, is the ninth month of the *Turkish* year, during which the *Turks* fast every day from meat, drink, and women, from Sun rising till night. But upon the appearance of the next New Moon, the *Bairam* begins, which is a time of feasting and jollity. In short, the *Ramazan* answers to the Christian *Lent*, and the *Bairam* to the Popish *Carnaval*.

Our Author seems here to reproach the *Turks* for reckoning the New Moon from the second day, which after all, serve the purpose very well, and was a custom us'd also by the *Jews*. But I would fain know, what a learned *Turk* would think of our *Ecclesiastical* or *imaginary* Full Moon by which we regulate all our Moveable Feasts. And for our *Old Style*, would he not think it ridiculous to hear us call that the first day of a month, which is really the eleventh? In a word, we knowingly and therefore absurdly stick to an error committed by the *Nicene* Fathers thro' ignorance, and therefore in them the more excusable. Sure a time will come when we shall be willing to reform at least such obvious and palpable errors.

‡ The *Turks* reckon the distance of Places by Hours, which are supposed to be each about three of our miles.

** Our Author has annex'd no such Table in his Manuscript.

by others, as *Calvisius*, from *Zacuthi*, to 1303. In order to clear this matter it must be observ'd, that by the consent of all the *Turkish* Chronologers, *Orchan* Son and Successor of *Othman*, took *Prusa* the Metropolis of *Bithynia*, in the year of the *Hejira* 726, and was then sent for by his dying father. That the same year on the 10th of *Ramazan*, *Othman* dying, *Orchan* succeeded him in the Throne. But *Ramazan* is the ninth month from *Muharrem*, the first month of the *Hejira* year. Now the 10th of *Ramazan* fell that year, (as appears by the Chronological Table) on the 8th of *August*. Moreover it is affirm'd by the *Turkish* Writers of the greatest credit, that *Othman* reign'd twenty six years, three months, and ten days, (tho' *Leunclavius*, by what authority I know not, ascribes to him, twenty nine Lunar or twenty eight solar years) and was succeeded by *Orchan*, the 10th of *Ramazan*, in the year of the *Hejira*, 726. Wherefore counting backwards from the 10th of *Ramazan*, to the year of the *Hejira*, 700, and to the 10th of the same month *Ramazan*, we shall reckon twenty six compleat years. In like manner, counting back three months, namely, *Shaban*, *Rejeb*, and *Jemaziul achir*, with the ten days of *Ramazan*, it will appear that the first year of *Othman*'s reign was the 700th of the *Hejira*, and begun the 1st of the month *Jemaziul achir*, answering to the 11th of *February*, 1301. as appears in the following Table

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the year of the *Hejira*, 700, answering to the year of our Lord, 1300.

H. 700. LUNAR MONTHS.	A. C 1300. SOLAR MONTHS
30 *Muharrem* 1	Sept. 16
29 *Safur.*	Oct 16.
30 *Rebiul evvel.*	Nov. 14.
29 *Rabiul achir.*	Dec 14.
30 *Jemaziul evvel.*	Jan. 13 A 1301.
29 *Jemaziul achir.*	Feb. 11.
30 *Rejeb.*	Mar. 12
29 *Shaban.*	April 11.
30 *Ramazan.*	May 10.
29 *Shevval.*	June 9.
30 *Zilcade.*	Jul. 8.
29 *Zilhije.*	Aug. 7.

Observe the Year of Christ, 1301, falls in this Year of the *Hejira* on the month *Jemaziul evvel*, whose first day answers to the 12th of *January*. But it was before shown, that *Othman* began to reign in the year of the *Hejira* 700, the first day of *Jemaziul achir*, which is the 11th of *February* 1301, tho' in the Table, the year of the *Hejira*. 700, answers to the year of Christ, 1300; therefore what was said of the beginning of *Othman*'s reign is rightly inferr'd. Hence, in my opinion, proceeded the mistakes of *Leunclavius* and others in their way of computing.

In the same manner the *Hejira* may in any other years be easily reduc'd to the *Christian Æra*, by only seeing in the astronomical Table on what day and year the beginning of any year of the *Hejira* falls. For instance, the beginning of the year of the *Hejira* 699, which preceeded *Othman*'s reign falls on *Monday* the 28th of *September*, 1299, which therefore is the first day of *Muharrem*.

Having thus sufficiently prov'd the first year, month, and day of *Othman*'s reign, by the same method may be found out the year, month, and day of the death of *Erdogrul*, *Othman*'s Father, who according to *Saadi*, died in the year of the *Hejira* 680, (which begins on *Tuesday* the 22d of *April*, 1281) and therefore from the first year of *Othman*'s reign to *Erdogrul*'s death, there were inclusively nineteen years, seven months, which being trac'd as before in *Othman*'s case, it will appear that he died the last day of *Shevval* of the year 680, which answers to the 10th of *February*, 1281 So likewise may be found the time of *Erdogrul*'s reign and *Soliman*'s being drown'd in the *Euphrates*, which is unanimously ascrib'd to the year of the *Hejira* 616, that is, sixty four years inclusively from 680, the time of *Erdogrul*'s death, which being trac'd as before, it is manifest that *Soliman* was drown'd and *Erdogrul* began his reign on the first day of *Zilhije* in the year 616, which answers to the 6th of *February* 1220.

Thus likewise the year of *Soliman*'s irruption may be found out, which according to *Nishri*, happen'd in the year of the *Hejira*, 611, and consequently four years and eleven months before his death, or on the last day of *Muharrem*, in the year 611, which answers to the 10th of *June* 1214

As *Jenghizchan*'s irruption is men[illegible] by the *Turkish* Writers about the same t[illegible] with

with *Soliman's*, and as *Christian* Authors differ in that point, I shall endeavour to fix the time. *Nicephorus Gregoras* (who is rather a Rhetorician than Historian) says (Lib. II.) that *Jenghizchan* in the year of Christ, 1222, and of the *Hejira* 619, first came down towards the *Caspian* Sea. *Lonicerus* will have it to be in A. C. 1202. H 599. *Calvisius* in A. C. 1220. H. 611. *Ricciolus* in A. C. 1212. H. 609. But with the most learned *Saadi effendi* of *Larissa*, in his elaborate *Synopsis Historiarum* (publish'd in 1696, and dedicated to Sultan *Mustapha*, Brother and Predecessor of the present Sultan *Achmet*) collected from the most celebrated Historians, *Mevlana Idris*, *Neshrin* and *Saadi Tajuttevarich*, and *Pechevi* * and *Hezarfen*, I firmly hold that *Soliman Shah*, Father of *Erdrogul*, first departed from the City *Nera*, bordering on the *Caspian* Sea, in the year of the *Hejira*, 611, which answers to the year of *Christ*, 1214, and coming into *Asia minor*, with his *Oguzians*, *Jenghizchan's* irruption happen'd either the same, or the next year (which of the two is uncertain) and *Soliman* thereupon remov'd towards *Media*. Hence therefore, on the authority of these Historians it appears that *Jenghizchan's* invasion was one or two years after *Soliman*, in the year of the *Hejira*, 612 or 613, that is, of Christ, 1215 or 1216, in the 6th year of the reign of the Emperor *Theodorus Lascaris*.

II *Concerning the Name and Nation of the* Turks.

Among the many Swarms that came from the cold regions of *Scythia*, the *Turks* were not the least noted, as the *Persian* Annalists abundantly testify, as well as the famous Author of the *Othman* Annals *Tajuttevarich*, *Saadi effendi*, and what seems to be inserted from him in the *Lexicon-Persico-Turcicum Nimetullah* to explain the word *Turk*, where it is said, "By this name are call'd the Inhabitants "of *Chata* or *Chuten* (*Kitahia* or *Great* "*Tartary*) who inhabit the *Copchac** Plains. "And because all of them have fair faces "and black eyes and eye brows, there-"fore the *Persian* Poets call Lovers and "Gallants, by comparison, *Turks*." But this name of *Copchacs** peculiar to a Tribe of the *Tartars* was after *Jenghizchan's* expedition given by the *Persians* to the whole nation of *Scythians*, their Conquerors, as appears by the testimonies of the *Persian* Writers. Thus the Poet *Shich Saadi*, in the Preface of his *Gulistan* or *Rosary*, declares the cause of his leaving his country *Chorasan* to this effect: "Are you igno-"rant, my Friend, why I sojourn'd for "a time in foreign Climates? I departed "because of the iniquities of the *Turks*." Describing their manners, he says, in another place, "They are all the Sons of "Men, but are like bloody Wolfs. At "home they are adorn'd with good man-"ners like angels, but abroad are an ar-"my of Lions." That he speaks of the *Scythian nation of the Turks* who follow'd *Jenghizchan*, is plain from the time in which he compos'd this *Rosary*, namely, (as he says himself) in the year of the *Hejira*, 656, in the reign of *Ebubeker*, Son of *Saadi*, that is, forty four years before *Othman*, and forty eight after *Jenghizchan's* Expedition *Nicephorus*, mentions by the name of *Turks*, the People who in his time were subject to *Azadinus* (so he corruptly calls *Aladin*) Sultan of *Iconium* "To the "Emperor (*Theodorus Lascaris* the younger, "in 1255) thus employ'd were brought "(says he) Letters from *Nicæa*, signify-"ing *Palæologus's* flight to the *Turks*." That *Michael* fled to this *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*, shall hereafter be shown by the unanimous testimony of the Historians. Since therefore it is manifest, the Name of the *Turks* was known to all *Asia* long before *Othman*, and chiefly attributed to the *Scythian* Tribes that follow'd *Jenghizchan*, and were dispers'd over *Persia* and *Asia minor*, it remains to show how this name came to be appropriated to the *Othmanidæ*. *Soliman*, Father of the *Othman* Race, Prince of *Nera*, treading in the steps of the great *Jenghizchan*, came forth from his Country with fifty thousand Followers, the flower of the *Scythian* youth, and overran not only the neighbouring regions, but all *Azerbejan* and *Syria*, as far as *Aleppo*. When the news of these Conquests was brought to the *Persian* Court, immediately the name *Turk*, common to the *Jenghizchan Scythians*, was given also to this Army. Another reason of this appellation, besides that before mention'd out of *Tajuttevarich* and *Nimetullah*, is alledg'd by the best *Persian* Writers, namely, the ugliness of the *Scythians* if compar'd with the *Persians*, on which account *Turk*, the name formerly of the beautiful

beautiful nation of *Copchacs**, was by the Poets ironically given to them. After *Soliman*'s death these Forces being dispers'd, when upon *Jengbizcan*'s Invasion, many *Persian Satrapæ* or Governors, (who presided over *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Paphlogonia*, *Cilicia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Phœnicia*, *Phrygia*, and the rest of the *Asiatick* Kingdoms lying between *Pontus Euxinus*, the *Caspian Sea*, and the *Euphrates*) had taken the opportunity to shake off the *Persian* yoke, *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*, the most powerful of these Princes, resolv'd also to destroy the remains of the *Jengbizcban* Forces, who continually infested his dominions. But being by them conquer'd and expell'd his Kingdom, he fled to his Friend *Michael Palæologus* the *Greek* Emperor, and desir'd his assistance. As he died in this exile, his Son *Melekshah* (corruptly call'd by *Nicephorus*, *Moloko*) who afterwards assum'd the name of *Aladin* II. finding he was only amus'd by *Palæologus*, and having in vain desir'd leave to depart, privately retir'd by the help of his People, into his Country; where being join'd by the Great Men of his Father's Kingdom, he not only freed them and himself by his valour from the *Scythian* yoke, but recover'd his paternal dominions, and forc'd many of his Enemies to submit to his Empire. These he deprives of their Arms, and to stifle their martial Spirit, mixes them with the Country Peasants to exercise agriculture, and calls them by the common name of *Turks*, whence it came to pass that he who before was call'd *Satrapas* of the *Persians*, or Sultan of *Iconium* was now stil'd Sultan of the *Turks*. About this time, *Soliman*, Grandfather of *Othman*, being drown'd in attempting to swim the *Euphrates*, *Aladin* appoints his Son *Erdogrul*, famous for his warlike Virtues and Exploits, and after his death, his Grandson, young *Othman*, General of his Armies. *Aladin* dying, (as the *Turkish* Annals relate) without Heirs, *Othman* is unanimously proclaim'd Sultan. Whereupon to banish from his People the ignominious and odious name *Turk*, he order'd it to be confin'd to the Peasants, and the rest to be call'd *Othmanli* or *Othmans*. Then removing his Seat from *Iconium* to *Neapolis*, (call'd by them *Emsheri*) he order'd himself to be stil'd Emperor of the *Othmans*, and not of the *Turks*. On these accounts the *Othman Port*, will not at this day be call'd the *Turkish* Court, nor does it suffer that word to be us'd but in reference to the language, as *Turkye Vilurmisin?* Do you understand *Turkish?* *Othmanye Vilurmisin* being improper. For *Othmanye* denotes politeness of manners, as on the contrary, *Turkye* signifies rude and uncivilz'd. Hence the common saying, *Turk Muddeti um rinde: A Turk thro' the whole course of his life*. that is, he will always be a clown, and never learn the politeness of the *Othmans*.

Very probably to a Reader, vers'd in History, a doubt will here arise, since he finds that *Turkistan*, a Country lying between the *Chagataian** *Tartars* and the *Chinese*, is assign'd by most of the antient and modern Geographers for the Seat of the *Turks* or *Turcomans*. But as by a very gross error, the *Turks* and *Turcomans* are confounded, so by a no less mistake is *Turkistan* made the Seat of Both. This is refuted by the most accurate Historian *Saadi*, when he expresly affirms, that the Princes who from the *Chinese* Provinces join'd *Tamerlan*, came from *Turkistan*. His words are "Of the "Kings of *Turkistan*, twenty famous "Princes join'd their forces with *Timur*, "and pitch'd their Tents in his camp." But that the *Turks* are descended from the *Oguzian Tartars* I shall demonstrate when I come to speak of the origin of the *Othman* Race. As for the *Turcomans*, to whom the Grand Seignor now gives a Prince, and removes him at pleasure, they have no fixed habitations, but live in Tents, call'd *Oba*, and wander up and down as far as [illegible], thro' part of *Armenia major* (formerly *Assyria*) which even now is by some C[illegible] Writers, call'd *Tu*[illegible], a name unknown to the *Turkish* Annals. For all the antient *Turkish* Historians and Geographers call *Armenia major* by a synonimous name with ours, *Ermeniyei Kubra*, and *Armenia minor* they are us'd to call *Ermeniyei Sugra*, which perhaps is a good argument that they are not originally Natives of that Country. They all profess the *Mahometan* Religion, but for want of Houses, neglect many Precepts of the *Koran*, particularly, praying five times a day. Some of these People, were by Sultan *Murad* IV. forced to remove into *Europe*, and were put in possession of the Plains between the mountains of *Hemus*, (call'd at this day *Chengbe** by the *Turks*) from *Aitos*, (a noted Town at the foot of *Hemus*) to *Philippolis*, where after the custom of their Nation, they live in Tents, and cultivate their

their lands, but however, are much more civiliz'd than thoſe of *Aſia*. But that the modern *Turks* ſhould derive their original from this Nation, I don't find it ſo much as conjectur'd even by the Hiſtorians of theſe People. Only indeed they are the ſame, who were firſt ſubject to *Aladin*, and afterwards to *Othman* the firſt Sultan of the *Othmanidæ*, of which more largely under the following Head. Hence we juſtly infer, that the contrary common opinion is founded more on the ignorance of the *Europeans* in the Eaſtern languages, and on the ſound of the Words, than on the Truth of the Thing.

III *Origin of the* Othman *Race.*

It ſeems peculiar to the moſt illuſtrious [illegible] in the World, to have either a [illegible] or fabulous Origin. If we view [illegible] [begi]nnings of the moſt noble *Grecian*, [illegible], or *Roman* Families, what do we [me]et with but Fables and ridiculous Fictions of the Poets, concerning their Origin If this was the caſe among the moſt polite nations of the World, what is to be expected from *Barbarians*, ſtrangers to learning? Tho' ſoon after the foundation of this Empire ſeveral *Turkiſh* Writers, compos'd fabulous Hiſtories, for inſtance, That call'd *Tevarikhi Alotoman*, (from whence ſome *Chriſtian* Authors ſeem to borrow their Chronology of the *Othmans*) they are not approved by the *Turks*, and are bitterly inveigh'd againſt, in *Tajuttevarikh* Thus we read that ſome derive the Riſe of the *Turkiſh* Empire from the downfal of the *Tartarian* Dominion, and others, from a Band of Robbers, and find but very few have diſcover'd the true Origin of the Race which now reigns.

I As for thoſe who begin the Growth of the *Turkiſh* from the downfal of the *Tartarian*, Empire, leaſt they ſhould ſeem to aſſert it without grounds, they frame a long ſeries of *Tartarian Chans*, but agree neither in their accounts of the years, nor in Facts. *Nicephorus Gregoras* ſays *Jengbizchan* (whom he calls *Sitziſchan*) appear'd about the year 1222 (more rightly in 1216 as we have ſhown) in the reign of *Johannes Ducas*. *Jengbizchan* dying, leaves two Sons, *Chalaos* and *Telepugas*. *Chalaos* leaving the *Caſpian* Sea, and the river *Iaxartes* to the North, deſcended thro' *lower Aſia*, but *Telepugas*, having ſettled his Empire, paſs'd, towards the South, over the Mountains of *Caucaſus* and the *Caſpian* Sea, and marched thro' the Territories of the *Sauromatæ* and *Maſſagetæ*, ſubduing not only them, but all the Nations inhabiting about the *Palus Mæotis* and *Tanais*. *Lonicerus*, who places *Jengbizchan*'s expedition in 1202, relates, that having overturn'd the Kingdom of the *Indians*, he founded the Empire of *Great Tartary*, and reign'd twelve years in *Aſia*. He was ſucceeded (ſays he) by his Son *Hocatan*, and he by *Majuzchan* who took *Antioch* from the Chriſtians in 1260. *Majuzchan* dying, *Helio*, and after him, in 1280, *Abuſaga*, reign'd. This laſt was ſucceeded by *Tanagodorus*, who embracing Chriſtianity, was call'd *Nicolaus*, but returning afterwards to his old Superſtition, took (ſays he) the name of *Mahommed*. *Battus* was his Succeſſor, but dethron'd by *Caſan* Son of *Argo*, who about the year 1310, overran all *Syria*. After *Caſan*, came *Carbadagrus*, under whom the Empire of the *Tartars* in *Aſia* falling to decay, that of *Othman* was erected. In this ſeries of *Tartar* Kings, *Lonicerus* reckons one hundred and eight years, and others ninety eight But to paſs by all the forementioned Names, entirely unknown and foreign to the *Turkiſh* Language and Hiſtory, it is agreed by all who have left written Hiſtories of the Eaſtern Nations, that the *Tartarian* Princes, Succeſſors of *Jengbizchan*, were in the year of the *Hejira* 656, and of Chriſt 1258, (forty-four years before *Othman*) ſubdued by *Ebubekir* Son of *Saadi*, King of *Perſia*, and their Provinces reſtor'd to the *Perſian* Monarchy, except thoſe which were held by ſome of the *Satrapæ*, who in the expedition of the *Tartars*, took (as I have ſaid) the opportunity to ſet up for themſelves, among whom were *Aladin*, Sultan of *Iconium*, and *Soliman*, Grandfather of *Othman*. Hence it is evident that the *Tartarian* Kingdoms in *Aſia* were overturned by the *Perſians* long before the beginning of the *Othman* Empire, which therefore could not derive its Origin from thence.

II. There are alſo other *Chriſtian* Hiſtorians, who, perhaps out of envy, ſay that *Othman* firſt Emperor of the *Turks*, was a Man of mean Eſtate, who gathering together a Band of Robbers and Murderers, fell upon his Neighbours, and by force or policy oppreſs'd all, both of his own and other

Nations. To this opinion, though it wants, I think, no confutation, as being in itself improbable, 'twill not be amiss to oppose the authority of *Chalcocondylas*, who almost alone of all the *Greek* Historians that have writ of the *Turkish* Affairs, deserves credit. In his first Book he affirms, "that "*Othman* first Emperor of the *Turks* both "by his Father *Erdogrul* and Grandfather "*Soliman*, was among the *Turks* as well "illustrious for his Birth as renowned for "his Virtues."

III. Others there are who think a little more honorably of so great a race, and grant it was deriv'd from a noble Family of the *Oguzian Tartars*, but omitting its true Author, *Soliman Shah* Prince of *Nera*, introduce other names of Tribes unknown to the *Turkish* Annals, as the *Evrenesii*, the *Ebrenenses*, the *Turacambi* or *Turacani*, the *Michaloglienses* and *Malcochoglienses** &c, &c. The four first of these names neither signify any thing etymologically, nor do I remember to have seen them in any *Turkish* Historian, except *Evrenus*, or as several read it, *Ornusbeg*, General under *Murad* I. and the first that was call'd *Prince of Greece*, as will appear in the following History. The Families of the *Michalogli* and *Malcochogli** are most certainly private Families only, and not very antient. For *Michael Kosse* was Head of the first, who being related in blood to the *Commenian* Family, and abjuring Christianity fled, as the *Turkish* Historians say, to them. He flourished under Sultan *Orchan*, an evidence of which is the Stone-Bridge at *Adrianople*, built over the River *Tunje* by his Son or Grandson, which still goes by the name of *Michalogli Kuprisi*, that is, *the Bridge of Michalogli* Of the same original is the Family of the *Malcochogli**, whose Author by the common opinion of the *Turks* is of *Bulgarian* or *Sirbic* Extraction, who changing his Religion went over to them, neither is the name of the *Malcochoglians** heard of, but in Songs wherein the *Turks* use to celebrate the Actions of Great Men. History is entirely silent about him He flourish'd under *Mahomet* who took *Constantinople*.

IV. Moreover, some in numbering the *Oguzian* Race, feign such unheard of names, that they may justly seem barbarous to the *Barbarians* themselves, as, *Oguzalpis*, who, they say, was Father to *Erdogrul*, and *Duzalpis*, Father of *Oguzalpis* and Great Grandfather of *Othman*. Others no less barbarously divide it into four Branches, the *Nambuci*, *Candelori*, *Caramani*, and *Othmani*. Of these names only *Duzalpis* is *Turkish*. The *Caramani*, though very noted in the East, are however falsely numbered with the *Oguzians* For the Founder of this Family, *Caramanogli*, who gave his name to his Dominions and Race, was one of the *Persian Satrapæ* or Governors, that on *Jenghizchan*'s invasion, threw off the *Persian* yoke, but his Posterity are described by the *Turkish* Historians as Enemies to the Growth of the *Othman* Empire; nor was their Dominion entirely destroyed till the Reign of Sultan *Mahomet*, who took *Constantinople* in the year of the *Hejira* 872.

V. Having sufficiently examined the various opinions of the Writers in general, I shall now proceed to the Sentiments of some particular Authors of Note The first that occurs is *Laonicus Chalcocondylas*, a Man not only to be reckon'd among the Classick Authors, but to be deemed a very diligent searcher into the *Othman* Affairs He collects the various opinions concerning the origin of the *Turks* and thus briefly relates them in his first Book 1. Some (says he) think, the *Turks* (that is the *Othmans*) are deriv'd from the [illegible]*thians*, whom they also call *T*[illegible], and that whilst the *Parthians* flourish'd, they broke out seven times from *Tanais*, and as often laid waste *Higher Asia* They imagine this conjecture is confirmed [illegible] hence, because say they there are [illegible] to be seen, as 'tis reported, many of [illegible] Nation dispersed over *Asia*, resemblin[illegible] the *Scythian Nomades* in their manners a[illegible] way of living, that is, they have no fix' Habitations He adds farther, they an[illegible] endeavour to confirm their opinion, th[illegible] the *Turks* are of *Scythian* extraction, by another argument, namely, because th[illegible] barbarous Nations of *Turks*, which inhabit *Lydia*, *Caria*, *Phrygia*, and *C*[illegible]*adoc*[illegible], are known to differ neither in Language nor Customs from the *Scythians* inhabiting between *Tanais* and *Salmatia* [illegible] There are also (says *Chalcocondylas*) who suppose the *Turks* to be descended from the *Parthians*. For it is agreed (say they in proof of their opinion) that the *Parthians*, whe[illegible] distress'd by the wandering *Scythians* (who from changing pastures are call'd *Nomade*[illegible]

cam[illegible]

came into *Lower Asia*, and live in the same manner with the others, and appear disperfed through their Towns, and from thence that race of Men happened to be called *Turks*, as much as to say, *Nomadæ*.

How weak this Interpretation of the word *Turk* is, abundantly appears, I think, from what I have before said of the true Etymology of the *Turkish* name. 3 Others imagine the *Turks* came from *Turca*, a large and rich City of *Persia*, and at last possess'd themselves of *Lower Asia*. 4. Some also are pleased to think that they came out of *Cœlo-Syria* and *Arabia* or *Scythia* (perhaps this should be *Persia*) having with them their Lawgiver *Omares* (more truly *Omerus*,) and at length acquired the Empire of *Asia*, living like the *Nomadæ*

After *Chalcocondylas* had thus shown the various opinions of several Writers, he in the end agrees with them who affirm the *Turks* to come from the *Scythians*. For, says he, it is evident, the *Scythians* who live at this day in *Europe* towards the East, are exactly like the *Turks* in their Commerce, Customs, and manner of life.

VI. At last, *Chalcocondylas* being about to give his own opinion, rejects the almost dry Rivulets, and draws the Truth from the very Fountain. " I find (says he) " when the Race of the *Turks* was greatly increased, it was divided into several " Tribes, among which the Tribe of the " *Oguzians* was one Of these was born " their Leader *Duzalpes*, (the same that " is called in the *Turkish* Annals, *Kiya Aleb*, " Father of *Soliman*, Grandfather of *Othman*) a Man studious of justice and " equity. This Person, I find to be " much praised for his fortitude, and to " be so just, that the contending parties chose him for Arbiter in every affair, and both sides gladly acquiesc'd in his " Sentence. The *Oguzians* seeing this " Man's equity, prevail'd by their repeated intreaties with the King of that " Country to make him their Judge " [The explainer of *Chalcocondylas*, wrongly interprets this King to be *Aladin*, Sultan of *Iconium*.] " After this, they delivered " themselves up to *Duzalpes*, to do with " them what he should deem beneficial " to the *Oguzians*. Afterwards when his " Son *Oguzalpes* [he will appear presently to be the same with *Soliman Shah*] had " claimed the Rule of the *Oguzians*, he " aspir'd to Royalty, and by warring on " the *Greeks*, soon grew to be very famous in *Asia*. Moreover his Son *Ortogules*," [hence it plainly appears that *Oguzalpes* is our *Soliman Shah*, Prince of *Nera*] " having made himself illustrious " by his Actions in *Asia*, was at length " sent for by *Aladin*, and by him greatly " esteemed." Thus far *Laonicus Chalcocondylas*.

VII. After *Laonicus*, but not of so approv'd credit, comes *Johannes Gaudier*, no careless interpreter of the *Turkish* Annals. Nevertheless, he has, as I think, too boldly asserted for truth what he has taken from some *Turkish* Chronicle, concerning the *Othman* Race In the first place, he sets down some names very corruptly, and sometimes not in their true order, with some inconsistencies as to times, places, names of Nations and particular Men. The first (says he) that rul'd the *Turks* was *Othman*, Son of *Erdogrul*, Son of *Soliman Shah*, Son of *Cabielpis*, Son of *Casulbuga* Thus far he was right, but then follow twelve corrupt names scarce to be traced in the *Turkish* Annals. After which, he adds that he recites only these seventeen Patriarchs of this Race, but that the rest, whose names are unknown to him, might in a continued Series be carried up to *Japhet* Son of *Noah* Then he proceeds to declare the Origin of the *Othman* race, and asserts what is contrary to almost all the opinions, and especially to *Chalcocondylas*. Whilst (says he) the Family of the *Oguzians* reigned in continual succession over the *Parthians*, they were plain and uncivilis'd, but afterwards embracing the *Mahometan* Religion, they made the City of *Machan* the Seat of their residence. When *Soliman Shahus* reigned over the *Parthians*, [*Oguzians*] the famous *Jenghiz* made an irruption into *Parthia*, and destroy'd *Belcha* and *Chorasan*, but *Cuisemis Shahus*, Prince of *Belcha*, perished in his flight Sultan *Aladines* of *Seljuki* in extraction, flying from *Parthia* to the Country of *Junan* [which this Author thinks to be the present *Caramania*, but in reality *Junan*, is *Ionia*] and seizing the City *Savasta*, [whence he should have this I don't know] assum'd royal Power. At the same time *Machan* being totally destroy'd, *Soliman Shahus* giving way to the violence of the *Tartars*, and leaving *Parthia* (perhaps this should be *Patria*) repair'd to *Erzinga* [he

means

means *Ezerbeyan*] from thence penetrating into *Romania*, came to *Amasia*, [entirely contrary to Historical Truth.] Then altering his course, he goes to *Chaleppus*, and when he incamped at the City *Jaber*, on the banks of the *Euphrates*, and first attempted to swim the River on horseback, is drown'd. *Soliman* had three Sons, whose names were *Sungargensis*, *Gitudogdis*, and *Ercules* Father of *Othman*, Founder of the *Othman* Empire.

VIII Having thus given the Opinions of other Historians in this Affair, it remains now to show as clearly as I can, the true Origin of this illustrious Race. *Soliman* Prince of *Nera*, is by all the Historians of his Nation, and also by the more accurate *Christian* Writers, affirm'd to be Fore-father of the *Turkish* Emperors, the Glory of whose Ancestors, as it is but darkly set forth by the *Turkish* Historians, I think it in vain to seek for a clearer account in other Writers. Nevertheless it is so far agreed by all, that *Soliman* was of the noblest *Oguzian* Family among the *Scythians*, and Head of a *Hord* or Tribe of *Tartars* near the *Caspian Sea*, whom they vulgarly call *Conar Cocher* Tatar tayfeli*, that is, *staying* and *going*, as much as to say, without fix'd Habitations. I am inclined to believe they dwelt between the *Caspian Sea*, and the Lake now called by the Inhabitants *Carabogaz*, where at this day the *Scythians* who are now called *Caracalpak*, lead a wandering life, and speak the *Turkish* Language, though the *Turks* greatly differ from them in their manners and way of living. By these, as well as by the neighbouring People, *Soliman* was proclaimed by the name of *Shah*. (By the way, *Shah* in the *Persian* Tongue is more honorable than *Chan*, and signifies a Prince to whom the *Chans* are subject, hence the King of *Persia* affects the title of *Shah*. But *Chan* is the same as a Governor of a Province, and much like a Vizir or *Basha*, who has the privilege of three Horse-Tails.) Whether *Soliman* receiv'd this dignity from his Ancestors, by Hereditary Right or acquir'd it by his own Worth, since no Historian but *Chalcocondylas*, clearly mentions it, I shall not take upon me to determine.

IX. Before I proceed, it will be proper to inlarge a little on what has been just mention'd, namely, that after *Jenghizchan*'s expedition, and the destruction of the *Persian* Monarchy, most of the *Satrapæ*, or Governors of the *Persian* Provinces between the *Euphrates* and *Mediterranean*, made themselves independent, and rul'd in their own names. This seems to be hinted by *Nicephorus* in his seventh Book. "But "(says he) the *Turks* [note that he calls all the *Satrapæ* that revolted from the *Persian* King, *Turks*] "by agreement divided "among them by lot all the Provinces of "the *Roman* jurisdiction." Then he adds the names of the *Satrapæ*, but so corruptly, that without the aid of History they could not be thought the same with the forementioned *Satrapæ*, whose true names thus occur in the *Turkish* Annals. *Churzem Shah* (King of *Caspia*, for *Churzem* among the *Turks*, signifies the *Caspian Sea*, whose name tho' they do not mention, yet they say he was subdued by *Jenghizchan*) *Caramanogli*, *Azerbejan*, *Germianogli*, *Hamidogli*, *Kutrum Bayezid*, *Isfindiarbeg*, *Ahmedbolamir*, *Tekkebeg*, *Zuulcadirbeg*, and the chief of all, *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*, who alone enjoy'd the name of *Sultan*. I shall dwell no longer on these matters, each of which the Reader will find in its proper place, in my Annotations.

X When these things had thus happen'd, in the third year, (as I have shown) after *Jenghizchan*'s Expedition, our *S[illegible]man*, Prince of *Nera*, and of a Tribe of *Og[illegible]ans* with fifty thousand select *S[illegible]thians*, [illegible] the Mountains of *Caucasus*, and at once over-ran all *Azerbyjan* (or *M[illegible]a*) to the Borders of *Syria*. But I imagine it will not be unworthy the Reader's Curiosity to look back a little to the manner, occasion, and time of the coming forth of the Patriarch of a race at present so illustrious.

XI *Saadi Effendi* Author of the Annals, so approv'd by the *Othmans*, thus describes the manner and occasion of *Soliman*'s irruption. Antient Writers, (says he,) who have faithfully transmitted the Knowledge of things to posterity, relate, that when *Alsuljuk*, (i. e. the *Seljukian* Tribe) removed from *Maverennubar* (a Country beyond the *Oxus* towards the *Caspian Sea*, known also to our modern Geographers,) to the Land of *Iran* (a Country below the *Oxus*, reaching to the *Persian* Sea, and on the West to the *Tigris*) with them also *Kiya Chan* (Father of *Soliman Shah*, Prince of the *O[illegible]ans*, departed with his Tribe from *M[illegible]jan*, and possess'd himself of the City *Macran*.

chan. But after *Jenghizchan*'s Irruption, *Soliman Shah* Son of *Kiya*, or as ſome write it, *Kiya aleh Chan*, whoſe Dominions now reached to *Ahlad* (Part of *Armenia major*) when he ſaw the rage and cruelty of the *Jenghizchan-Tartars* to be intolerable, was forc'd to relinquiſh his Poſſeſſions, and with his people to move in queſt of new Habitations towards *Rum* (ſo part of *Anatolia* or *Aſia minor* was call'd by the antient *Turkiſh* Writers) Thus far *Saadi Effendi*, concerning *Soliman*'s leaving his Country, after which he relates the Expeditions of *Soliman* and his Sons, which the Reader will ſee in their proper place.

XII. *Heſhri*, a much older Hiſtorian than *Saadi*, ſays, the *Oguzians* (who according to *Chalcocondylas*, choſe *Soliman*'s Father for their Prince) poſſeſs'd the Country of *Ablad* 170 years before *Soliman*, and in 611 of the *Hejira* made their firſt expedition, under *Soliman*, towards the Regions of *Aſia minor* But the *Jenghizchan-Tartars* having left nothing undeſtroy'd, *Soliman* with his followers deſerting *Aſia minor*, remov'd back to *Azerbejan*, and there for ſome time lead a Country or unſettled life. At laſt in the year of the *Hejira* 616, preſs'd with want of neceſſaries in thoſe uncultivated Parts, he advances a ſecond time with 50000 ſelect Men, towards *Rum* to recover his former poſſeſſions When he was come attended with ſucceſs as far as the *Euphrates*, he attempts to ſwim the River on horſeback and is drown'd.

XIII *Soliman* left four Sons, *Sungurtekin*, *Jundogdi*, *Erdogrul gazi*, and *Dundar* or *Dumlar*. Of theſe the two firſt returning to their antient Seats are entirely paſs'd over in ſilence by the *Turkiſh* Writers *Erdogrul* and *Dumlar* with their part of the Forces, firſt pitch'd their Tents in a place call'd *Surmaluchukur** *Dumlar* dying here in a few days, *Erdogrul* moving towards *Aſia minor* ſubdued ſeveral *Aſiatick* Provinces, and from his compelling the vanquiſh'd to pay tribute or embrace his Religion, obtain'd the name of *Zeletis*, a name famous in thoſe parts *Erdogrul*, ſetting the moſt moderate bounds to his good fortune, leaſt he ſhould ſeem tyrannically to deſire the poſſeſſions of others, ſends in humble manner his eldeſt Son *Saruyati* (afterwards celebrated by the Epithet *Saruchibeg**) to *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*, deſiring a Habitation ſomewhere in his Kingdom for himſelf and followers. *Aladin* readily grants his requeſt, prudently thinking it better to make this powerful, though new, Neighbour, his Friend than his Enemy. Wherefore he honorably ſends back *Saruyati* with Ambaſſadors to *Erdogrul*, and promiſes, if by his valour the remains of the *Jenghizchan Tartars* are driven out of his Dominions, not only to place him at the Head of his Armies, but aſſociate him in his Empire. For this aged Prince did not ſo much want Soldiers, Courage, Riches, and Strength, as a good General againſt ſuch troubleſome Enemies.

XIV. Neither was *Aladin* deceiv'd in his expectations of *Erdogrul* For having aſſign'd him *Karajedagy* for his Habitation, and according to his promiſe, entruſted him with part of his Forces, *Erdogrul*, by his conduct and wiſdom, ſoon vanquiſh'd the *Tartars*, and not only freed his afflicted Kingdom from all its imminent dangers, but alſo ſubdu'd other Countries, ſubject to the *Romans*, and annex'd them to his Empire. *Aladin*, mindful of his promiſes, royally rewards *Erdogrul*, and commits to his rule the whole Province of *Ancyra*. At laſt, worn out with wars and old age, *Erdogrul* dies in the year of the *Hejira* 680, ſays *Saadi*, but according to *Niſhrin*, in 687, whoſe Sepulchre in the Town of *Sugucbick** is at this day honorably viſited by the *Mahometans*

XV. *Erdogrul* departing this life in the midſt of his happineſs, *Aladin*, to ſhow his gratitude to ſo great a man, cauſes his Son *Othman* (who for his youth, 'tis ſaid, was wont to be call'd *Othmanjk* or *little Othman*) to ſucceed his Father, and to be the Chief of all the *Tcadaium* or *Satrapæ*. Moreover he allow'd him in all the Towns and Provinces ſubdu'd by his Father, or to be ſubdued by himſelf, to uſe the Title of Sultan, and coin money with the inſcription of his own name.

XVI. After this, *Aladin* the younger, (whoſe proper name was *Kaikoſhrev*) in the year of the *Hejira* 699, (which begins the 28th of *September* 1299) being driven into *Europe* by the *Gazanenſian Tartars*, his *Satrapæ*, divide all his Dominions among them But *Othman*, being the moſt powerful of them, oblig'd the reſt (in the year of the *Hejira* 700,) to ſeek his Protection and Favour. From hence ſome Hiſtorians

torians date the firſt year of *Othman*'s Reign, though *Saadi*, not without ſtrong reaſon, [illegible] his Reign began, when after the taking of the City *Carajebiſar*, he appointed a *Cadi* or Judge, and a *Chatyb* or Deacon (who might pray for him by name as Sultan) and coined new money with the inſcription of his own name, which was in the year of the *Hejira* 688, and of Chriſt 1289. Thus with the conſent of the Great Men and the Army, *Othman* is choſen King, and joining his own with *Aladin*'s Dominions, changes the name of *Oguzians* or of *Turks* (as they were commonly call'd under both *Aladins*) into that of *Othmans*, and lays the firſt Foundation of the *Othman* Empire, which is now ſo terrible to the World. The Actions of whoſe Succeſſors will be more accurately related in the following Hiſtory.

Genealogy of the *Othman* Family.

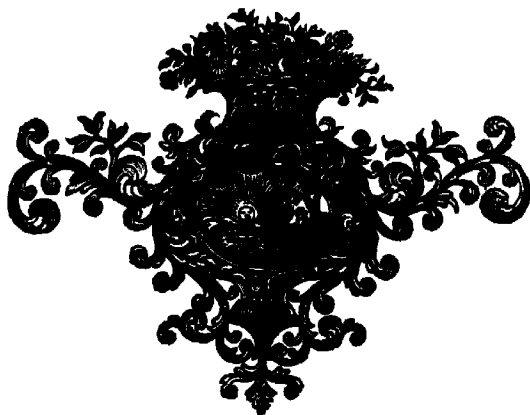
XVII. *Saadi* the *Turkiſh* Writer ſo often commended by me, one not more zealous for the *Othman* Glory, than for Hiſtorical Truth, willingly points at the burthen of ſo weighty and obſcure an affair on other Men's ſhoulders. Since it is not manifeſt to him, he ſays in general, there are Hiſtorians, who carry the line of this race from *Othman* to *Japhet* Son of *Noah*. As he has inſerted the names in the Preface of his Hiſtory, I ſhall tranſcribe them, that the Reader may not peruſe them corruptly, as I have ſeen them, in ſome *Chriſtian* Writers

Othman Son of *Erdogrul*, Son of *Soliman*, Son of *Kiya aleb*, Son of *Kyzyl boga*, Son of *Baytemur*, Son of *Aykytlyg*, Son of *Tugra*, Son of *Karaniv*, Son of *Sacur*, Son of *Bulgar*, Son of *Suncur*, Son of *Toctemur*, Son of *Yaſak*, Son of *Chemedei**, Son of *Kutluk*, Son of *Turak*, Son of *Karachan*, Son of *Yaſur*, Son of *Yelvaj*†, Son of *Baybeg*, Son of *Tugra*, Son of *Togmyſh*, Son of *Cujbeg*†, Son of *Ortuk*, Son of *Kumari*, Son of *Chektemur**, Son of *Turaj*†, Son of *Kyzyl boga*, Son of *Yamak*, Son of *Baſhboga*, Son of *Hormir*, Son of *Bayſut*, Son of *Sunj*†, Son of *Boga*, Son of *Kurtulmyſh*, Son of *Korchard*, Son of *Balchyk**, Son of *Cumaſh*, Son of *Caraoglan*, Son of *Soliman Shah*, Son of *Corchlu*, Son of *Bulgar*, Son of *Baytemur*, Son of *Turmyſh*, Son of *Cokaleb*, Son of *Oguzchan*, Son of *Karachan*, Son of *Kaychan*, Son of *Uljechan*, Son of *Takva*, of the Houſe of *Japhet*

XVIII. Before I conclude this Inquiry, it will not be amiſs to obſerve, it is the common opinion of the *Turks*, that there are two principal Branches deriv'd from the *Oguzian* Tribe, the *Othmanidæ*, and *Aljengbizians*, which laſt branch has given *Chans*, in an uninterrupted Succeſſion, to the *Crim Tartars* A ſtrong proof of this opinion is the law eſtabliſh'd by the *Othman Sultans*, whereby in caſe of failure of Heirs in the *Alothman* Race, the Emperor is to be choſen out of the *Aljengbizian* Family, as being both manifeſtly deriv'd from the ſame Stock Hence the *Crim Tartars* have conceiv'd great hopes, that one day, the *Alothman* race being extinct, they ſhall mount the Throne And that this law is not aboliſh'd, appears from a Sedition in my time, rais'd againſt Sultan *Muſtapha* (which will be largely related in the ſecond Part of my Hiſtory) At that time it was conſulted in the *Hippodrom*, by the Soldiers, Citizens, and Eccleſiaſtical Order, for ſeveral days, about dethroning *Muſtapha*, and chuſing another Emperor But ſince *Muſtapha* detain'd, according to cuſtom, in ſafe cuſtody with him at *Adrianople*, his relations, *Ibrahim* Sultan *Ahmed*, his Uncle with his two Sons, and alſo his Brother Sultan *Ahmed*, who now reigns, they were afraid, when their proceedings ſhould be known, he would put them to death, and by deſtroying the lawful Heirs of the Empire, oblige the People, whether willing or not, to honour him as Emperor Whilſt they were perplex'd with this fear, the new-elected *Mufti*, with the reſt of the Learned in the Law, ſtood up and ſaid, "Indeed to confer the Empire upon any "not join'd in blood to the *Othman* Race, "is contrary to the Laws both human "and divine But ſince the *Crim Tartars* "have Heirs of the ſame blood with the "*Othmans*, who may lawfully govern the "*Othmanic* Commonwealth, the People's "fears of Anarchy are vain For ſhould "Sultan *Muſtapha* kill all his Relations, "he ought to be puniſh'd for parricide and "diſturbing the publick peace, and a Succeſſor choſen from among the Sons of "the *Crim-Tartars*, as being of the ſame

† This *j* is to be pronounced like *ge* in the *Engliſh* Word *age* and by the A[illegible] exprest'd by *dz*

"Family

" Family with the *Othman*." Nay so great is the force of this Law, that it excludes from the Throne, even the Men born of the Female Line. For when at the same time, it was said by some, that an Heir of the Empire was at hand, namely, the only Son of *Saphia*, Daughter of Sultan *Murad*, living in the Suburbs call'd *Beshiktash*, all the rest oppos'd it, publickly declaring, " the *Othman* Empire never falls to the " *Spindle*, nor do they acknowledge other " Heirs than those of the Male-line, and " on their failure, the *Aljenghizians*, as " being undoubtedly of the same blood."

AS the Parallel Chronological Table mentioned by the Author in his Preface is not to be found in his Latin *Manuscript, the Translator instead of it has inserted the following Method of reducing the* Hejira *to the* Christian Æra, *and the contrary.*

The Beginning of the Hejira *being fix'd to the Year of our Lord* 622, July 16*th, if the* 621 *pass'd years of the* Christian Æra *be substracted from any given Year of our Lord, the remainder will be the* Hejira *in Solar years, which being reduc'd to Lunar, will be the correspondent year of the* Turkish Æra. *On the contrary, if any given year of the* Hejira *be reduc'd to Solar years and added to* 621, *the Sum will be the Year of our Lord.* N. B. 521 *Solar are equal to* 537 *Lunar or* Turkish *years.*

For Example,

What is the present Year 1734, according to the *Hejira*?

From	1734
Substract	621
Hejira in Solar years	1113

521 : 537 : : 1113 : 1147

The present year of the *Hej.* 1147

What is the Year of the *Hejira* 1000 according to the *Christian Æra*?

537 : 521 : : 1000 : 970

Hejira in Solar years	970
To which add	621
The Year of our Lord	1591

N. B. *The minute Parts of Days and Hours are here omitted, which, by reason of the different beginnings of the several years, must be observ'd in strictness of Calculation.*

EUXINUS PONTUS
From this place to the
Propontis or point of the
Seraglio 15 English Miles
PART of ASIA
Palace of Prince Demetrius Cantemir

THE HISTORY Of the GROWTH of the Othman * *or* Alothman † EMPIRE.

In Three BOOKS.

BOOK I. CHAP. I.

The Time of the Eruption of the Tartars *under* Soliman Shah. *His Conquests and Death.*

SO great a diversity of Opinions, remarked by Us in the Preface, and such a mixture of Fable by Foreign Writers, occur to curious Inquirers into the Origin of the *Alothman* Race, now on the *Turkish* Throne, that like Travellers on a divided Road, they can't without great difficulty distinguish between

Cause of the various Opinions concerning the *Othman* Race.

tween

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BEfore we proceed, it may not be amiss to prefix to our Annotations some of the most usual Titles of the *Othmàn* Court. For that Court, like the rest of the *Eastern* Courts, both assumes and expects the proudest and most pompous Titles. Hence in the Imperial Edicts call'd *Fermàn*, there frequently occur; *Babi humayun*, The sublime Port *Bábi adalèt*, The Port of Justice *Bàbi seadet*, The Port of Majesty. *Bàbi* or *Déri deulet*, The Port of Felicity, from whence the *Othmàn* Empire has been wont to be call'd *Deuleti Othmanye*, The Othman Majesty, or Felicity. If the Reader desires more of these Titles, he will find them collected by *Meninskius*, in his *Turkish* Dictionary.

* *Othmàn*] This Name, given to the *Turkish* Nation from the Emperor *Othmàn* their Founder, is generally writ perversely by the Christian Historians, some inserting (o) in the second Syllable, as *Otho*[illegible], others omitting the (h) and d[illegible] ling the (t) as *Ottaman*. Both very falsely. For the *Arabic Tse* [illegible]) called by the *Turks*, *Tshei* [illegible]

B

exactly

tween what is true and what falſe. Some have wander'd from the Truth for want of Oriental Learning and Hiſtory, whilſt a Tradition, envious perhaps of the felicity of this Race, has impos'd upon others. From theſe troubled Streams our *Chriſtian* Hiſtorians, ignorant, as we obſerv'd, of the *Turkiſh* Learning, have been forc'd to draw what ſhould have been taken from the Fountain-Head. But we (without vanity be it ſaid) juſtly preferring the Teſtimony of the domeſtick Writers to the Aſſertions of all others, have from Hiſtorians deem'd by the *Turks* the moſt faithful and accurate, collected our Materials.

[...]f the [...]on of

There we learn, that about the Time when the renowned Prince *Jengbiz* (1) *Chan* (2) had not only laid waſte the greateſt part of *Aſia* ſubject to the *Perſian* dominion, raz'd the City of *Balch* the moſt opulent of the Province of *Choraſan*, expell'd from his Kingdom and ſlain *Churzem* (3) *Shah* (4), but alſo, by means of continual Incurſions

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exactly anſwering to the *Greek Theta* Θ [or the *Saxon* Ð] ought doubtleſs to be pronounced in *Latin* [or *Engliſh*] as in *Greek*, Ὀθμαν, *Othman* [It muſt be obſerv'd the *Turks* pronounce the *Arabic Tſe*, almoſt like our (ſ). Hence *Othman* is by them call'd *Oſman*]

† *Alothman*] This word is compounded of *Al* and *Othman*, that is, *The Sons* or *Poſterity of Othman*, and aſcribed not only to the Imperial race deſcending from *Othman*, but to the whole *Turkiſh* Nation in general. Hence, *Tevaifi Alothman*, *the Alothman Hords* or *Tribes*. But the Emperors are wont to be call'd *Alothman Padiſhahi*, that is, *Emperors of the Sons of Othman*. For this reaſon, we have thought proper to ſtyle our Lucubrations, *The Alothman Hiſtory*.

(1) *Jengbiz*] He was, according to the *Turkiſh* Annals, Prince of the *Oguzian Tartars*, whoſe Actions and Fortunes are largely related in the Preface, to which the Reader is referr'd. [This name is pronounced by the *Perſians* and *Turks*, as if it were writ in *Engliſh*, *Chingbiz*, or in *Italian*, *Cingbiz*. He is call'd by the *Latin* Hiſtorians, *Cangius*. *Jengbizchan* ſignifies in the *Mogul* language, *King of Kings*.]

(2) *Chan*] This word perhaps paſs'd form the *Arabian*, into the *Perſian*, Language, and ſignifies *Lord* or *Prince*, anſwering to the *Arabic* Word *Sultan* and the *Turkiſh*, *Ulu beg*, that is, *Great Prince Chan*, tho' ever us'd by the *Turkiſh* Emperors, as *Murad Chan*, *Selim Chan*, &c. was however chiefly aſcribed by the *Othman* Court to the King of *Crim* or *Little Tartary* Hence he is uſually ſtyled *Kirim Chan*, The Prince of *Crim*, or *Cham Aliſſan*, The Sublime *Chan* [*Chan* ſeems rather to come from the *Perſian* into the *Arabic* The Reader muſt obſerve once for all that *Ch* is to be pronounced like our *K* or the *Italian Ch*, except in words where it is to be read like the *Engliſh Ch* in *cheap*, *rich*, for then it ſtands for the *Turkiſh Chim*, which to avoid confuſion ſhall always be noted.]

(3) *Churzem*] This word properly ſignifies the *Caſpian* or *Hyrcanian* Sea, and from thence is applied to the Regions bordering on that Sea, whoſe Sovereign is called *Churzem Shah*, that is, *King* or *Lord of the Countries ſituate on the* Caſpian *Sea* It is ſometimes called, even by the *Turks* themſelves, *Chuzrem*, from the likeneſs of the two Letters, *Ry* and *Ze* without the diſtinguiſhing point, frequently

cursions and their civil Dissentions, had weakened or dispersed the Princes of all those Regions, (then it was that) *Soliman* (5) *Shah* Son of *Kiya Chan* Prince of the City of *Nere* (6) and of the *Oguzian* (7) *Tartars*, Lord also of the Region of *Merushahjan*, excelling

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quently omitted in their writings by the more learned *Turks*. The *Nubian* Geographer (Part 7. Clim. 5) pretends this word is derived from *Chosar*, Son of *Togarma* who first peopled the neighbouring Regions, which opinion seems to be owing rather to a likeness of name than to a reality of fact. *Meninskius* says it was also called *Kulzum Dengiz* but upon what foundation is uncertain, that name being chiefly appropriated by the *Turks* to the *Red-Sea*. It is however, from the City *Bakuye* standing on its Coast, by the *Christians*, usually called, *the Sea of Baku*. [It must not be understood as if all the Countries bordering on the *Caspian Sea* are subject to one Sovereign, or that the whole *Caspian Sea*, is call'd *Churzem*, but only that part which washes the borders of the Kingdom of *Churzem*, extending as is said, to the mouth of the *Oxus*, which runs into the *Caspian Sea*. This Kingdom is now subject to the *Usbek Tartars*, who took it from the Posterity of *Tamerlan*, by whom the Successors of *Jenghiz Chan* were expell'd *Churzem Shah*, here mention'd by our Author, was the Title of one Race of its Kings, the most powerful in *Asia*, which *Jenghiz Chan* put an end to, in the Person of *Mahommed Churzem Shah Chorasma* is mention'd by *Herodotus*, so ancient is this Kingdom.]

(4) *Shah*] or *Sheh* is a *Persian* word answering to the *Arabic*, *Sultàn*. Hence the *Turkish* Emperor is stiled, *Shahi Alem Penah*, *the Emperor Refuge of the World*. It must however be observ'd, that *Padishah* is commonly esteem'd a more honorable Title than *Shah* in the *Othman* Court, the latter being given absolutely to the *Persian* Kings, the former never. The reason of this will hereafter be shown when the word *Padishah* comes to be explained.

(5) *Soliman*] He was Father of *Ertegrul* and Grandfather of *Othman*, descended from the noblest *Oguzian* Family among the *Scythians*. *Lanicerus*'s mistake in making him King of *Nice* was remembred in the Preface. [It must here be observed that in the *Turkish* and *Arabic* Tongues, the same Mark stands for (*a*) and (*e*), and the same for (*o*) and (*u*). Hence the various ways of writing the same word in our Historians, as *Shah*, or *Sheh*; *Soliman*, or *Suliman*. &c.]

(6) Prince of *Nere*] A City according to the *Turks*, near the *Caspian* Sea. The Name of this City is in vain look'd for in the Maps of the *Christians*, unless we understand by it the City of *Herat*, Metropolis of the antient *Aria* or *Nurkeizur* in *Masanderan*, in the Province of *Ghilan*. The *Turkish* Annals mention the taking and demolishing this City by the *Jenghiz Chan Tartars* in their return from the destruction of the Royal City of *Balch*. Our Opinion is confirmed by the *Persian* Historians, who mention seven distinct Kings governing the Province of *Ghilan* at that time, one of whom was, probably, our *Soliman*.

(7) *Oguzian*] That this Tribe under their Leader *Jenghiz Chan* came forth from *Great Tartary*, the Fountain of numberless Swarms of *Scythians*, is the common and constant opinion of the *Turks*. Nor do we know of any Christian Writer who ascribes any other Country to *Jenghiz*. This our Opinion is supported by an evident Passage in *Nicephorus Gregoras* in the fourth Chapter of his second Book, where he thus speaks of the Irruption of these *Tartars*. "Many "ages after, flowing out of the first "*Scythia*, as from an inexhaustible "Fountain,

celling all the Princes of his Nation in Nobleness of Birth, Glory of Ancestors and his own Virtues, in the Year of the *Hegira* according to *Nishrik*'s Chronology, 611, [and of the *Cristian Æra*, 1214] with about fifty thousand select *Tartars* of the *Oguzian* Tribe, encouraged by the Example and Fortune of *Jenghiz-chan*, forsook his old, and advanced towards *Europe* (8) in quest of new, Habitations.

H. 611.
A. C. 1214

His Conquests;

In this manner *Soliman Shah* with equal speed and success entering *Azerbejan* (9), a Province bordering on *Syria*, by the force

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" Fountain, they divided into two Bo-" dies, one whereof penetrated as far " as the *Caspian* Sea, and forgetting " their Native Appellation were cal-" led by the Names of, the *Sarmatæ*, " *Massagetæ*, *Melanchlæni*, *Amazones*, " &c The others bending their " Course towards *Europe* over-ran all " the Sea-Coasts, *&c.*" Again, in the 1st Section of the 5th Chapter, he says, " *John Ducas* being now Em-" peror, a numerous Swarm of *Scy-" thians*, composed of many Myri-" ads of Men, forsaking the Nor-" thern Regions came down to the " *Caspian Sea*. Mean while, their " Leader *Sitzischan* (by which Name we have shown in the Preface, *Gregoras* meant *Jenghiz chan*) being dead, " the Command of the Armies was " divided between his two Sons, *Cha-" laus* and *Telepugas*" Thus far *Gregoras*, on whose words it will not be foreign to our purpose to remark, that the πρώτη Σκυθία or *first Scythia*, as it is called by him, is the same with what is now called *Great Tartary*, and tho' Historians have given Names to its Inhabitants, these Names are rather ascititious and foreign than proper and peculiar to them, whilst they remained in their old Habitations. So that when, in the Preface to this History, the Reader finds the Princes of the *Oguzian* Family to be divided into two Branches, the *Alothman* and *Aljenghiz*, let him not imagine that this distinction prevailed during the Lives of the Founders of these Branches For as it is absurd, that the *Alothmans* under *Soliman*'s Command, should receive a Name from his Grandson, who reigned not till a hundred Years after, so with no less falsehood are the Princes of the *Crim-Tartars* vulgarly said to have retained the Appellation of *Aljenghiz* from *Jenghiz Chan* himself. For neither were they wont to be called by this Name till after they were subdued by the *Othman* Arms, nor do their *Chans* derive their Origin from *Jenghiz Chan* but from his Grandson *Gherai*, who first conquered those Parts And these Princes seem in later times, in imitation of the western Emperors, (who from the Founders of the Empire, used to call themselves *Cæsar* and *Augustus*) to have taken and transmitted to their Posterity the Names of their Heroic Ancestors, the *Turks* That of *Othman*, and the *Tartars* That of *Gherai*. From whence at this day the *Chans* of *Tartary* to their proper Names always add *Gherai*, as *Selim Gherai*, *Kaplan Gherai*, &c but of these things more in another Place.

(8) *Europe*] or the *European Parts*, *Rumili* or simply *Europe*, *Rum*, is bounded with *Syria* by the *Aramans*, so that they who at this day go to *Aleppo* the Metropolis of *Syria*, are said to enter into the *European* Parts. But the *Turks* own the same Bounds to *Europe* as we do, namely, the *Bosphorus* of *Thrace*, *Tanais*, and the *Nile*

(9) *Azerbejan*] or *Shirvan*, or *Bua duljebel*, the *greater Media*, but not with the same Bounds as antiently. For the *Tartars* (who scrupled not to extend the old Limits, and change the Names of their Conquests) have added to it the greatest Part of Northern *Assyria*,

force of his Arms or the fame of his Exploits, possesses himself of every thing in his way to *Ablad*, a Province and City of *Armenia major*. But the *Jengbizian Tartars* with unheard of fury and cruelty ravaging all before them, and advancing to *Azerbejan*, *Soliman Shah*, either giving way to the stronger, or reserving his Followers for a more prosperous fortune, was forc'd to assemble his People and from *Asia minor* to retire into the inmost Parts of *Azerbejan*. But a Nation born to war and rapine, being impatient of the indigence of an unactive Country-life, and the want of even necessaries in those Deserts, he departed in the year of the *Hegira* 616, from *Azerbejan*, and led his victorious Forces a second time towards the Regions of *Lower Asia*. Being crown'd with unexpected success, he subdued many Cities and Towns of those Regions, and pushing his Conquests to the *Euphrates*, wou'd, led on by inconstant Fortune, first attempt to pass the River on Horse-back, but being carried away by the violence of the stream, was drown'd in the forementioned year. His Body being afterwards taken out of the Water, was buried by his Sons under the Walls of *Jaber* (1), not far from *Aleppo* (2). An anonymous Poet of that Age sung his Epitaph in the following Distich.

H. 61[illegible]
A. C. 1[illegible]
and Death

Seu

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Syria, the rest of which goes at this day by the Name of *Kurdistan* (with some *Gordiana*) and joins it on the West. *Azerbejan* is compounded of *Azer*, *Fire*, and *jan*, *Soul*, with the Conjunction *be*, *in*, so that it may be properly rendered, *Fire in* or *with the Soul* [This Word is writ by *d'Herbelot*, and others *Erzengian*.]

(1) *Jaber* or *Baber*] formerly a City near *Aleppo*, at present a *Tekkiè* or Convent of *Turkish* Monks called *Sheg Ebu bekir*, which in late Maps is, perhaps, corruptly writ *Bir*, and *El-bir*. This place of his Interment is visited by the *Turks* with great Devotion, which, besides its Antiquity, is become more venerable by a Monument or *Turbe* erected there by Sultan *Selim* the Conqueror of *Egypt*. It is said to have been raised to the Memory both of *Soliman* and *Ebubekir*, one of the four Expounders of the *Koran* and *Mahomet*'s immediate Successor, who is believed to be buried here [*D'Herbelot* calls this Place *Khaibar*, and says the Sepulchre of *Soliman Shah* is according to *Saadi* the famous *Turkish* Historian, nam'd at this day, *Mezar Turk*, *the Turk's Grave*.]

(2) The Reader may, perhaps, think that we have been more concise in relating the Actions of *Soliman* than the dignity of the Subject, and the Memory of the Founder of so great a Race, seems to require. But we who have made truth our sole aim, chuse rather to deliver a few well attested Facts, than impose upon the Reader with a long recital full of Fables, Barbarisms, and Anachronisms. With such things as these, we have often observed *Christian* Historians in their accounts of the *Turkish* Affairs, to have loaded their Works, and have wondered that Men of Learning, and in other respects of great Penetration, could be ever induced to credit the indigested and absurd Narrations of *Abulfarago*, who among the *Turks* scarce merits the Name of Historian. There are indeed among the *Turks* themselves fabulous Books *Alothman Tevarichi*, and others which give us pompous Lists of *Othman*'s Ancestors, but are in no more esteem with the more learned *Turks* than *the*

 Arabian

Seu mezidi chu * *nebri saili ol,*
Nebri Sailde buldi mest ana yol.

That is,

Since he the river *Sail* did not love,
He in that very river met his death.

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Arabian Nights Entertainments, lately published in *Europe* in *French*, nor do they scruple to own, that every thing in the *Othman* History before *Soliman* savours of Fables.

* *Chu* is here to be pronounced as in the *English* Word *Chuse*.

[It may not be amiss to add at the end of each Reign, a Catalogue of the Cotemporary Princes reigning in *Europe*, whereby the Reader will be enabled at one view to represent to himself what was transacting at the same time in those two Parts of the World From the Time therefore of the Eruption of *Soliman Shah* in 1214 to his Death in 1219 there reign'd in *Europe* as follows:

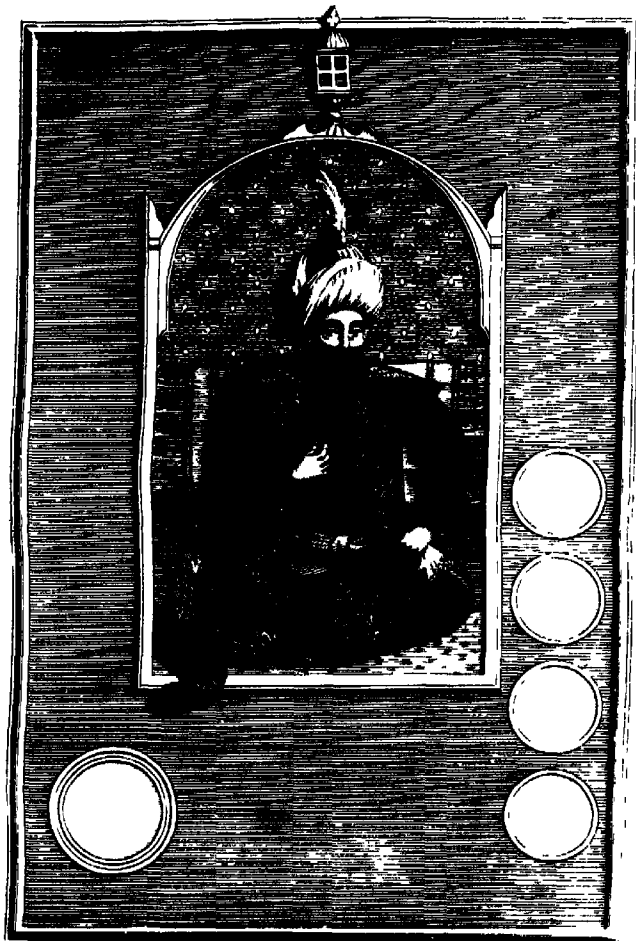
At *Constantinople*, { HENRY Earl of *Flanders*, 1206-16
PETER *de Courtenay*, 1216-22.

In the West, { OTHO IV. King of the *Romans*, 1208-18.
FREDERIC II. 1218-45.

In *England*, { JOHN, 1199 to 1216.
HENRY III 1216-72.

In *France*, PHILIP *the August*, 1180 to 1223.]

THE

C. Du Bos sculp.

OTHMAN I
FOUNDER of the OTHMAN EMPIRE
in the Year 1300.
From an Original Picture in the Seraglio

The REIGN of

OTHMAN or OSMAN I.

FOUNDER of the

Alothman EMPIRE.

BOOK I. CHAP. II.

I. Soliman Shah's *four Sons divide their Father's Forces among them.* II. Ertogrul *goes to* Aladin. III. *Falls upon, and vanquishes the* Tartars, *whilst they are ingag'd with the* Turks. IV. *Is made General of his Army by* Aladin. V. *After many prosperous Actions, dies*; and, VI. *is succeeded in his Dignity by his Son* Othman. VII. *Who suppresses the Rebels and conquers many Cities upon the* Grecians. VIII. Othman *is dignified with more Honours.* IX. *He repels Fraud by Fraud, and Arms by Arms.* X. Aladin *deserted by his People flies to the Emperor* Michael. XI. Othman *by the Suffrages of all the Princes is declared* Sultan. XII. *Sets his Sons over the Provinces.* XIII. *Removes the Seat of his Empire to* Jenghisheri. XIV. *Attempts in vain to take* Nicomedia. XV. *Defeats the* Grecians *in a Battle, and takes* Cotaia. XVI. *Long besieges* Prusa. XVII. *Offers the* Coran *or Sword to the* Christians, *and by*

by Both subdues many. XVIII. *He adds many Cities to his Empire.* XIX. *Conquers a nation of the* Tartars, *and compells them to* Mahometism. XX. *Conquests of* Orchan *Son of* Othman. XXI. *He takes* Prusa. XXII. *and by his dying father is left Heir to his Empire.*

Soliman's Sons divide among them his Forces.

SOliman Shah being thus taken out of the World, his four Sons *Ertogrul* or *Togrul* (1), *Sunkùr Tekin* (2), *Jundogdi* (3) and *Dindar* or *Dumdar* (4), divided between them their Father's Riches and Forces. *Sunkùr* and *Jundogdi* returning to their antient habitations, must be there left to their unknown Fortunes. *Ertogrul* and *Dumdar* with their part of the Forces, first pitch'd their Tents in a Place call'd *Syrmalyzukur*, where *Dumdar* within a few days, departing this life, *Ertogrul* assembled his own and his Brother's Forces; and subdued by arms or policy, all the Countries between *Aleppo* and *Cæsarea*, with their Castles and Towns, introducing every where (5), the *Mahometan* Religion which he himself profess'd.

Ertogrul goes to *Aladin*.

II. His Fame thus increasing, *Aladin* (6), Sultan of *Iconium* thought it

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(1) *Togrul* or *Ertogrul*] These Names signify in *English*, *a Man born*, or, *a just Man*. *Ertogrul* was Son of *Soliman* and Father of *Othman* I.

(2) *Sunkùr Tekin*] *Sunkùr* according to its Etymology signifies a kind of *white Falcon*, the most rapacious of all the feather'd Tribe, and found no where but in the Country of the *Usbec Tartars*, and by their Ambassadors brought to the *Turkish* Emperors for a Present It is but rarely taken and highly esteemed by the *Turks*.

(3) *Jundogdi*] Etymologically, *the Sun is risen*, or, *the Morning has appeared*. For *Jun* with the *Turks* signifies, *Day* or *the Sun*, *Dogdi* is the Preterperfect Tense from *Dogarim*, signifying, *to be born* or *to come into the Light*.

(4) *Dumdar*] According to the Etymology this Name signifies, *Sonorous* or *endued with the power of Sound*, for *Dum* is the noise of the Drum called *Kios*. *Dar*, in the *Persian* Language signifies *keeping* or *being endued with*. Whence the Words *Vefadar*, keeping Faith, *Namdar*, endued with a good Name or Reputation, *Alèmdàr*, holding the Standard or Standard-bearer, *&c*

(5) *Introducing every where*] The *Turks* ascribe the fortunate Successes of the Empire, not so much to human Prudence, Policy and Valour, as that their first Emperors wag'd war not through Ambition and a Desire of Dominion, but through the Zeal of propagating the *Mahometan* Religion, and by that means they procured the divine Assistance to their Undertakings

(6) *Aladin*] Lord or Sultan of *Iconium*. He is always call'd *the Second* by the *Turkish* Historians Hence though they mention not *a first*, yet it seems most agreeable to Truth, that the first *Aladin* was the *Azatines* spoken of by *Nicephorus Gregoras* B IV Ch. 1. Sect. 6. who (says he) taking occasion from the Expedition of the *Tartars*, shook off the *Persian* Yoke, subdued

it more adviseable to allure to him so brave and indefatigable a Warrior, and set him at the head of his Army, than to cope with him as an enemy. Whilst he was thinking of these things, he was unexpectedly prevented by an Embassy from *Ertogrul*, with his Son *Sarujat* at the Head of it, who in his Father's Name was to ask of *Aladin* some Place in his Dominions where himself and his People might live in peace and amity. *Aladin* receiving the Ambassy, and seeing, as the Proverb expresses it, that what he expected from Heaven, was come to him on earth, readily grants *Ertogrul*'s desires; and with Ambassadors from himself, honourably dismisses *Sarujat* to his Father, desiring him to repair immediately to his Court, where he should meet with a reception worthy so famous a Leader. Induc'd by these promises, *Ertogrul* hastens to *Aladin* with the Ambassadors; is receiv'd with great distinction, and obtains *Carajedagy*, in the region of *Ancyra* for his first Habitation.

III. *Aladin* had been long infested, and often brought to the last extremity by dispers'd Bodies of the *Tartars*, who surviv'd the great *Jenghiz Chan*'s expedition. About this very time a numerous Body of these *Tartars* happening, without opposition, to invade the region of *Ancyra*, *Aladin*, to check their fury, leads against them such Forces as cou'd be most speedily assembled. But the *Tartars* superior in number and arms, at the first Onset, put the *Sultan*'s Army into disorder. *Ertogrul* hearing of the battle, comes opportunely in the heat of the Fight, with five thousand select Men. His Soldiers seeing *Aladin*'s Forces dispers'd, and flying before their victorious Enemies, perswade their General to join with the Conquerors. But *Ertogrul* answers, "It is not the part of a steddy man to violate "his faith, or of a brave warrior to draw his Sword upon the pro- "strate, but rather to assist and relieve the desperate and weak." By these words disswading his Soldiers, eager to fall upon the spoils of the Run-aways, from their base purpose, he bravely charges the victorious *Tartars*, and quickly putting them to flight, unexpectedly recovers the day to the vanquish'd *Aladin*.

Ertogrul vanquishes the Tartars, engag'd with the Turks

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subdued several Asiatick Provinces, belonging to the Eastern Emperors, and with his Son *Melek Shah* was obliged to retire to *Michael Palæologus* after having been routed by the *Tartars*, in the Year of the *Hegira* 661, and of *Christ* 1261. For, it being certain that his Son *Melek Shah* after the Recovery of his Father's Dominions took the Name of *Aladin* II, who can be (especially in so short a space as the Empire of *Iconium* lasted) the first *Aladin*, but the forementioned *Azetines* of *Gregoras*?

Aladin makes him General of his Armies

IV. Sultan *Aladin* now an Eye-witness of *Ertogrul's* Valour, which before had only reach'd him by fame, perceiv'd that he stood in less need of Forces than of wise Counsels and a good General. Wherefore pronouncing *Ertogrul* most worthy in both these respects, he commits to his care the whole region of *Ancyra*, and appoints him Generalissimo of his Armies.

Ertogrul's Actions and Death.

V. *Ertogrul* therefore joining his Forces with the *Sultan's*, not only puts a stop to the incursions of the *Tartars*, but every where defeating and slaying them, compells them to retire from the Borders of the Kingdom. Thus he not only preserves, but also enlarges, the *Sultan's* Dominions. In the year of the *Hegira* 680, (according to the accurate Historian *Saadi*) he crown'd his Victories with the Conquest of the famous City of *Kutahi*, upon the *Greeks*, and would have done greater things, had not death, unjust to the Glory of Heroes, taken him out of the World. For, worn out with old age, and the Toils of his Victories, he ended his life the same year, with great fame indeed to himself and his nation, but to the greater grief of *Aladin* and the whole Kingdom. His Sepulcher at the Castle of *Suguchick* * is still religiously visited by the Admirers of the *Alothman* Family.

H 680 A. C 1281.

Othman succeeds to his Father's dignity

VI. But however, the Fortune of his Race did not expire with *Ertogrul*. For there remain'd three Sons, *Othman*, *Junduz*, and *Sarviz*. *Othman* (7) tho' the eldest, yet being a young man, receiv'd in *Aladin's* Family the diminutive appellation of *Othmanjik* or *little Othman*. His deceas'd Father had indeed left him by Will the Inheritance obtained of Sultan *Aladin*, but the Sultan in a grateful acknowledgment of *Ertogrul's* Services, sends him the military Ensigns, *Tabl Alèm* (8); that is, the Drums, Standards, and the other Ornaments

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* *Ch* is to be pronounced here like *Ch* in the *English* word *Chick*.

(7) *Othman*] *Ertogrul's* only Son according to the *Turkish* Historians, who (say they) on account of the Heroic Virtues of his Father succeeded to the Generalship of *Aladin's* Army whilst a Youth, and from thence was called *Othmanulus*, or *little Othman*.

(8) *Tabl Alem*] All the Governours of Provinces are called *Tabl Alem sahibi*, such as *Viziers*, *Basha's*, *Begs* and the like. *Alem* is a large broad Standard, which instead of a Spear-head has a Silver Plate, in the middle, bor'd in the shape of a Crescent or Half Moon. *Tabl* is a Drum, from whence the whole military Accoutrements with which the *Turkish* Emperors adorn the Great men, are called *Tabulchana*. The *Tabulchana* of a Vizier consists of nine Drums, nine *Zurnezèn* or Players on the *Zurnader* or Fife, seven *Borazen* or Trumpeters, four *Zillezàn* or Players on the *Zil* (or Brass Basins which being struck against one another make a loud and clear sound) three Horse-Tails very artificially pleated, called *Tug*, one *Alem*, one *Sanjak*, (or Standard, distinguished only by the Colour from the Standard of *Mahomet*, *Mahomet's* being red and this

ments of a General, with full power over his whole Army. Moreover, he permitted him not only to coin money (9), impress'd with his own name, but also in the Cities and Towns conquer'd by his Father, and in those he should himself conquer, to have the *Chutbè* (1) that is, to be mention'd by name in the publick Prayers. Some Historians have from hence dated the beginning of the *Othman* Empire; but, as will hereafter be clearly shown, they are mistaken in their computation.

VII. *Othman*, invested with so many Honours, seem'd to want nothing of the royal dignity, but the Title of *Sultan* (2), which however

Othman suppresses the Rebels, and conquers many Cities upon the *Greeks*.

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this green) to these are added two other very large Standards called *Bairak*. Other *Basha's* who are not honoured with the name of Vizier and who are not inferior to them, the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, have the privilege of at least two *Horse-Tails*, with the other Standards and Ornaments of the Viziers. A *Beg* with the Standards has but one *Horse-Tail*. There are moreover others of a much inferior order to *Begs*, who have no *Horse-Tail*, and but one *Sanjak* allowed them by the Emperor, and these are called *Sanjakbegs*, whose Office at the beginning of the *Othman* Empire, was the most honorable, That of *Basha* being of later appointment.

(9) *Money*] No *Turk* is allowed to coin Money or to be mentioned in the publick Prayers, but the Emperor alone. For though *Cairo* in *Egypt* coins money by the Emperor's licenſe, it is done not in its own, but the *Sultan*'s, Name. The *Turkish* Money has no Effigies stamp'd on it, but only the *Sultan*'s Name in most elegant Characters. Thus on the Money of *Sultan Ahmet* who now sways the *Turkish* Scepter, are these Inscriptions.

Sultan Ahmet ibn Sultan Mahomed el Sultan ibn el Sultan. That is, *Sultan Ahmet Son of Sultan Mahomet, himself Sultan and Son of a Sultan.*

On the reverse,

Sultan alberin vebacaneulbahrin sarb fi Constantanie. That is, *Emperor and Conqueror of the World, Lord of the Seas; stamp'd at Constantinople*, or *fi Edrne, at Adrianople*, or *fi Misr, at Cairo*, or *fi Ismyr, at Smyrna.* For no other Cities enjoy the privilege of Coining. But if the Emperor himself is in the Field with his Army, he carries a Mint with him, and the Inscription is thus, *fi ordùi humayun*, that is, *in the Tents of the most Sublime*. The *Chan* of *Crim Tartary*, is permitted however to coin Money with his own Name inscrib'd on it.

(1) *Chutbè*] By this is meant an *Acclamation* or *Petition* in the publick Prayers for the Health and sacred Majesty of the Emperor, and for Victory over his Enemies, particularly the *Christians*.

(2) *The Title of Sultan*] It was observ'd that the *Arabic* Word *Sultan* answers to the *Persian* [or rather *Mogul*] Word *Chan*. It is supposed by some to be derived from *Selatat*, that is, *Conqueror* or *Potent*. It must however be remark'd that this word in common Discourse is applied with a Pronoun to any Person, as *Sultanùm, my Lord*, just as in *French* they use the Word *Monsieur* without any distinction. But if *Sultan* be used absolutely without a Pronoun, or with the Article *el (the)* it signifies only the Emperor, though, as I have before observed, the Title *Padishah* is accounted more excellent. The Sons of the *Chans* of *Crym-Tartary* are allowed the Title of *Sultan*, as *Caplan Gherai Sultan* &c. [*Ricaut* says when the Sultan writes to the *Chan* he uses this Style *To the Government wherein flourishes the Mass and Original of Regency*.

however he did not think proper to assume during *Aladin*'s life (3) He believ'd it more adviseable to wait that Prince's death, than, by an unseasonable thirst of dominion, to hazard both his Kingdom and Himself, nor was he disappointed by this resolution. For preserving inviolable the Allegiance, he had sworn to *Aladin*, he arm'd in his defence; and leading his victorious Troops against the Princes who had revolted from the Empire, reduc'd them to obedience. Then he turn'd his Arms against the *Greeks*, and in the year of the *Hegira* 687, taking the Town of *Culze*, the First-fruits of his following Victories, added it to *Aladin*'s Empire. The same year he fought with the Captain of *Carasheri* or *the Black City*, and defeating him in a sharp Battle, takes his Brother *Calanos* or *Callinicus* prisoner, whom he causes to be flea'd, and afterwards buried Then he orders the whole Army to piss on his Grave; from whence the Field, call'd before *Tomalidz*, retains, to this day, the name of, *It ishimi* or *Dog's Piss*. Nor was this a bloodless Victory to *Othman*, for besides the Loss of many of his Men, his Brother *Junduz* was slain valiantly fighting. His Body was by *Othman*'s order laid in his Father *Ertogrul*'s Sepulcher near *Suguchick* *. Immediately after this Victory he took also the city *Carachisar* and annex'd it to the *Seljukian* Dominion.

H 687 — A.C 1288

He is invested with more Honours by *Aladin* — H 688 — A C 1289

VIII. *Aladin* the second, being inform'd of *Othman*'s Victories, invests him with the Government of *Eskishehr*, or *the Old City* The next year 688, he expells the *Mogul-Tartars*, and suppressing on all sides the incursions of the Enemies, signalized himself by many Victories. At last, having assembled Inhabitants from all Parts and enlarged *Carachisar* with new Buildings and Walls, he made it the splendid Seat of his Residence.

There seems to be some difference in the Computation of years in the *Seljukian* Historians. For they fix *Othman*'s Victory over the *Mogul-Tartars* to the year of the *Hegira* 698, namely, ten years later, which we therefore believe truest, because *Saadi*, in the following Actions of *Othman*, uses also the same Computation.

IX In

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Regency, on which Fortune depends, and by which Felicity is obtain'd Possessor of excellent Power and establish'd Glory, elected by the favour of that King from whom Succours are to be demanded. The King of Crim, Gian, Beg, Ghirai, Chav, *whose Height be for ever maintained. After respect had to those Blessings which are freighted with Amber, and Salutations perfumed with* Narcissus *proceeding from the Imperial Grace*, Be it known unto you, &c.]

(3) During *Aladin*'s Life] The prudent *Othman* refused whilst *Aladin* lived to accept the offered Title of *Sultan*, perceiving he could not fail of it after his Death He chose rather to be called *Seraskier* or *General of the Army*, that he might not be suspected of aspiring to the Throne. But after *Aladin*'s Death, he threw off the Fox's and put on the Lion's Skin

* Pronounced like the *English Ch*.

IX. In the year of the *Hegira* 698, *Michael* sirnam'd *Kosè*, that is, *Goat's-Beard*, Prince of the City *Bilejiki*, being to celebrate the Nuptials of his Daughter, invites *Othman* as his Friend and Patron, to the Marriage. Whereupon the other *Grecian* Princes privately concert measures to seize *Othman*. But this Treachery being discovered to *Othman* by trusty Messengers from the faithful *Michael*, he feigns ignorance of the design, and using stratagem for stratagem, orders some hundreds of Soldiers to conceal themselves near the Place, whilst forty well armed young Men, dress'd like Women, were to enter in the Evening, the Castle of *Jarbisar*, and in the Night set fire to the Houses about it. In the mean time he himself repairs to the Guests with a slender Retinue to *Chakyrbunar*, a Place so call'd in the Suburbs where the Nuptial Feast was to be. The forty disguis'd Soldiers, (who, as we said, had entered the Town then without garrison) set it on fire, and in the Combustion, seize the Gates and Fortifications. *Othman* perceiving by the Flames that his stratagem had succeeded, gives the signal for the Soldiers in ambush to take their Arms with a Shout, and charge the Enemies buried in Wine. The Signal is no sooner given than executed, and all, except *Michael*, *Othman*'s faithful Friend, are taken or slain, without distinction of Sex. Among the Captive Ladies was the Bride *Holophira*, of a noble Descent, whom *Othman* afterwards married to his Son *Orchan*, by whom she had *Soliman* and *Muràd*, which last was *Orchan*'s Successor in the Empire (1).

Othman repells Fraud with Fraud, and Arms with Arms.
H. 698.
A. C. 1298.

Presently

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) [This Story by reason of some mistakes or omissions is render'd very imperfect and obscure, and therefore it will not be improper to insert it here as related by the Christian Historians. *Michael Cossi* Governor of *Hirmen Kaia*, Great Friend of *Othman*, invites him with the Christian Governors of the neighbouring Castles to his daughter's marriage. *Othman* by his noble Presents to the Bride and Bridegroom, (usual on those occasions) raising both the envy and jealousy of these Governors, they combine to destroy him by treachery. To that end, the Governor of *Bilejiki*, the most powerful of them, being shortly to marry the Captain of *Jarbysar*'s daughter, requests *Othman* to grace the marriage with his Presence, and acquainting *Cossi* with their design, sends him at the time appointed to conduct *Othman* to the Wedding. *Cossi* found *Othman* very ready to go; but grieving that so brave a man should perish by treachery, discovers to him the whole Plot. *Othman* resolving to be reveng'd, bids *Cossi* tell the Governor, he would certainly come, but being at wars with a neighbouring Prince, and fearing a surprize in his absence, that he desires the liberty to send to his Castle of *Bilejiki*, his Mother-in-law and Wife with their Attendants, and some of the best of his Goods. This is readily granted, and *Othman* disguising forty young-men like women, with some others, pack'd up in carriages as goods, he comes to the place where the marriage was to be solemniz'd the next day, being an open Field, for the conveniency of room, at some distance from the Castle. After his compliments to the Governor, he obtains his order that the pretended Ladies and Goods may be received

 into

Presently after this Victory, he takes the Town of *Ainegiol*, and also subjects many other Castles and Towns with their Territories to *Aladin*'s Dominion.

Aladin deserted by his People flies to the *Grecian* Emperor
H 699
A C 1299

X. In the year of the *Hegira* 699, a Swarm of the *Gazanensian Tartars* invading *Aladin*'s Kingdom, his Princes and Great-Men, who obey'd him more out of Fear than Affection, deeming his Misfortune their Happiness, revolt a second time. By this Defection *Aladin*'s Affairs growing desperate, he is forced to abandon his Dominions, and privately fly for his Life to *Michael Palæologus* the *Grecian* Emperor But when the Thread of the Destinies is spun, fruitless and vain are the Efforts of human Policy. For when he hoped to find a Sanctuary and Assistance from the *Greeks*, he is most inhumanly thrown by them into perpetual Imprisonment. From whence though he is said by *Nicephorus Gregoras* to be afterwards delivered by his Subjects, yet it appears by the unanimous Testimony of the Historians that he died in the year of the *Hegira* 703, and of *Christ* 1303.

Othman by the Suffrage of all is chosen Sultan

XI. Mean while *Othman* far superior to the rest of the Princes under *Aladin*'s Dominion, in Valour, Reputation, Soldiers and Wealth, prevailed with them all, partly by great Presents and Assurances of greater, partly by the Favour of his Protection and a Communication of Power, and partly by threats, to obey and acknowledge him for Sovereign of the whole Empire. Wherefore by the unanimous Consent of all the Great-Men he is, in the beginning of the next year, that is of the *Hegira* 700, declared *Sultan*, and in the City *Carachisar* first assumes the Title of Emperor of the *Othmans*. From hence some Historians date the beginning of *Othman*'s Reign, though *Saadi Effendi* strongly contends, that the first year of his Reign was when having conquered upon the *Greeks* the City *Carachisar*, he appointed there in *Aladin*'s life-time, and with his Consent, a *Cadi* or Judge, and a *Chatib* or Deacon to mention his Name in the publick Prayers, and also coin'd Money impress'd with the Title of *Sultan*, namely in the year before-mentioned 687. But we following the common Opinion fix the

H 700
A C 1301
Feb 11

ANNOTATIONS.

into *Bilesiki*. The moment they are enter'd the Castle, the Soldiers leaping out of the Packs with the help of their disguis'd Fellows, with some difficulty seize the Castle. *Othman*, as soon as the Governor was retir'd to his Bed-chamber, supposing by this time the Castle was secur'd by his Men, immediately takes horse with his Followers and Friend *Cosi*, and rides full speed to *Bilesiki*. The Governor, inform'd of his sudden departure, pursues and overtakes him, but his attendants, being for the most part, drunk, he is slain by *Othman* in the conflict, and the rest put to flight Having thus taken *Bilesiki*, *Othman* with great diligence surprizes also in the morning the Castle of *Jarhisar*, where he took prisoner the Captain, and his beautiful daughter the Bride, who were preparing to go to the Wedding.]

the first year of his Reign to the beginning of the year 700 [and of *Christ* 1300,] as the clearer, in our Opinion, and more accurate Chronological Computation, as we have demonstrated in the Preface to the Reader.

XII. *Othman* being thus possess'd of an Empire which he had rather long expected than sought, and having fix'd the Imperial Seat in *Carachisar*, sets his Sons over the Provinces and Cities to govern and protect them. The *Sanjak* of *Carajedagy*, a City afterwards very famous by the Name of *Sultan Onghi*, was given to *Orchan*, of *Eskishehri* to *Junduz Aleb*, of *Ain Onghi* to *Aigud Aleb*, of *Jarbysar* to *Hussan Aleb*, of *Ainegiol* to *Dorgud Aleb*, but *Aladin* his youngest Son with the Government of the City *Bilejik*, was committed to the care of his Mother and Father-in-law *Baliad* (2).

Othman pl[aces] his Sons o[ver] the Provin[ces]

XIII These Governments being thus fill'd, and the City of *Kuprihisar* taken the same year, he removes the Imperial Seat from *Carachysar* to *Jenghishehri*, which he adorns with Royal Palaces, Bagnio's, and other stately Buildings, enlarges with new Walls, and strengthens with various kinds of Fortifications.

He remov[es] the Seat o[f] the Empir[e to] *Jenghisheh[ri]*

XIV. In order to the more firm Establishment of his new Empire and Seat, he peaceably spent some time in regulating his Domestick Affairs. Having ordered these according to his pleasure, his next concern was to prevent the Soldiers from being corrupted with Luxury and Ease To this end he leads his Army against the City of *Iznimid* (or *Nicodemia*,) which though he annoy'd with a long Siege, he is unsuccessfully repuls'd by the Garrison. Wherefore raising the Siege, he builds over against it on a very high Mountain towards *Jenghishehri*, a strong Castle, which being well garrison'd and stor'd he commits to the Custody of the famous *Targan* After that, he retires with the rest of the Army to Winter Quarters at his Royal Seat at *Jenghishehri*. It must be observ'd that the Chronicle of *Meulan Idris* makes this Castle (call'd *Targan* from its Captain) to be built not by *Othman* but his Son *Orchan*.

He attemp[ts] in vain to t[ake] *Nicodemia*

XV. About this time the Governours of the *Greek* Provinces, among whom *Ornus* or *Honorius* Governor of *Prusa* was the Chief, observing

He defeats t[he] *Greeks* and takes *Kutah*

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Baliad*] [It is plain from hence, that *Michael Kose* was not Governor of *Bilijik*, since it is not probable, *Othman* wou'd deprive of his Government, so faithful a Friend, that had lately sav'd his Life. Consequently there must be some mistake in (SECT. IX) where our Author makes him Captain of *Bilyeki* And therefore most likely to be, as related in the foregoing note]

obſerving the daily Progreſs of *Othman*'s Arms, and that Victory always attended him, privately agreed to meet with their forces under the Walls of *Coiunbyſar* in order to march and ſurpriſe him. But *Othman*'s watchful Fortune diſcovers to him by ſcouts their Deſigns. Wherefore ſilently leading his Army into the Field, he unexpectedly attacks, vanquiſhes and routs his Enemies. The Prince of the City *Koſtel*, with many others fell in the Battle. *Ornus* Lord of *Pruſa*, and the Governor of *Kutahi* (whoſe Name is not mention'd) ſave themſelves by flight. *Othman* purſuing them, the Captain of the Caſtle of *Ulubad*, warn'd by the Example of his Allies, and fearing alſo to be expos'd to the Fury of the *Othmans*, on certain conditions opens a way to his Purſuit. But *Othman*, unable to overtake the flying Enemies, beſieges *Kutahi* (lately recovered from the *Turks* by the *Grecians*) and takes it. But the Conqueſt of that Place was attended with a notable Loſs to *Othman*. For paſſing his Army under the Walls of the Town, over a Timber-Bridge, his Grandſon *Dogris* with ſome Soldiers were drown'd, the Bridge breaking under them. His Body being found, was, by *Othman*'s Command, buried in the Suburbs of *Coiunbiſar*.

He beſieges *Pruſa*, but raiſes the Siege.
H 717
A C 1318.

XVI. Moſt of the Cities of *Bithynia* being conquered, and his Empire now firmly eſtabliſhed, *Othman* at laſt in the year of the *Hegira* 717 beſieges *Pruſa* (1) the Metropolis of *Bithynia*. But the City being ſtrongly fortified and defended by a numerous Garriſon, it was very difficult if not impoſſible to take it, and therefore *Othman* to prevent any freſh Supplies of Men or Proviſions, from being thrown in, builds over againſt the City two Caſtles, of which he commits one to the Cuſtody of his Nephew *Artimur*, and in the other places the famous Captain *Balanjik*, with ſtrict orders not to moleſt or injure the Inhabitants. By this means all the Subjects of the *Pruſian* Territory, flying for ſafety and life to theſe Caſtles as to a Sanctuary, voluntarily ſubmitted to *Othman*'s Dominion

XVII. It

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(1) *Prùſa*] [This City is of great Antiquity, and was the Seat of the Kings of *Bithynia*. It lies at the foot of Mount *Olympus*, and is ſaid to be built by a King of that Name in the time of *Crœſus*. It had been in the hands of the *Greek* Emperors ſince the year of *Chriſt*, 947. It is now call'd by the *Turks*, *Burſah*, or *Buruſſah*, in *Natolia*. This City is famous for its Baths of Mineral Waters, which draw thither a vaſt Concourſe of People from all parts of *Turkey* A *Turkiſh* Poet has made an Inſcription in verſe for the Baths of *Burſah*, to this effect *It may not be wondered that the great number of naked Perſons in theſe Baths very aptly repreſents the general Reſurrection, ſince the Springs of the Water wherein they bath, flow from the Fountains of Paradiſe.* When *Pruſa* was taken by *Orchan*, he made it the Seat of his Empire, as will hereafter be ſeen.]

XVII. It was *Othman*'s Custom after the Conquest of a certain Number of Cities, to check the rapid Course of his Victories, and repose himself and his Army some time in composing the Affairs of his late conquered Provinces, and restoring Peace and Tranquillity to the Inhabitants. Having spent some years at home to this purpose, his Soldiers, accustom'd to Victory and Spoil, and impatient of Ease and Rest, humbly petition'd to be led to new Conquests upon the *Greek* Empire. The prudent, and, in the Administration of the publick Affairs, the most politick, *Othman*, readily promises to grant their Request, but however, says he, the Propagation of the *Mahometan* Religion is not to be neglected, and puts them in mind that the Precepts of the *Koran* are to be preferr'd to Riches and Empire. Wherefore he proves to them by the Law of the *Koran*, that the *Christian* Princes ought first to be peaceably invited to the *Mahometan* Religion, and in case they refused to obey, were then, by the Divine Law, to be declar'd Enemies of God and the Truth, and for their Obstinacy to be subdued and chastised with Fire and Sword. Accordingly, an Edict is sent by the *Chauses* * (2), signifying to all the Princes of *Asia Minor*, that they must either embrace *Mahometism*, or pay tribute, or be subdued by the Sword. The News of this thundering Edict reaching the Ears of all, *Michael Kose*, Lord of *Bilejik*, was the first that submitted to the *Mahometan* Superstition, which afterwards procur'd him and his Posterity for many ages great Honour and Credit with the *Othman* Emperors. His Example was follow'd by the Prince of the City *Liblebiji*, who, tho' he refused to turn *Mahometan*, became Vassal to *Othman* and delivered his Son to him in Bondage. The Lords also of *Leska* and *Chadarly* * subjected their Dominions to the payment of a yearly Tribute.

Othman offers to the Christians the Koran or Sword, and by both wins many to his Dominion

Many Cities are added to his Empire

XVIII. About the same time the Cities *Mortuni*, *Goinik*, *Tarakly Enguijesi*, *Kayabijar*, *Hejeji*, *Akbysar*, *Karachyn* *, *Tekkurbanari*, and some others, whose Princes had contemn'd both the Religion and Do-

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* The Reader is to take notice for the future, that the Letters *Ch* in all the Words mark'd with an Asterisk are to be pronounc'd like the *English Ch*, otherwise like *K*.

(2) By the *Chauses* *] [These are (according to *Ricaut*) a sort of Messengers who attend at the Prime Vizier's Palace, to carry Letters and Commands to any part of the Empire. There are now between five and six hundred who have from twelve to Forty *Aspers* (about our Half-penny) a day. Their chief Officer is call'd *Chaus* * *Bashee* to whose Custody Prisoners of Quality are committed. Christian Renegadoes for their Incouragement and Subsistence, are commonly admitted into this Rank, because, understanding other Languages, are most serviceable on Messages into foreign Countries, and sometimes are sent with the Title of Ambassador, as one was once into *France*, *England*, and *Holland*. They serve likewise as a sort of Apparitors or Serjeants to call the guilty Person to Justice. Their Arms are a Scymiter, a Bow, and Arrows, and a Truncheon with a Knob at the End, call'd *Topus*.]

minion of *Othman*, being weaken'd by the frequent Incursions of *Chaushibeg* *, formerly *Ertogrul*'s servant, he at last takes them all, and annexes them to the *Othmanic* Empire.

Othman obliges the *Tartars* call'd *Chaudar* to embrace his religion † *Phrygia*

XIX. Whilst *Othman* was employ'd in these Conquests, a nation of *Tartars* call'd *Chaudar* * coming from the Kingdom of *Kermian* †, unexpectedly invade his Dominions, and destroy all with Fire and Sword, to the very Walls of *Carachysar*. *Othman*, then residing at *Jenghisheri*, when he heard the unfortunate news, immediately leads his Army into the field. At *Oinash* (a Town then in ruins near *Carachysar*,) he bravely attacks and routs the ravaging *Tartars*, killing great numbers, and taking more Prisoners. These upon their embracing the *Mahometan* Religion, were afterwards restor'd to liberty, and remain'd for ever within the jurisdiction of *Carachysar* (3).

The Conquests of *Orchan* Son of *Othman*

XX. Among the Sons of *Othman*, *Orchan* (his Successor in the Empire) excelled in Virtue and Bravery. With part of his Father's Army he conquer'd the Cities *Carachebesh* * *Alebsui*, *Pirgos*, *Tekinhisari*. Then he returns to his father, leaving the Command of his forces to *Cognuzalbem*, who storms and takes the Castles of *Akari*, and *Tuzbazari*, and dispatching the famous Captain *Akije Coja*, lays waste the Province of *Iznigmid* to the very Walls of the City. The Governor of *Iznigmid* complaining to the Emperor at *Constantinople* of the Fury of the *Othmanidæ*, and informing him of the imminent danger the City was in, the Emperor sent some thousands of well-armed Forces to his relief. But *Abdulrahman* another of *Othman*'s Captains, having intelligence of their coming, suddenly meets them in the Field of *Yailazova*. The *Greeks*, when they could no longer withstand the Fury of the *Othmanidæ*, turn'd their backs to the Conquerors, but being pursu'd, many were slain, great numbers taken, and but very few escap'd by an early flight, to carry the unfortunate news to their Emperor.

Othman being seiz'd with the Gout, *Orchan* overruns *Bithynia*, and takes *Prusa* the Metropolis

XXI *and* XXII. Tho' *Othman*, exhausted with labours, continual Expeditions and old Age, had been seiz'd with the tormenting distemper of the Gout, yet preserving the vigour of his mind, and perceiving a most

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(3) *Othmanic* Empire] Some *Christian* Writers ascribe many more Victories to *Othman*, particularly the Taking of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, *Neapolis* in *Thrace*, *Ancyra* in *Phrygia* and other Cities of *Natolia*. But since the *Turkish* Annals expresly mention in what year and by whom these Cities were taken, namely *Nice* in the year of the *Hegira* 726, by *Orchan*, *Ancyra* in 761, by *Murad* I, and relate as it were with the same Pen, that *Orchan* first attempted to pass into *Europe*, we cannot be blam'd if we doubt of the Faithfulness of these Narrations, till they are confirm'd by the stronger Testimony of the *Turkish* Historians

most prosperous success attended his Arms, he sends his Son *Orchan* with numerous Forces, to subdue the Province of *Bythinia* govern'd, as we observ'd, by *Ornus*, and if possible to take *Prusa* the Metropolis of the Kingdom. *Ornus*, unable to meet *Orchan* in the Field, is oblig'd to remain within the Walls of his Capital, a City otherwise very strong, and stor'd with eight years Provisions. *Orchan* closely besieging the City, and annoying it with continual attacks, met with a gallant resistance from *Ornus* and his Garrison. But, (to use the language of the Psalmist) *except the Lord keep the City, the Watchman wakes in vain.* For *Michael*, who had lately abjur'd the *Christian* Religion, and was now chief Counsellor to *Orchan*, artfully perswaded *Ornus*, after a long and obstinate Siege, to surrender at last upon Capitulation. So, on payment of thirty thousand Gold Crowns, the lives of the Inhabitants were spar'd, and the famous City of *Prusa*, without the effusion of one drop of *Turkish* Blood, was delivered to *Orchan* in the year of the *Hegira* 726 (4).

H 726.
A C 1326.

XXIII. As human happiness is seldom pure and unmixt, *Orchan*, in the midst of his triumph and joy for the taking of this renowned City, receives the melancholy news that his Father was dying, and had therefore commanded him to repair to him with all possible diligence. *Orchan*, obedient to his Father's command, leaves a strong Garrison in *Prusa*, and with few attendants returns to *Jenghisheri*, where he found his Father almost expiring. *Othman* giving him his paternal Benediction, and bequeathing to him his Empire, the same year *Prusa* was taken, in the month *Ramazan*, resign'd his last breath, in the 69th year of his age, after a reign of twenty six years, three months and ten days (5).

Othman dies, and bequeaths his Kingdom to his Son Orchan.

OTHMAN'S

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(4) [As the *Christian* Historians for the most part say, this City was taken by old Sultan *Othman* himself, so they pretend it was effected in the following manner. The Sultan after taking the Town, perceiving the Castle to hold out, ordered it to be reported that he was dead and had just before his Death, desir'd to be buried in the *Greek* Convent in the Castle, with about forty Persons to attend his Funeral, and if this Request was granted, his Army was to retire. The credulous Monks very readily complied, and a Coffin full of Arms with *Othman* himself in disguise and thirty nine others being admitted, they seiz'd the Gate, let in more Troops, and took the Castle. *M. Lucas* gives this Account in his Travels to the *Levant*, wherein he describes the Place with its Monuments of Antiquity; numerous Baths, Sepulchres of the *Turkish*, Sultans, and the Ruins of antient Palaces, &c. by which it appears to have been a very considerable Place. The Reader will see presently a probable Conjecture of our Author how the Christian Writers came to think this City was taken by *Othman*.]

(5) ten days] *Philippus Lonicerus*, and other *Christian* Writers ascribe to him a Reign of twenty eight years, but we think the *Turkish* Historians, as better informed and more accurate

OTHMAN's *last Words to his Son* ORCHAN *as extant in the Historian* Saadi.

WHEN these two Princes beheld one another, with Hearts inflam'd with affection, *Orchan* lamented and said, "Oh! *Othman!* Thou Fountain of Emperors, Lords of the World! Thou "Conqueror and Subduer of Nations!" The excellent King casting his dying Eyes on him, in a languishing voice, express'd himself thus: "Lament not, O my Soul's delight! for this my last Conflict is "the Lot of all Human Kind, common to young and old, who equally breath the same Air of this malignant World. Whilst I now "pass to Immortality, live thou Glorious, Prosperous, and Happy. "Since I leave thee for Successor, I have no cause to grieve at my departure. I will give thee my last Instructions, to which be attentive. "Bury the cares of this Life in oblivion. I conjure thee, crown'd "with Felicity, lean not to Tyranny, nor so much as look towards "Cruelty. On the contrary, cultivate Justice, and therewith embellish the Earth. Rejoice my departed Soul, with a beautiful series "of Victories, and when thou art become Conqueror of the World, "propagate Religion by thy Arms, and exercise a just Friendship towards the *Rumæan* Kingdoms (6). Promote the Learned to Honors. "So

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rate, are to be followed, who unanimously allow him but twenty six Lunar Years, three Months and ten Days, that is, about twenty five Solar Years, five Months, and seventeen days. [When *Othman*'s Coffers came to be open'd, no Treasure or Jewels were found there, he having liberally bestow'd his Money upon his Warriours, so that the Wealth he left his Sons was, his Example to imitate, large Dominions, many Horses and much Armor fit for Service, and especially great Herds of Cattle and Flocks of Sheep. Of these last it is remarkable, that there are at this day in the Pastures near *Prusa*, Sheep belonging to the Grand Seignor which are said to come from those of *Othman*. He lies buried at *Bursah*, where his Tomb is still to be seen in a certain Chappel of an old Monastery in the Castle. But whether this be so or no, it is certain the Tombs of the Sultans that were afterwards buried there, resemble Chappels, and are lin'd with Marble and Jasper, and their Domes painted with Azure and fine Ornaments in Gold and Red, their Floors are covered with Tapestry, on which lie the Coffins of the Sultans with their Turbants and Arms about them.]

(6) *Rumæan* Kingdoms.] [*Regna Rumæorum*. D'*Herbelot* observes, that *Rum* was a name given by the *Arabians* and other Eastern Nations to the Countries, which the *Romans* first, and afterwards the *Greeks* and *Turks*, reduced to their Obedience. But more particularly, according to *Ebn Alwardi* in his Geography, the Country call'd *Rum* begins at the Western Ocean and contains *Gawlcea*, Gallicia; *Andaluz*, Spain, *Afranja*, France, *Rumiah*, Italy, *Nemsiah*, Germany; *Leh* and *Cheh**, Poland and Bohemia, *Inkitar*, England, *Majar*, Hungary, to *Constantinople* and the *Euxine-Sea*, where he joins the Country of the *Secaldiab* or *Slaves*, and *Sclavonians* bordering upon the *Russians*,

" So the Divine Law shall be establish'd, and in what Place soever " thou hearest a Learned Man, let Honour, Magnificence, and Cle- " mency attend him. Glory not in thy Armies, nor pride thy self " in thy Riches. Keep near thy Person the Learned in the Law, and " as Justice is the Support of Kingdoms, turn from every thing re- " pugnant thereto. The Divine Law is our sole Aim, and our Pro- " gress is only in the Paths of the Lord. Imbark not in vain Under- " takings or fruitless Contentions. For it is not our Ambition to en- " joy the Empire of the World, but the Propagation of the Faith was " my peculiar desire, which therefore it becomes thee to accomplish. " Study to be impartially gracious to All, and take care to discharge " the publick Duties of thy Office; for a King not distinguished by Good- " ness and Bounty, belies the Name of a King, Let the Protection of thy " Subjects be thy constant Study; so shalt thou find Favour and Pro- " tection from God." *Othman, Refuge of the Faithful*, having finish- ed these Instructions, his Soul departed to the Regions of Eternity.

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sians And lastly, the Country still more properly calld *Rum*, viz *Romania* and *Rumilia*, that is *Thrace* and modern *Greece*. The Author of the *Massabat alardh*, or, *Extent of the Earth* says, that *Rum*, in which he includes Part of *Asia Minor*, is bounded on the West, by the Canal of the *Black Sea*, on the South, by *Belad Sham* and *Belad Jezirah*, Syria *and* Mesopotamia, and *Arminiah*, Armenia, on the East and North by *Belad Kurg*, Georgia, and *Bahr Bontos*, the Euxine Sea, and that in the Middle of this Country of *Rum*, is, *Ghebal Carman*, (the Mountain of *Carumania* or *Mount Taurus*, where inhabit many *Turkish* and *Turcoman* Families) the ridge of which Mountain extends from *Tharsus* in *Cilicia* to the *Hellespont*. And in this Country of *Rum* properly so call'd, reign'd the Dynasty of the *Seljukian* Sultans, call'd by the *Arabians*, *Selajekah Rum*, or, the *Seljucidæ* of *Rum*, from whom the *Othmanidæ* or present *Turks* deriv'd their Original, which is the reason that the *Persians* and *Moguls* still call the *Turks* to this day, *Rums*. From *Ebu Aluardi*'s Description of *Rum* it appears that by the *Regna Rumæorum*, *the Kingdoms of the Rums*, here mention'd by *Othman*, are to be understood the *Christians of Europe*, and by, *exercising just Friendship towards them*, he doubtless meant, *obliging them to embrace Mahometism*, which in the opinion of the *Turks*, is the greatest Kindness or Friendship that can be shown *Christians*.]

From the Death of *Soliman Shah* in 1219 to the Death of *Osman* I. in 1326, there reigned in *Europe*, as follows.

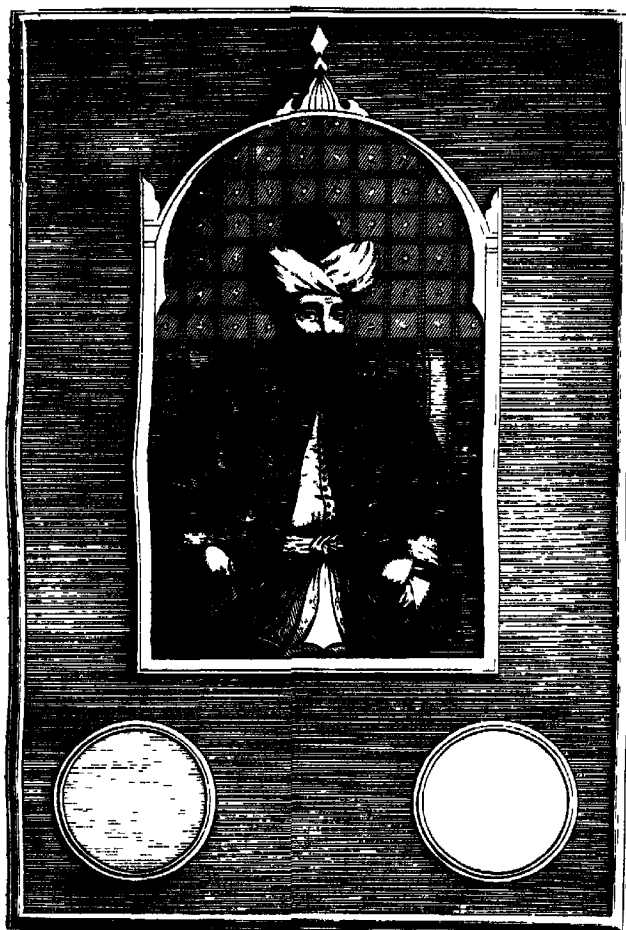
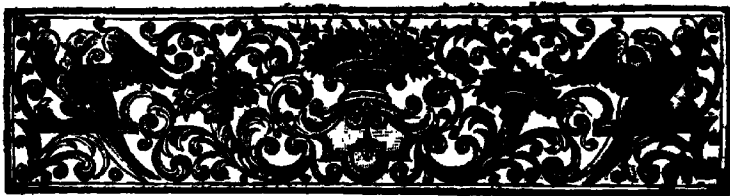
At *Constantinople*,
- ROBERT (Son or Brother of PETER *de Courtenay*) 1222-29.
- BALDWIN II. 1229-62.
- MICHAEL PALEOLOGUS 1262-82.
- ANDRONICUS PAL. *the Elder* 1282-1325.

In the *West.*
- From the Death of FREDERIC II. 1250 to 1273, was a Sort of *Interregnum*, in which time were elected HENRY of *Thuringia*, WILLIAM of *Holland*, RICHARD Duke of *Cornwal* Son of King JOHN of *England*, ALPHONSUS *the Wise*. During these twenty three years, were extinguish'd the great Families of *Suabia*, *Austria* and *Thuringia*.
- RODOLPHUS of *Habsburgh*, 1273-91.
- ADOLPHUS of *Nassau*, 1291-98.
- ALBERTUS Son of RODOLPHUS, 1298-1308.
- HENRY of *Luxemburg*, 1308-13.
- LEWIS of *Bavaria*, 1313-46.

In *England.*
- EDWARD I. 1272-1307.
- EDWARD II. 1307-27.

In *France.*
- LEWIS VIII. 1223-26.
- LEWIS IX. 1226-70.
- PHILIP *the Hardy.* 1270-86.
- PHILIP *the Fair.* 1286-1313.
- LEWIS X. 1313-15.
- PHILIP *the Long*, 1315-21.
- CHARLES *the Fair*, 1321-27.

The End of the Reign of OTHMAN I.

C. Du Bosc sculp.

ORCHAN Son of OTHMAN,
SECOND EMPEROR of the TURKS.
in the Year 1326
From an Original Picture in the Seraglio

The REIGN of

ORCHAN

Second EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK I. CHAP. III.

I. Nicomedia *surrenders to* Orchan. II. *He removes the Seat of his Empire to* Burſah, *coins money in his own name, and models the Army.* III. *He puts his Army under regular Pay, and propagates his Religion.* IV. *He takes* Nice *after a long Siege, and marries the* Grecian *Widows to his Soldiers* V. *He takes the ſtrong Caſtle of* Kemluk, *and firſt founds Schools and Academies.* VI. *Having weaken'd the* Grecians *in* Aſia, *he politickly gains the* Muſulman *Princes to his Dominion.* VII. *He unites to his Empire the maritime Towns.* VIII. *He firſt ſends his Son* Soliman *into* Europe, *who with his fleet takes two* European *Ports.* IX. Callipolis *ſurrenders to* Soliman. X. Orchan *ſends his other Son* Murad *with a new Army into* Europe, *where, beſides others, he takes the ſtrong City* Chorlu *. XI. Soliman, *Son of* Orchan, *is kill'd by a fall from his Horſe.* XII. Achę-beg * *takes the*

the City of Dydomothychon, *which is restored to the Inhabitants by* Orchan. XIII. Orchan's *Death and Character*.

Orchan is saluted Emperor, to whom *Nicomedia* surrenders
H 726.
A C. 1326

OTHMAN being dead, his Son *Orchan* (1) in the thirty fifth year of his age, and of the *Hegira* 726, on the 10th day of the Month of *Ramazan*, was immediately saluted Emperor of the *Othmanidæ*. *Orchan* having in his Father's Life-time (as 'tis said) taken *Prusa* (2), and subdued the Territory of that City to his dominion, spends the first year of his Reign in settling the affairs of *Asia*, and establishing his new Empire. But the next year, he at once overruns the whole Province of *Semendura*, extending from the City of *Aitos* to *Iznigmid* or *Nicomedia*. Then he leads his Army against *Iznigmid*, which tho' difficult to be taken, he closely besieges and conquers. *Calojanes* the Governour, who rather deserted than defended the City committed to his care, when he saw *Orchan*'s Army approach, flies away in the night to the Castle of *Coiunhisar*. *Orchan* hearing of his flight by some Captives, sends part of his Army to invest that Castle also, which being easily taken, and *Calojanes* slain with an arrow, he causes his head to be fixed on a Pole, and shown in terror, to the *Nicomedians*. They seeing the head of their Governor and General, send Ambassadors to agree with *Orchan* upon Articles of Surrender, and so obtaining liberty to retire with their lives and goods to *Constantinople*, they deliver up the City to *Orchan*.

H 727
A C. 1327

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Orchan*] *Nicephorus Gregoras* Book XV. Chap. 5. Sect. 2 calls him *Hyrcanus* or *Orchanes*, and says, he married *Maria*, (or according to *Cantacuzenus*, Book III. Ch. 92. *Theodora*) Daughter of *Johannes Cantacuzenus*. Of this, tho' the *Turkish* Historians are entirely silent concerning it, we are unwilling to doubt, because it is hardly credible that a *Christian* Writer, and Father of this *Maria*, should relate a Falsity which could be attended with nothing but disgrace, both to the *Christian* Religion and the Emperor himself, or should propose from thence any praise to himself. But whether he had any Children by this marriage or not, since no Historian, that we have seen, has informed us, we chuse also to pass it over in silence. [*Johannes Cantacuzenus* Guardian to the Emperor *Andronicus*'s two Sons, usurp'd the Throne in 1338, but being dethron'd, he retired to a Monastery on Mount *Athos*, where he wrote the History of his own Reign, which is reckoned the Master-piece of the modern *Greeks*.]

(2) *Having taken Prusa*] The *Christian* Writers refer the taking of *Prusa* to the times of *Othman*, who they tell us, died the following year. This mistake seems to arise from the Loss of *Prusa*, (which was a very great calamity) being known to *Greece* before the news of *Othman*'s death could arrive there. For it is usual in the *Othman* Court to conceal with great care the death of the Emperor, especially from their Enemies. Now the great exactness observ'd by the *Turkish* Writers in marking the days of the deaths of their Emperors, will scarce permit us to doubt of the truth of this Narration.

II. In

II. In the year 728, he took by Capitulation under the conduct of *Alibeg*, the City of *Herkie* (call'd afterwards *Karamuseki*) Capital of the Province of *Semendura*. *Orchan*, when he had subdu'd all the fortified places of *Bithynia*, except *Nicæa*; the same year removes his Imperial Seat from *Jenghisheri* to *Prusa*, and by the advice of his Brother *Aladin*, abolishing the *Seljukian* money, makes a new Coin, inscrib'd with his own name. He orders the Inhabitants of Cities to be distinguish'd from those of Villages by different Habits; and also was pleased that the military Men should be distinct, who before differ'd in nothing from the *Christian* Soldiers. He inroll'd a new Militia of Foot, (of which there had yet been none among the *Othmans*) and taught them to make Engines, for taking of Towns, (which before they were entirely ignorant of) and made his Brother *Aladin* General of his Armies, and set him over the Publick Affairs with the new Title, of *Prime Vizir*.

H. 728 / A. C. 1328.

Orchan removes his Seat to *Prusa*, and models the Army.

III. In the year 729, *Orchan* first assign'd the Soldiers (who before were all Volunteers) regular Pay, namely a *Nikra* a day, (so his new Coin was call'd, being in value about the fourth part of a silver Drachma.) However, when they were not upon duty, he appointed them to live peaceably on their own possessions, free from all contributions. But this Infantry, being taken from the dregs of the Peasants, a rough and unciviliz'd generation, very frequently rais'd, or endeavour'd to raise, mutinies. *Orchan* observing this, abolishes that Body, and puts in their room as many *Christian* youths as can possibly be procur'd; whom he first causes to be instructed in the *Mahometan* Faith, and then to be inroll'd. So, in a short time he not only got a numerous Army, but also greatly enlarged the *Mahometan* Superstition. If any of the *Turkish* Peasants, contented with his own possessions, was willing to be inroll'd, they were permitted to serve among the Horse, under the *Sanjakbegs* and *Balukbashis*, by the name of *Musellem*, that is, *the Free*.

H. 729. / A. C. 1329.

He first gives the Soldiers Pay, and propagates his Religion.

IV. The military *Orders*, and a new Soldiery being thus re-establish'd, and the number of Forces greatly increased; *Orchan* this same year besieges *Iznik* or *Nicæa*, which almost wholly destroy'd by a two years continual Siege, Famine, and Pestilence, is compell'd to surrender at the mercy of *Orchan*; who, when the Inhabitants by their Deputies beg their lives with leave to retire to *Constantinople*, very generously permits them to take also what riches they can carry with them. Whereupon, the *Nicæans* seeing *Orchan*'s clemency, voluntarily become Tributaries to the *Othmanic* Empire, and remain'd free in their possessions and houses. *Orchan* in the year 730, enters the City, and, when the Wives of the *Greeks*, kill'd by famine and war, bewail their Widowhood in his presence, commands the *Othmanic* Courtiers and

He takes *Nicæa* after a long Siege, and marries the *Grecian* Widows to his Soldiers.

H. 730 / A. C. 1330

Nobles to marry them, and treat them as honourably as *Musulman* Women. By this means, many Women of noble birth, and also of inferior condition, received at once Husbands, and the *Mahometan* Faith. After the taking of *Nicæa*, the Fame of *Orchan's* humanity to his Subjects flying over the neighbouring Regions; not only the *Nicæans*, of whom great Multitudes had by flight avoided the Siege, but also numberless Inhabitants of other Cities and Towns, not yet subdued by the *Othmanic* Arms, flock to *Nicæa*. By which means, in the space of one year, *Nicæa* so abounded with Inhabitants, that it seem'd to rival even the City of *Constantinople*.

H 734. A. C 1334. He takes the strong Castle of *Kemluk*, and founds Schools. H 736. A. C 1336

V. In the year 734, *Orchan* takes by capitulation the Castle of *Kemluk*, fortified by Nature and Art, after a whole year's close Siege. This Castle had been often, tho' in vain, attempted by *Othman*. In the year 736, *Orchan* adorns the City of *Prusa* with a new *Mosch*, Academy, and Hospital, Structures truly royal. But especially the Academy, which was founded in a Monastery, became so famous, and illustrious for Professors of the liberal Arts, that out of *Arabia* and *Persia*, which before were looked upon as the Preceptors of the World, very many to pursue their studies, flocking thither, disdain'd not to be the disciples of the *Othmanidæ*.

Having weaken'd the *Grecians* of *Asia*, *Orchan* politickly gains the *Musulman* Princes to his dominion.

VI. *Orchan*, after he had by his Arms subdued upon the *Greeks*, the forementioned Cities and Territories, by his Policy and Art of Government, for which he was famous; contrives how to unite to his dominion the rest of the *Asiatick* Provinces, which were in subjection to some *Musulman* Princes, the remains of the *Seljukian* Empire. He begins with the dominions of *Ajilanbeg*, who dying and leaving a young Son call'd *Cashimbeg*, *Orchan* under pretense of being his Foster-father and Protector, places him near his Person, and seizes his whole Province. *Tursonbeg*, another young Prince, imitating his example, dedicates to the *Othmanic* Scepter the Cities of *Aidynjik*, *Minas*, *Balykesre*, *Bergame*, and *Ermid*. Near to these, *Ulubad*, *Kublius*, and *Eblius*, which as yet acknowledged the Empire of the *Greeks*, were reduced by the force of his Arms. *Michalche*,* the Son of *Keramastoria* a noble Matron, taking warning by their misfortune, delivers up his paternal possessions (which from his name are at this day call'd by the *Turks*, *Muchalich* *) to be held of *Orchan* in Vassalage. Mean while a contention arises between *Tursonbeg* and his Brother *Hajelbeg*; the former offers to *Orchan*, the Principality which he had before promis'd him, but the latter refuses to consent to it. A War from thence being kindled, they had recourse to Arms. *Hajelbeg* being the weaker, quitted the Field, and betook himself to the City of *Bergame*. *Orchan* taking occasion from this quarrel of the Brothers to seize the Province; with a cunning Hypocrisy, says he, "it is not "just nor allowable by the *Mahometan* Religion, that by reason of

"the

" the rage kindled between the Brothers, even one drop of *Musulman* " Blood shou'd be spilt; yea rather it is a sin to contend with Arms " about what may be decided by Law." Wherefore he orders the Brothers to meet under the Walls of *Bergame*, and according to the prescription of the Law, to make an equal division of the Possessions. Both agreed to the Sentence of the Judge. But at their first meeting, *Tursonbeg*, stabb'd with a dart by his Brother, (who pretended to embrace him) falls down dead before *Orchan's* Mediators. *Hajelbeg*, like another *Cain*, being seiz'd with horror after the deed, and dreading both his own People, and the *Othmanidæ*, endeavours to shut the Gates of the City, and oppose *Orchan* with Arms, but in vain, for the Citizens abhorring the murder and justly fearing *Orchan's* power, deliver up to him both their City and Prince; who, after languishing two years in prison, died at *Bursah*. The same fate attended the Prince of *Ulubad*, who being falsely accused of a revolt, is put to death. Whereupon the whole Province of *Carasus* with *Ulubad*, acknowledge the Sovereignty of *Orchan*. These things were transacted about the end of the year 737, and of the *Christian Æra* 1337.

H 738.
A. C. 1338
He unites to his Empire the maritime Towns

VII. In the beginning of the year 738, the maritime Towns *Anachor* and *Emrud*, (which yet remain'd under the deplorable rule of the *Christians*) hearing *Orchan* was preparing an Army against them, chuse rather to surrender themselves to his clemency, than by their resistance to experience his fury; whose example being followed by some other Towns and Castles, they were united to the *Othmanic* Empire.

H 738
A. C 1338.
Soliman Son of *Orchan* is sent into *Europe* and takes two Ports

VIII. *Orchan's* Ambition seem'd rather to be inflam'd than satisfied, with the course of his *Asiatic* Victories. Wherefore having conquer'd all *Bithynia*, in the year 738, he sends his Son *Soliman* to attempt a passage into *Europe*, joining with him the most famous Captains of his time, *Achebeg* *, *Gazifazyl*, and *Ornusbeg*, (or as other Writers are pleased to say) *Gazifazyl*, *Yacubjebeg* and *Michalbeg* (3). Wherefore *Soliman*

Annotations.

(3) *Michalbeg*] The *Christian* Writers have left nothing certain (as far as I find) concerning either his Birth or Fortune. But the *Turkish* Historians tell us, he was descended from the Emperors of *Trabizond*, (perhaps of the *Comnenian* race) and abjuring the *Christian*, embrac'd the *Mahometan* Faith, and was so belov'd (as they say) by *Orchan*, that he would do nothing without his advice. At this day there remains a very beautiful Stone-bridge at *Adrianople*, built over the river *Arta*, a famous Monument of his Son, who after his Father was call'd *Michal*. This Bridge still retains the name of its Builder, being call'd, *Michaloglu Koprisi*; that is, *the Bridge of Michal's Son*. But whether he was of royal race I dare not venture to affirm, tho' the name of *Michael*

Soliman taking with him eighty chosen men, under pretense of hunting, descends into the region of *Aidinjik*, and surveys the *Asiatic* Shores. But as it was death by an Edict published by the Emperor of *Constantinople*, and confirmed by the rest of the *Christian* Princes, for any one even in a little boat to go over on the *Asiatic* side, or for an *Othman* to sail over into *Europe*; necessity whetting his invention, *Soliman* lays two Rafts on Ox-bladders tied together by the necks, on one of which he gets first himself, and in the night, the moon being at full, passes over more happily than he expected, from a village in *Asia* to the Castle of *Hamni* in *Europe*. *Soliman* having thus wafted over his followers, they first seize a Country-man, who thro' an under-ground passage showing them an easy entrance into the Town, destitute of Guards, they suddenly surprise the People oppressed with sleep, and little expecting such an invasion. Wherefore *Soliman* taking the men prisoners, and judging it more prudent to deal gently with them than roughly, treats his captives very civilly, swearing to give them their liberty with ample Presents, if any of them understanding Sea-affairs, wou'd conduct into *Asia*, the Ships which lay in the Harbours of *Balair* and *Akchiliman**. The Captives, allur'd by *Orchan*'s clemency and promises, transport into *Europe* from *Asia* in a few hours, about three thousand *Othmans*. On the morrow he suddenly took the Castle of *Hyasobonia*, and supplying it with Provisions and a Garrison, gave it in custody to *Achebeg**, from whose name that Territory is at this day call'd *Acheovasi*.

Callipolis surrenders to Soliman.

IX. *Gelibolij* or *Callipolis*, put indeed a stop to his progress. The Governor, (who is mentioned by the *Turkish* Writers by the name of *Callaconias*) assembling as many of the neighbouring Youth as he could, endeavours to make head against *Soliman*. The fight was long and doubtful; but the *Othmans*, superior both in courage and number, are at last victorious, and force the *Greeks* to fly within the Walls of their City. *Soliman* considering that he could not take the Town by assault, without the loss of his men, resolves to humble his enemies by a long Siege and Famine. Wherefore drawing the Garrisons out of the Castles already taken, and preventing all relief and provisions from entering, he closely besieges the Town. Tho' the Governor and Garrison bravely defended the place committed to their care; yet tir'd at length with a long Siege, and weaken'd with frequent assaults, and moreover destitute of provisions,

ANNOTATIONS.

Michael will hardly suffer us to doubt of his former Religion; for to the best of our remembrance that name is ascribed to none but him and the Archangel by the *Turks*. In the *Koran* or *Alcoran*, this name is written *Mikail*, but in speaking or writing to *Christians*, they are wont to say *Michal*.

they

they deliver up by capitulation in the year of the *Hegira* 760, *Callipolis* with the whole Province of *Chairéboli* or *Charipolis* (4). The *Grecian* Emperor, when he heard of the taking of *Callipolis*, which was justly call'd not only the Key of *Constantinople* but also the Bulwark of *Europe*, is reported to say, the *Turks* had only taken a Hogsty and a Pottle of Wine (5).

H. 760
A. C. 1359

X. The next year Sultan *Orchan* sends a second Army into *Europe*, under the Conduct of his other Son *Murad*. The two Brothers uniting their Forces, *Soliman* subdues *Malgara* and *Ibsalam*, and *Murad* takes the Castle of *Epibatos*, about ten hours journey from *Constantinople*, after which he lays siege to the strong City of *Chorlu* * (or *Tyrilos*) situated between *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*. The Inhabitants relying on the strength of their City by nature and art, despise the Army of the *Othmans*, and not only refuse to surrender upon the honourable terms offered them by *Murad*; but also in vigorous Sallies kill several thousands of their enemies; and often beat them from their Walls, 'till overpower'd with numbers, rather than vanquish'd, they were all slain to a man. In revenge of this slaughter, *Murad* having taken the Town, order'd it to be entirely demolish'd, and levell'd with the ground, so that now there scarce remain any signs of it. By this act of Cruelty the Inhabitants of *Pirgos*, (a Town between *Adrianople* and *Chorlu* *) were frighted from their habitations, and left their empty Town a prey to the Enemy After these Conquests, *Murad* joyfully returns with his Army into *Asia*, whilst *Soliman* remains with his Forces in *Europe*.

H. 761
A. C. 1360
Orchan sends his Son *Murad* with an Army into *Europe*, who takes *Chorlu*

XI. This year, however fortunate it was to the *Othman* Empire, prov'd as fatal to Sultan *Orchan*. For *Soliman* (6), when under the colour of hunting, he was reviewing his Forces in the Field, and exercising, according to the *Othman* custom, his Cavalry in darting their Spears, and shooting their Arrows, was by an unruly Horse run away

Soliman is kill'd by a fall from his Horse

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) *Chairéboli*] It seems to be *Christopolis*, in which place *Gregoras* (Lib. VII. c. 6. Sect III.) says that the Emperor *Andronicus* built a Wall extending from the Sea to the Top of a neighbouring Mountain, (call'd by the Turks *Despòt yalasi*,) in order to obstruct the way into *Macedonia*. I wonder from whence *Johan. Duns.* should have it, that *Christopolis* is called by the *Turks*, *Yanboli*. For *Yanboli* is in *Thrace*, about seventy miles from *Philipopolis* under Mount *Hemus*, situated on the Banks of the River *Tunje*.

(5) [Alluding it seems, to the name of a Castle taken by the *Turks*, which signified *Hogsty*.]

(6) *Soliman*] *Gregoras* seems to call him by the name of a *Trojan* Leader, whilst he tells us (Lib. XIV c. 11. Sect. II.) that he married the Daughter of *Johannes Batatzes*, and first pass'd over from *Asia* into *Europe*. For the *Turks* make no mention of any man's passing into *Europe* before this *Soliman*.

with, and breaking his leg against a Tree, fell to the ground with such violence that he instantly expir'd.

*Achebeg** takes *Dydomotbycon*, which is restored to the Inhabitants by *Orchan*.

XII. *Orchan*, hearing of the unexpected death of his beloved Son, was so overwhelmed with grief, that he was seized with an incurable Illness, which shortly after laid him in his grave. However, least his Son's death and his own sickness should seem to stifle all warlike thoughts, he sends an Army under the conduct of *Achebeg*,* to conquer *Dydomotbycon*. This General approaching the City before he was expected, accidentally takes the Governour in the Neigbourhood of the Place, where he had walk'd for his pleasure. The Governour, who was of the race of the *Greek* Emperors, impatient of a hard Captivity, purchases his freedom with the surrender of the City. *Orchan* however, mov'd at that time with the intreaties of the *Grecian* Prince his Friend, (this was *Johannes Cantacuzenus*, who had married his daughter to *Orchan* before his accession to the Throne) restores the City to its former possessors.

Orchan's Death and Character

XIII. The illness contracted by the death of his Son, continually preying upon *Orchan*'s old Age, and daily increasing, he died the same year, two months after his Son's misfortune, and was buried in *Manastyr* or the Monastery of *Prusa* (7). He left his Kingdom to his Son

ANNOTATIONS.

(7) *Manastyr*] There was at *Prusa* or *Bursah*, a large monastery, (now turn'd into a *Jami* or Temple, retaining its antient name) in which, it is reported, there were in the time of the *Christian* Emperors five thousand Monks. Strange stories are told of these Monks by the *Turks*, in a Book call'd *Yacobin Madian*. Among the rest, one Story is, that those Monks from the top of Mount *Olympus* (call'd by the *Turks*, *Keshish dagy*, or the *Mountain of the Monks*) flew thro' the air over the *Propontis* to the Church of *Sancta Sophia* at *Constantinople*, and that they eat only every seventh day one Olive or Fig. If any *Christian* questions the Truth of this Story, a *Turk* thinks it sufficiently prov'd, if he shows it to be written in his Book. For the illiterate among them, believe nothing false can possibly be recorded in their Books. I don't think it foreign to the purpose to relate here, as an instance of this credulity a pleasant Story which happen'd at *Constantinople* in my time In the reign of Sultan *Mustapha* the present Emperor *Achmet*'s Brother, the Patriarch was one *Callinicus*, who was tolerably vers'd in the *Greek* learning, and of unblameable morals He was continually dunn'd by the Proctors or *Metevelı* of the Empress *Valida*'s Temple, for the interest of money due to them from the Church. The Patriarch, having no money to discharge the debt, desires they would grant him a delay till the *Monday* of the following Week This term being expired, the Proctors are with him again, and more urgent for their money. The Patriarch intreating for another Week's respite, is thus taken up by the senior Proctor. "To "what purpose (says he) O Patri-"arch, are these lies? Our Books "tell us, and we certainly believe "it, that your Monks heretofore, "not

Son *Murad* having lived ſeventy (8), and reign'd thirty-five years, according to *Saadi*'s Computation. The *Turks* greatly extol this Sultan's Clemency, Valour, Juſtice and Liberality to the Poor; and affirm, that it was his conſtant practice to converſe with the Learned, nor would he undertake any thing of moment without asking their advice; that he was the firſt of their Emperors that founded *Moſchs*, *Jami* (9), *Medreſè* (10), or Schools, and *Imaret* or

ANNOTATIONS.

"not only were far from being "guilty of lying, or any ill action, "but alſo had attain'd to that de- "gree of Virtue, that being taken "up into the Air, they flew from "Mount *Olympus* [meaning *Olympus* in *Bythinia* different from that in *Grecce*] "to *Sancta Sophia*, and re- "turn'd the ſame way, and were "famous for other miracles exceed- "ing all human power." The Patriarch, as he was very facetious, replies, "not the antient Monks on- "ly did This, but we alſo daily "do the ſame wonders. I myſelf "frequently take a flight from hence (he was then at the Patriarchal Seat at *Phanarium*) "to *Pera*. Indeed I "chuſe to fly after Sun-ſet, and not "very high, in order to avoid the "eyes of the multitude, and the "imputation of Impoſture or Ma- "gick." To this the *Turks* only an- ſwered, "did not we tell you, our "Books, wherein we believe no- "thing untrue is contained, ſay as "much?" It muſt however be con- feſs'd, that in ſo great a Nation, there are many of the learned *Turks* who do not implicitly believe all that is ſaid in the *Koran*, tho' they dare not openly expreſs their Sentiments So on the contrary, the moſt learned *Turk*, *Saadi Effendi* (to whom alone I am indebted for my *Turkiſh* learning) being one day asked by me, how he, being a great *Mathematician* and vers'd in the *Democratean* Philoſophy, could believe, that *Mahomet broke the Star of the Moon, and caught half of it falling from heaven, in his ſleeve.* He replied, "that indeed in "the courſe of nature it could not "be done, nay was contrary to it, "but as this miracle is in the *Koran* "affirmed to be wrought; he reſign'd "his reaſon and embrac'd the Mira- "cle. For, added he, God can do "whatever he pleaſes."

(8) Seventy] From the years of his life, we gather the years of *Orchan*'s reign. For if he ſucceeded his father *Othman* in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and died in his ſeventieth, it is evident he muſt have reign'd thirty-five years. Hence we think thoſe miſtaken who aſcribe to him but twenty two years reign Hiſtorians alſo differ in the manner of his death: Some ſay he was kill'd with an arrow at the ſiege of *Pruſa*, and others, that he fell in a battle with the *Tartars*. But without inſiſting that the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians are to be moſt credited in theſe domeſtick affairs, it is agreed by all, that *Pruſa* was taken in the firſt year of *Orchan*'s reign, and conſequently it would be ridiculous, to ſeek his death where he begun his reign. No Hiſtorian mentions his war with the *Scythians* or *Tartars*, and therefore I think this to have no better foundation than the other opinion

(9) *Jami* This is a *Turkiſh* Temple, priviledg'd for the *Friday*'s devotions, called *Jumanamazi*, which it is not lawful to perform in the leſſer *Meſchids* or *Moſchs*. If a *Jami* is built by the Sultan, it is call'd, *Selatyn* or *Royal*

(10) *Medreſe*] Theſe are Academies or greater Schools, and generally, if not in the Court of the *Jami*, they are always very near it. The leſſer Schools where Children are inſtructed in the firſt rudiments of learning are commonly called *Mekteb*. The Perſons ſet over theſe Academies are call'd *Muderis*, that is, School-

or Hospitals (11). That he had a red Face, blue Eyes, yellowish Hair, and was of a middle Stature tho' corpulent, appears from his Picture, which was copied by *Leunichelebi* * (the Sultan's Painter) from an antient Original.

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Masters, who have an annual Salary, proportionable to the revenue of the *Jami* to which they belong. Hence it is, that some have three hundred, whilst others have but seventy *Aspers* a day. Out of these Schools are taken the Judges of the principal Cities and Towns call'd *Molà*, (for those of the lesser Towns are call'd *Cady*, who are of a different order; neither can they rise to higher degrees, like secular and parochial Priests) From the *Molà*, the next step is to the *Cadilasker* or Judges of the Armies, of whom there are only two, one for *Europe*, who is the chief, and the other for *Asia*. Lastly, the highest ecclesiastical dignity is that of *Muphti*, which signifies, *the Interpreter of the Law*. These several *Turkish Orders* may be compared to the *Christian*. The *Muphti* to the *Pope*, the *Cadilasker* to a *Patriarch*, the *Molà* to an *Archbishop* or *Metropolitan*, the *Cady* to a *Bishop*, (except, as I said, the *Cady* cannot rise to a higher order) and the *Imam* to a *Priest* The *Danishmend* may be compared to our *Deacons*.

(11) *Imaret*] This is a House near the *Jami*, for the relief and reception of the Poor and Travellers, like an Inn.

During ORCHAN's Reign from 1326, to 1360, their reigned in *Europe*.

At *Constantinople*. { ANDRON. PALEOLOGUS *the Younger*, 1325-54.
JOHANNES PALEOLOGUS, 1354-84

In the *West*. CHARLES IV. Son to *John* King of *Bohemia*, 1346-56.

In *England*. EDWARD III. 1326-77.

In *France*. { PHILIP *de Valois*, 1327-50.
JOHN *de Valois*, 1350-64.

The End of the Reign of ORCHAN.

The

MURAD or AMURATH I.

Son of Orchan third Emperor of ye Turks
in the Year 1360.
From an Original Picture in the [illegible]

The REIGN of

MURAD or *AMURATH* I. Son of ORCHAN, AND Third EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK I. CHAP. IV.

I. Murad *takes* Ancyra. II. *Then* Adrianople *and* Philippolis. III. *Founds a* Jami. IV. *Institutes the military Order of* Janizaries. V. *Conquers* Servia. VI. *Marries his Son* Bajazet, *and receives by surrender the Dominions of* Hamid. VII. *Takes* Bolina *by his prayers.* VIII. *Invades* Macedonia *and* Albania. IX. *The Victory at* Cossovia, *the occasion of his death.* X. Yacub *Chelebi *is strangled, and* Lazarus *Duke of* Servia *beheaded* XI. Murad's *Burial and Encomium.*

I. MURAD (1), the first of that Name, in the forty-first year of his Age, not only inherited his Father's Empire but his Virtues also. In the very beginning of his Reign he assumes, in order to show his religious disposition, the name of

H 761.
A C 1360.
Murad takes Ancyra.

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(1) *Murad*] We should be inclin'd to believe him to be the same with *Amurius*, the *Lydian* General, and Friend of *Cantacuzenus*, so celebrated

of *Chodavendikar* (2), which in the *Persian* language signifies, *God's Labourer*, and gives an instance of his Bravery by subduing in the first year of his Reign, the strong City of *Ancyra*, with several Castles in the same Parts.

He takes also *Adrianople* and *Philippoli*.

II. When he had thus establish'd his Empire in *Asia*, he turn'd his thoughts to his *European* affairs. And therefore the same year orders his Prime Vizir, *Etabeki Shahyn Lala* (3), a General both valiant and wise

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brated by *Gregoras*, if the computation of years would allow it. But since he says *Amurius* died of a wound receiv'd by an Arrow in the year of Christ 1348, and of the *Hegira* 749, at the siege of a Castle built by the *Christians* for the defence of *Smyrna*, and as *Murad* was not known in *Europe* till eleven years after; namely, in 760, and the next year ascended the throne, on the death of his father *Orchan*; we conjecture that *Gregoras* meant some other *Persian* Prince in *Asia* of the same name with Sultan *Murad*, whose dominions (because they are not mention'd in the *Turkish* Annals) either fell to Another for want of Heirs, or were swallow'd up by some powerful neighbouring Prince. However, the more *Cantacuzenus*'s folly is to be blam'd, for making use of an Infidel, not only to curb his Enemies, but to lay waste the *Christian* Territories, and thereby showing a way to the *Mahometans* into *Europe*; the more praise-worthy were the virtues of *Amurius*, and the uncommon generosity of the *Turks* towards those they call *Gaur* or *Infidels*. Certainly *Amurius*'s inviolable Friendship for *Cantacuzenus*, which was the same in adversity, deserves no less encomiums than those bestowed by the Antients on the Friendship of *Pylades* and *Orestes*. *Gregoras*, so frequently mention'd by us with honour, gives us singular instances of this friendship in his thirteenth Book; which, as his Works are not in every one's hands, it will not be improper to insert here. The Emperor *Cantacuzenus* being ingag'd in the *Triballic* War, *Amurius*, when he saw he was not attended with the desir'd success, crossed the *Hellespont* in the depth of Winter, and came to the Emperor's Assistance with a powerful Army. But being detain'd by the badness of the Weather, and the Ways near *Dydomothycon*, where the Empress *Irene* was left with a few Attendants, he pitched his Tents in the Fields; and would not enter the City, or embrace the opportunities given him by the Empress; neither would he, tho' desir'd, come into her presence; saying, it was no less absurd to visit his Friend's Wife in his absence, than unbecoming and repugnant to Friendship, to enjoy the pleasures of life, whilst his Friend in a foreign Country was struggling with his adverse fortune

(2) *Chodavendikar*] This is a *Persian* word, and signifies *God's Workman*, or *addicted to divine things*. Why Sultan *Murad* assum'd this Appellation, is uncertain, tho' he undoubtedly took this as well as several other Titles.

(3) *Lala*] This word signifies etymologically, *Tutor* or *Foster-father*, who is appointed to be Guardian and Instructor to the young Princes. This name was first given to the Prime Vizir of *Murad* I. From that time the *Turkish* Emperors, both in speaking and writing to them, have been wont to give the appellation of *Lala* as well to the Prime, as to all other Vizirs, as *Lalam Ali Pasha*, and *Mi Lala Ali Pasha*. Besides these, the *Agasi* or General of the Janizaries, and the *Bostanji Basha* or the Chief of the Gardiners or Keepers of the Royal Palaces, have the same Title, tho' the last is of a much

wise, with some light-armed Troops to cross the Straits of *Callipolis* and take *Adrianople*, whilst he himself follows with a more powerful Army. The Vizir at the first assault takes *Adrianople* before the Sultan's Arrival; at the news of which, *Murad*, thinking his presence would be unnecessary, returns with a few fórces to *Prusa*. But least a delay should be detrimental to his affairs, he appoints *Haji Ornusbeg* to be *Beglerbeg* (4) of *Rumeli* (5), or his *European* Conquests, after he had order'd the Prime Vizir to lead his most victorious Army into the inmost Parts of *Thrace*. This was done with such speed, that not only *Felibe* but *Eskizagena* and other neighbouring Places were taken from the *Greeks*, and added to the *Othmanic* Empire.

III. The next year *Murad* gave a singular instance of his Piety. Hitherto the Sultan had never been used to say the common Prayers, call'd *Namaz* (6), with the rest of the People. *Menla Fenari* the *Mufti*

H 762
A. C. 1361.
He erects a *Jami*

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much inferior degree. This name is given to the first, because it is his Business to guard the Sons of the Sultans from being kill'd by Fathers or Brothers, and to the other, because he has the care of the imperial Palace, especially in the Sultan's absence, which Office among the *Greeks* was call'd, *Curopalates*.

(4) *Beglerbeg*] This word signifies *Prince of Princes*, (as *Shahin-shah*, *Emperor of Emperors*) which title, tho' all the Vizirs who have three Horse-Tails, do enjoy, yet three are more especially honoured with it; namely, *Rumeli Beglerbegi*, who resides at *Sophia*, *Anadoli Beglerbegi*, who keeps his residence at *Kutahia*, and *Sham Beglerbegi*, who resides at *Damascus*; which City in *Arabic*, is *Demeshk*, tho' vulgarly call'd *Sham*, and *Shami Sherif*, *Damascus the Holy*.

(5) *Rumeli*] By this name is understood among the *Turks*, both *Greece* and *Europe*, and also all the *European* Provinces under the *Turkish* dominion. Hence *Rumeli Beglèrbegi*, that is, Prince of the Princes of *Greece*, or the *European* Regions. [*See* Note (6) p. 20.]

(6) *Namaz*] These are the common and daily prayers, which the *Turks* by their law, are commanded to repeat five times in the space of twenty-four hours, and are thus distinguished *Sabah Namazi*, or Morning-Prayers, *Oile Namazi*, or Noon-Prayers, *Ikindi Namazi*, or Afternoon-Prayers, *Achsham Namazi*, or Evening-Prayers; *Yatzi Namazi*, or Night-Prayers. Of these, Three are fix'd, namely, the *Morning*, *Evening*, and *Night* Prayers; and two are moveable, namely, the *Oile* and *Ikindi*, according to the length or shortness of the day. For instance, at the Equinox, the Morning-Prayers are said before the twelfth hour of the night; that is, the hour before Sun-rising, [or between five and six of the clock in the morning,] Noon-Prayers at the sixth hour of the day, [or our twelve of the clock,] Afternoon-Prayers at the ninth hour, [or three of the clock,] Evening-Prayers at the twelfth hour, [or six of the clock,] Night-Prayers at the first hour and half of the night, [or half an hour past seven.] Morever, in appointing the time of these Prayers, they are so superstitious, that after the prescrib'd hour they deem them vain and fruitless, and to be repeated hereafter in *Araf* (or Purgatory.) Thus, to say Morning-Prayers after-Sun-rising, Noon-prayers at the ninth hour, *Ikindi* at the twelfth, Evening-Prayers in the night, and *Yatzi* at day-

Mufti (7), who at that time discharg'd among the *Turks* the office of Judge,

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day-break, they neither think lawful nor acceptable to God. In the Field, before a Battle, they are obliged to perform their *Namaz*; but after the battle is begun, or if it continues beyond the hour, the *Namaz* may be omitted without sin, because they are of opinion that a more acceptable worship cannot possibly be paid to God, than to fight strenuously against the Christians. [*Friday* or the *Turkish Sunday*, is distinguished from other days, only by their going on that day six times to their *Moschs*, the additional Prayers being said between Sun-rising and noon, and are call'd *Salah Namazi*.]

(7) *Mufti*] He is also call'd by the compounded name of, *Mufti-zeman*, or, *Shichulislam*, or *Sahibi fetva*, *the Maker of Laws, the Giver of Judgments, the Prelate of Orthodoxy.* He is the Chief of the Ecclesiastical Order, and of the greatest Authority in the *Othman* Empire; for even the Sultan himself, if he will preserve any appearance of religion, cannot without first hearing his opinion, put any person to death, or so much as inflict any corporal punishment. In all actions, and especially criminal ones, his opinion is required, by giving him a writing, wherein the state of the Case under feigned names, is given in the following manner; "*Zaid*, if it be prov'd by good "evidences that *Titus* has acted contrary to the Sultan's commands, "and has not obeyed, as he ought, "nor submitted to his Mandates, "Is he to be punished or no?" When he has read these Words, the *Mufti*, according to the state of the Case, subscribes, *Olūr*, (he shall) or *Olmaz*, (he shall not). But if the *Mufti* is to appoint the punishment, the Writing given him is to this effect: "If a man knew, his horse "had lost his shoes, and had time "and opportunity to have new ones "set on, yet without any compassion for his beast, drove him thro' "rough and stony ways till the evening, What punishment shall be "inflicted on so merciless a Master?" To which the *Mufti* would subscribe, *He ought to be bastinaded*: because that is the punishment appointed in their Law for such an offence, (for the *Turks* believe, that in the last Judgment, God will judge Man not only with Man, but also with Beasts, and Beasts with Beasts. Sentence being given, all Animals indeed are instantly to dye again, and return to dust, but that God will eternally punish Infidels, and reward *Musulmans*, if they have been conspicuous for Good Works, with everlasting happiness, or if they have polluted themselves with sin, punish them for a time according to their demerits in *Araf* or Purgatory, after which he will admit them into a state of Bliss.) After the same manner, in every Cause, Civil or Ecclesiastical, and especially in the making War or Peace, the *Turks* are bound by their law to consult the *Mufti*. [Such outward Honour is paid the *Mufti*, that the *Grand Signor* himself rises up to him, and advances seven steps towards him, when the *Mufti* comes into his presence, who alone has the honour of kissing the Sultan's left shoulder, whilst the Prime Vizir with a profounder reverence, kisses only the hem of his garment, and is met with but three steps. *Ricaut* says, the Titles given by the *Grand Signor* to the *Mufti*, are as follows: "To the *Esad*, who art "the Wisest of the Wise, instructed in all Knowledge, the most "Excellent of Excellent, abstaining "from things unlawful, the Spring "of Virtue and true Science, Heir "of the Prophetic and Apostolic "Doctrines; Resolver of the Problems of Faith, Revealer of the "Orthodox Articles, Key of the "Treasures of Truth, the Light "to doubtful Allegories, strengthened with the Grace of the supreme

Judge, not enduring this custom, took occasion when *Murad* once came before him to give in his evidence, to reject him as a Witness unworthy of Credit. The Sultan wondering at this strange Proceeding, and asking the reason, was answer'd by the *Mufti*, that indeed he accounted his Testimony true and unexceptionable as imperial, but of no force in judgment, as coming from a Man who never us'd to be present at the common Prayers with the rest of the *Musulmans* (8). Whereupon *Murad* grieving for what was past, orders as an Attonement for his fault a spacious *Jami* to be built at *Adrianople*, over against the royal Palace, which at this day retains the name of *Muradiè* (9).

IV. The year 763 is memorable for the institution of the military order of the *Janizaries*. *Ornus*, the *Beglerbeg*, of *Rumeli*, had now taken *Ipsala* and *Malgara*, laid waste the neighbouring Territories with fire and sword, and from thence brought away a numberless multitude of Captives. *Kara Halil Pasha* (10), the Prime Vizir takes occasion

H. 763.
A. C. 1362.
Institution of the *Janizaries*

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" preme Assister and Legislator of " Mankind May the most High " God perpetuate thy Virtues" Whatever inward reverence was once paid the *Mufti*, it is now become very little more than form. If he interprets the law, or gives sentence contrary to the Sultan's pleasure he is immediately displac'd, and a more pliant Person put in his room. The *Mufti* if convicted of Treason, and the like crimes, is put into a Mortar remaining for that purpose, in the prison of the *Seven Towers* at *Constantinople*, and pounded to death.]

(8) *Musulmans*] This word is a corruption of *Musliman*, *Misliman*, or *Musluman*, as is also *Musurman*, from whence *Busurman* It signifies one of pure and untainted faith, or as we should say, *Orthodox*. From the word *Imàn* came all the observers of the *Mahometan* Worship, who follow the rites and ceremonies appointed by those great *Turkish* Saints, *Imàm Azèm*, and *Imàm Shafi*. They who receive any new rites, or such as are different from these, are call'd *Mezhibi*, *Ritualists*, or *Hereticks*, *Kafir*, and Infidels as the *Persians*, and *Rafazi*, which name signifies something worse than Infidel. Hence the *Musulman Turks* say, that the divine clemency may be extended to other Infidels, namely, *Christians* and *Jews*, but by no means to the *Rafazi*, and that their sin is seventy times more heinous in the sight of God than that of the others.

(9) *Muradie*] That is, *Murad*'s Temple, as *Sulamanié*, *Soliman*'s Temple, *Muhamedié*, *Muhammed*'s Temple, &c. It is the Prerogative of the Emperor alone to call any royal *Jami* by his own name, the Prime Vizir himself, though he should build ever so large a *Jami*, not being allowed to call it by his name as *Mustafiè*, *Mustapha*'s Temple. However, there are some which retain to this day, the name of their Founders, as, *Daud Pasha Jamisi*, and *Ali Pasha Jamisi*. But in all these the word *Jamisi* ought to be added, which is commonly omitted in the *Selatyn*, or royal ones. Nor is it lawful for the Emperors to give their names to any other Buildings than those of the *Jami*. Hence it is that no Town, as far as I can remember, retains the name of its Founder, except That built by *Othman*, the first Emperor of the *Turks*, which is still call'd *Othmanjik*, and will be farther mention'd hereafter.

(10) *Kara Halil Pasha*] *Halil* is the proper name of this *Pasha*. *Karà*, signifies a *black man*. For generally

occasion from hence to say merrily, "tho' it is a common Saying a-
"mong us, that all Spoils belong to the Emperor, yet let the number
"of Captives be ever so great, they are all ingrossed by private persons,
"and none fall to the Emperor's share. Wherefore I should think it
"both just and profitable that some one of the Emperor's faithful *A-*
"*gavat* (11), should be appointed at the Straits of *Callipolis* to seize
"for his use every fifth Captive, of whom the more beautiful and ro-
"bust may serve at Court, and in the Army." What the Vizir said
in jest, is seriously consider'd by the Emperor, who orders the Vizir
to put his advice in execution. Accordingly an Edict being publish'd (12),
a great number of Captives are brought together, instructed in the
Art of War, and a brave Army form'd, which wanted only a name.
At that time, *Haji Bektash* (13), a certain religious *Turk* was famous
for

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nerally those whose faces are blacker than ordinary, are wont to add this word to their name, as *Kara Mohammed*, *Kara Hasan*, *Kara Mustapha Pasha*, &c. This *Hatil* seems to be the same, that in the Christian Writers is called *Chairaddin* and *Caratinus*, for there was no other of this name famous among the *Turks*, except *Soliman*'s celebrated Admiral, whom the Christians usually call *Hariadenus Barbarossa*.

(11) *Agavat*] vulgarly *Agalar*, is the plural derived from the singular *Aga*, which properly signifies *Lord* or *Master*, as any person is wont to be call'd out of respect. But this word is never used with regard to God, who when he is addressed to by the Title of Lord, is call'd, *Rebb*, a name never given to man. The word *Aga*, more especially signifies the officers of the Court, or Port, and also some of the Army, as the *Janizar Agasi*, or General of the *Janizaries*, *Kyslar Agasi*, or Superintendent of the Women, who is always a black Eunuch, *Spahilar Agasi*, General of the *Spahi*, *Silahrad Agasi*, of the Infantry.

(12) published] Sultan *Murad*'s law was, that every fifth Captive should be taken to serve in the Army. This custom in time being disus'd, it was ordain'd that for every slave, brought into the City to be sold, a Tax of five *Leonines* should be collected, which tax from the former number of five, is still call'd *Izpendz*, that is, *out of five*, (tho' some *Turks* now write it *Ispendz*) for *iz* in the *Persian* language, signifies *out of*, and *pendz*, *five*. Afterwards when the Soldiery was to be increas'd, a new law was devis'd, whereby every tenth Son of the *Christians* was to be inroll'd among the *Janizaries*. This law held to the time of *Murad* IV when God taking pity on the wretched state of the *Christians*, it was entirely abolish'd. The *Moldavians* and *Walachians* were never subject to this decimation.

(13) *Haji Bektash*] The first Founder of an order of *Derviles*, or Monks, among the *Turks*, call'd from him, *Bektashi*. His Tomb is held in great veneration, at a Village on the *European* side of the *Bosphorus*, call'd *Bektash*, not far from *Galata*. The Monks of this order, tho' they may marry, and dwell in Cities and Towns; are bound by their Law to visit remote lands, and to salute every one they meet with *Gazel* (or Love-Songs, applied by way of Allegory to the divine love) and *Esma* (that is, with the invocation of the names of God, which with them, are reckon'd one hundred) and humbly to wish him all manner of prosperity, which they are wont to do by the word *Eivallah*, a solemn exclamation us'd by Wrestlers, by which the conquer'd yields the palm to the conqueror, in order to show that they acknowledge
every

for his Miracles and Prophecies (14). (He was Founder of that order of *Dervises* (15), which at this day are call'd *Bektashi*) To this man the

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every one to be better and more excellent than themselves. [D' *Herbelot* says, the *Musulmans* reckon ninety-nine names of God, which with *Allah* make a hundred, and therefore their *Tesbisks* or *Beads* consist usually of a hundred; on each of which they invoke one of the names of God, and they have an antient Tradition assuring them, that the Person who frequently invokes these names, shall find the Gate of Paradise open, for which reason some are continually telling over their Beads.]

(14) Prophecies] The *Turks* entertain a very particular opinion of Miracles and Foreknowledge of future Events. The first, they think, is bestowed on Prophets alone, without any preceding Merit, but the last may be attained by any one, by virtue of Good Works. Therefore when they assert, that *Mahomet* was the *Achir Pergamber*, or last of the Prophets, they do not believe it possible for any man after him, to work a miracle. But the fore-knowledge of future events may, in their opinion, be acquir'd by any *Musulman* in the constant practice of virtue, fasting, and humiliation; and those who have arriv'd to this degree of virtue, are call'd *Veli*, and in the plural, *Eulia*, *blessed*, *holy*, *friends of God*, or *Veliullah*, *blessed of God*. They believe these men may be in two or more places at once, and tho' in their body they are at *Constantinople*, yet in their mind they may perceive whatever is doing at *Cairo*, or any where else; so that they have no occasion for the physical motion of the Body, but enjoy, even in this life, the divine beatifick vision. These are commonly call'd, *Etishmishlerden*, that is, *among the Perfect*, or *the Attainers to the fulness of the divine favour*. *Isaad Efendi*, a Man of great learning, continued for some time in this austere course, till at length he was reduc'd to such a weak state, that throwing aside his Superstition, he was forced to apply to a Physician for the recovery of his health. He was delivered from the Jaws of Death by the skill and diligence of *Sycinius* the most celebrated Physician of his age, at *Constantinople*.

(15) *Dervises*] *Dervise* is the common name of the *Turkish* Monks, tho' of various orders and institutions. The most noted among them are the *Bektashi*, the *Mevelevi*, the *Kadri* and *Seyah*. Of the *Bektashi*, we have spoken in a foregoing note. The *Mevelevi*, so call'd from *Mevelana* their Founder, are us'd to turn round for two or three hours together with such swiftness that you cannot see their faces. They are great Lovers of Musick, both vocal and instrumental. For the last, they make use of a Pipe made of an *Indian* reed called *Nei*, the sweetest of all musical Instruments. In their Monasteries they profess great humility and poverty, and if visited, they make no distinction of persons, but pay the same respect to men of all ranks, treating them alike. They first bring them Coffee to drink, and if the ways have been dirty, they also wash the feet and sandals of their Guest. When he goes away they devoutly accompany him, adding to almost every word or sentence, *Evvallah*, and with their tongues express the unfeigned humility of their profession. The *Kadri* with a peculiar Superstition emaciate their Bodies. For going quite naked, except their thighs, they join hands and dance for six hours, nay sometimes a whole day, repeating with great vehemence, *Hu*, *Hu*, *Hu*, (one of the names of God) till at last like Madmen, they fall on the ground, foaming at the mouth, and running down with Sweat. Indeed the prime Vizir *Kupruli Achmed Pasha* thinking this Sect superstitious, and unbecoming the *Mahometan*

the Sultan sends his new Army, desiring him to give them a Banner (16), pray to God for their happy success, and appoint them a Name. The *Shich* (17), when they were come to him, puts the Sleeve (18) of his Gown upon one of their Heads, and says, let them be call'd *Janizaries* (19), let their countenance be ever bright, their hand

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metan Religion, order'd them to be suppress'd. But after his death the Sect reviv'd, and is at present more numerous than ever, especially at *Constantinople* The *Seyah* are Wanderers, and tho' they have their Monasteries, yet when once they depart from them they seldom return, but spend their whole life in travelling about. For their Superiors or Prelates impose upon them, when they are sent out, such a quantity of money or provision, forbidding them to come back till they have procur'd it, and sent it to the Monastery. Wherefore a *Seyah* when he comes into a Town, cries with a loud voice, standing in the Market-place, or the Hall of the *Jami*, *Ya Allah Senden besh bin altun isterim*, *O God, give me I pray five thousand Crowns*, or *a thousand measures of Rice*, &c. And when he has received the Alms of the People, he removes to another Town, and so till he has collected the Sum impos'd upon him, he is forc'd to live in distant parts. Many *Indian* Monks are of this order, and wander over the whole *Mahometan* World, entertaining the People wherever they come with agreeable relations of all the curiosities they have seen or heard of in their Travels, that they may both instruct them in foreign matters, and excite them to be the more liberal. What a grievance these *Indian* Wanderers for this reason are to the *Othman* Empire, the Reader may perceive by what happen'd in my time at *Constantinople*, in the reign of *Soliman* II. There comes at that time, a certain *Indian* with the character rather of a Messenger than Ambassador, and being admitted to the prime Vizir *Kuprili Mustapha*, delivers him letters from the *Great Mogul*, or (as the *Turks* call him) *Padyshah* of *India*. Then he tells him by word of mouth, that his master hearing the *Othman* Empire was in a declining condition, and that the Enemies of the *Mahometan* law daily grew stronger, had order'd him out of zeal for his Religion, to acquaint the Vizir in his name, that he was ready to assist him with either money or forces as there should be occasion. To this, the Vizir is reported to answer, that he thank'd the Great Emperor of *India* for his friendship to the *Othmanidæ*, and should endeavour to make a return for his Good will. But that at present the *Othman* Empire, having reviv'd the Glory of her Arms by the conquest of *Alba Græca*, could be honour'd with no greater favour from his *Indian* Majesty, than his commanding his *Beggars* (meaning the religious Mendicants I have been speaking of) not to enter the borders of the *Othman* Dominions.

(16) Banner] The *Janizaries* bear in their Banners a two edg'd Sword, bent like a ray of lightning, opposite to a crescent on their heads they wear a *Kube**, or white covering, in form of a sleeve In other respects, they are dress'd like the rest of the Infantry

(17) *Shich*] or Prelate, like the *Archimandrita* in the *Greek* Monasteries, or the *Abbot* in Abbies. For, with the *Turks*, not only the Superiors of the great and royal *Jami*, but also the Heads of the *Tekki* of the *Dervises*, are call'd *Shich* Hence even the *Mufti*, who is instead of a Patriarch, is wont to be call'd, *Shich-ulislam*, i. e. *Prelate of the Sav'd*, and *High Priest*

(18) Sleeve] The Hats of the *Janizaries* retain the same form to this day.

(19) *Janizaries*] or *Yengicheri**, the name of the Sultan's ordinary Militia,

hand victorious, their sword keen, let their spear always hang over the Heads of their Enemy, and wherever they go, may they return, with a *white face* (20). Hence it is, these Soldiers have ever since retain'd that Name and Covering for the Head.

V. This advice was answered by the Event. For by their means in the year of the *Hegira* 766, not only *Batha* in *Asia*, and in *Europe*, *Zagara* and *Gumurjina* are reduc'd to his Empire, but also the fame of the *Othman* Arms is render'd so great, that the next year *Andronicus Palæologus* the *Grecian* Emperor, desir'd *Murad*'s aid against the Prince of *Bulgaria*. *Murad* consenting to his request, sends an Army under *Lala Shahyn* into *Europe*, who unexpectedly attacking the Enemy in a place call'd *Zermen*, easily puts them to flight. The same year in the street call'd *Capluje* at *Prusa*, he orders to be built at the royal Expense, a large *Jami* or Temple, a *Medrese* or College, with an *Imaret* or Hospital.

H 766
A C 1365
Servia conquered

VI. *Murad* having hitherto given very notable proofs of his warlike virtues, now show'd he was no less vers'd in the arts of peace Certain petty Princes of *Asia* had often infested the *Othman* state, and obstructed the course of its victories. In order to divide these Princes, and when divided, gain them to his interest, and so open a way hereafter to greater Undertakings, *Murad* in the year 783, marries his Son *Bajazet* to a Daughter of *Germian Ogli* (21), with whom he receives *Kutabia*, *Egrigoz* and *Taushanlyk* With the same prudence, he so manag'd that *Hamid Ogli* (22) offer'd of his own accord (as several others

Murad marries his Son *Bajazet*, and acquires *Hamid*'s Dominions.

H 783
A C 1381

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litia, compounded of *Engi*, *new*, and *Cheri**, *Soldier* Their usual number is forty thousand, and they have precedence of all the other Soldiery in honour and dignity To Each of the *Novices* of this order, are allow'd three aspers a day, two loaves, 200 drams of mutton, 100 of rice, thirty of butter. These however are not given to the *Novice* himself, but are all at once delivered out of the storehouse of each *Oda* or *Chamber* [of which there are one hundred and sixty two at *Constantinople*, built in a stately manner by the Sultans, where the *Janizaries* live as in a College] to the chief Cook who dresses them, and at dinner time sets them before such as are present. In vain do the absent expect any thing after the time is elaps'd, according to *Soliman*'s rule, *Let those who keep their Oda be fed.* But of these things more largely hereafter.

(20) *White face*] The Terms *white* or *black face*, are common Terms of Praise, or Dispraise among the *Turks*. A Master commending his Servant, says, *Aferin Yuzun ac olsun*, *well done*, *may thy face be white* or *shining*, and blaming him, says, *Yuzun carà olsun*, *may thy face be black*. But neither of these expressions is to be us'd by an Inferior to his Superior Hence, for example, if a Soldier has a mind to praise his Captain, he must only cry, *Aferin*, *well done*, or *Eivallah*.

(21) *Germian Ogli*] Prince of *Phrygia major*, one of the *Persian* Governours who revolted from his Sovereign at the time of *Jenghizchan*'s Expedition.

(22) *Hamid Ogli*] He was also one of the *Persian* Governours who in the

M ruins

others had done) to hold as Fees of the *Othman* Empire, the following Cities, *Elvadz*, *Enishehir*, *Arsherih*, *Karagats* and *Seidishehri*.

H 784
A C 1382
Murad takes *Bolina* by his Prayers

VII. The affairs of *Asia* being thus settled, the next year, 784, *Murad* assembles a great Army, and passes into *Europe* by the Straits of *Callipolis*, where he besieges the Castle of *Bolina* fortified by Nature and Art; which not succeeding to his Wish by reason of the difficulty of the place and bravery of the Garrison, he is said most humbly to implore the assistance of Heaven to take so strong a Castle. The same night, great part of the Wall is reported to fall down, and the Besiegers to enter thro' the Breach and put all the Garrison to the Sword. It is added that a great number of red Hats was found in the Magazine, which *Murad* distributed to his Soldiers, and caus'd others of the same colour to be made for his whole Army (23).

Macedonia and *Albania* invaded.
H. 788.
A C. 1386.

VIII. This year by the conduct of *Lala shahyn*, *Iskenderie*, *Darme*, and the strong Town of *Cavalla* with almost all *Arnaud*, is subjected to the *Othman* Empire. Moreover in the year 788, the Towns of *Zichne*, *Carapheria*, and *Monastyr* are taken. In a word,

H 791.
A C 1389
The Battle of *Cossova*, the occasion of *Murad*'s Death

IX. The *Othman* Power grew to that height under this Emperor, that its increase could not but be look'd upon with a jealous eye by its Neighbours. Wherefore in the year of the *Hegira* 791, a League, (of which *Lazarus* Prince of *Servia* was Head) is entered into by the *Walachians*, *Hungarians*, *Dalmatians*, *Triballians*, with those of *Albania* that were not yet subdued, and with united forces, it is resolved to cut down this aspiring Tree before it takes too deep a root. *Murad* being

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ruins of that Monarchy, possess'd himself of part of *Asia minor*, and gave his name to the Province, which at this day is call'd *Hamida* in the Maps. But this does not seem to be the antient name of that Province, but to be given by the *Turks* after they were possess'd of it. For it is customary with the *Turks*, to call the Possessions after the name of the Possessor. Thus *Servia* is call'd *Lasvilaieti*, from *Lazarus* then Prince of *Servia*. (and not from *Uladislaus*, whom *Meniuskius* will have to be *Las*) Thus *Moldavia* is call'd *Bogdan*, from a Prince of that Name who first made it Tributary to the *Turks*. In like manner *Hamid* comes from *Hamid Ogli*.

(23) Red Hats] *Iskuf*, seems to have been formerly a military covering for the Head, but is disus'd at present by the *Turks*. For they make use now neither of Helmet or Breastplate, or other Armor, in a belief that tho' a Man were made of Adamant he could not evade or escape the law of Fate. Every one, in their opinion, bears on his forehead in characters not legible indeed by Man, but inscrib'd by the finger of God, the appointed time of his death. Hence their common Sayings, *Bashde yazilmysh olan Gelmek Vadzibdur*, *what is written on the forehead must necessarily come to pass*. *Acajak can damarda durmaz*, *the blood that is to flow out, remains not in the artery* (that is, what God has preordain'd must be done in its time) *Tacdir tedbiri bozar*, *Providence overrules all human purposes*.

prepared

prepared for this ſtorm leads forth his Army, and on the fourth day of *Ramazan* meets the Enemies in a place call'd *Coſſova* (24). Here a fierce and long doubtful battle is fought; but at laſt the Chriſtians, tho' they bravely ſuſtain'd the charge of the *Othman* Soldiers, are put to flight, *Lazarus* himſelf is taken, his Nobles are ſlain, and the Runaways long purſu'd by the light Horſe. The Sultan as he was walking, after the Victory, over the Field of battle and viewing the Dead, turns to the Vizir, and ſays, " It is ſtrange that among the Slain of the Ene-" my I do not ſee a ſingle old Man, but all beardleſs Youths" To this the Vizir anſwers, " Hence came their misfortune, their being " deſtitute of the Advice of the Aged was the very cauſe of their o-" verthrow, for to oppoſe the invincible Sword of the *Othmans* ſavours [illegible] of the prudence of the Old, but the raſhneſs of the Young." [illegible] ltan continuing the Diſcourſe, is reported to ſay, " It is ſtill [illegible] ſtrange how I ſhou'd be deceiv'd by a viſion laſt night in " [illegible] for methought I ſaw my ſelf ſlain by the hand of an " enemy" By chance a Chriſtian Soldier that conceal'd himſelf among the dead, perceiving it was the Sultan that was talking, with thoughts of revenging his Country ſuddenly ſtarts up and plunges a dagger in the Emperor's Belly (25). The *Triballian* is inſtantly cut in pieces, and the Sultan dying within two hours, his Body is carried by the Vizir and Baſhas to the royal Tent, and embalm'd (26). After which, the Great Men

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(24) *Coſſova*] is a Plain in *Servia*, where Sultan *Murad* was ſtabb'd by the hand of a *Triballian*.

(25) Moſt *Chriſtian* Writers ſay, this man was a Servant of *Lazarus* Prince of *Servia*, and call him *Miloſh Cabilovitz*. In *Chalcocondylas*, he is a *Triballian* Now from the *Triballians* ſprung thoſe Nations which held *Bulgaria* and *Servia*. It has more the air of Romance than Hiſtory, what is related by that diſgrace to all Hiſtorians, *Orbinus Raguzæus*, that *Murad* was run thro' the Body in his own Tent by *Lazarus* Deſpot of *Servia*. For it can hardly be thought that the *Turks* ſhould be ſo imprudent as to admit one who the day before was a capital Enemy, and as he ſays, on horſeback, to the Tent of their Prince, or that the Chamberlains and other numberleſs Officers, who ſo religiouſly guard the Emperor's Perſon, ſhould be ſo negligent as to make no reſiſtance, if he intended any violence, nor give him any notice of his coming. To this may be added, that *Orbinus* is ſo openly partial in favour of his Nation, that in honour of it he frequently and without ſcruple tranſgreſſes the bounds of Truth; particularly his aſſerting the *Scythians*, *Italians*, *Sweeds*, *Germans*, *Grecians*, *Macedonians*, and *Alexander the Great* himſelf, to be all deriv'd from his *Sclavonians*, evidently diſcovers the Vanity of the Man, and demonſtrates that our *Turkiſh* account of *Murad*'s death, is much more probable than His.

(26) Embalm'd] The *Mahometan* Law ſtrictly forbids every Perſon, beſides the Emperor, to keep a dead Body in his Houſe till the ſecond day, or to remove them beyond the ſpace of three *Italian* miles So, ſhould the prime Vizir die in a Journey, he is to be buried in the ſame place where he falls, or the next Town if within diſtance But the Corpſe of the Emperor, ſhould he even die upon the utmoſt bounds of *India*, is by his Succeſſor to be embalm'd, and with

Men assemble about the choice of a new Emperor, and *Ildirim Bajazet*, *Murad*'s eldest Son, is unanimously declar'd Sultan.

*Yacub Chelebi** is strangled, and *Lazarus* Prince of *Servia* is beheaded.

X. *Yacub Chelebi** (27) the younger Brother not being pleas'd with this proceeding, privately endeavours to raise a Sedition against *Bajazet*; but the thing being seasonably discover'd, he is by the command of his Brother, and consent of the Chief Men strangled with the Bowstring (28). *Lazarus* also Prince of *Servia* being consider'd as the occasion of *Murad*'s death, was by *Bajazet*'s order brought before him and beheaded.

ANNOTATIONS.

with the greatest speed to be convey'd to its Sepulchre, in the *Jami*, built by himself, or for want of that, into some Sepulchre of his Ancestors. This is an indispensable Law amongst them. If a private Person dies in the City, he is first wash'd with warm water after that, his Eyes, Ears, Mouth and Fundament being stopp'd with Cotton, he is plac'd on a Bier, and on the Shoulders of Men carry'd as quick as possible to the next *Jami*, in the yard of which he is immediately deposited, Prayers having been first said in the Hall of the Temple Ask the *Turks* the reason of this haste, and they tell you that as soon as the Soul dislodges from the Body, it is remov'd by Angels to the place destin'd for the Sepulchre, and there detain'd by Them forty days in expectation of its body That the Soul therefore may not long wait in vain, the Body is to be convey'd with all possible dispatch. For this reason all mourning is forbid, except to the Mother, who may thrice lament the loss of her Son, and to do more would be thought a great Sin.

27 *Chelebi**] Εὐγενής, Nobly descended This was formerly the name of the Sultan's Sons before they came to the Empire, as *Yacub Chelebi**. *Musa Chelebi**. But this not seeming lofty enough, was at last chang'd into *Effendi*, from the *Greek*, Αὐθεντής, which at this day is given to the chief of the *Turkish* Youth, either with the Addition of their name or without it, as *Shahzade Effendi*, Son of the Emperor *Effendi*, and with the notation of their Office it is given to Doctors and Judges, as *Istambol Effendi*, Judge of *Constantinople*. *Mufti Effendi*, *Cadilasker Effendi*, &c But now almost all Merchants and Citizens of *Constantinople* subjoin *Chelebi* to their own names, as *Mehemed Chelebi**, &c This appellation is likewise given to Youths of promising hopes, whose generous disposition seems to discover the nobleness of the blood from whence they are sprung For the *Turks* do not measure Nobility from a series of illustrious Ancestors, as well because all *Othmans* in their opinion are equally noble, as because they think Honours are to be conferr'd not on those who are nobly descended, but on Those who are prudent, and by long experience have acquired by the culture of Virtues, a nobleness of mind. The Offspring of the Emperor therefore excepted, no Man has any right to claim a precedency or a distinction on account of his Ancestors *Ibrahim Chan ogli*, and especially *Kupruli ogli* are exceptions to this rule, of whose race four Vizirs, illustrious for their heroic Actions, and chiefly their extensive knowledge and uncorrupt justice, have acquir'd a high esteem with the Vulgar. I shall deliver their History at large in its proper place.

(28) Bow-string] This Death is esteem'd the most honorable with the *Turks*, and only indulg'd to the Great. But to have the Head struck off is infamous, and still more so, to be hang'd or impal'd, the ordinary punishment of Theives.

XI. After

XI. After this Victory purchas'd thus with the Emperor's blood, *Bajazet* dismisses the Army, and sends away his Father's Body to be buried at *Prusa* in the Royal *Jami*, then following it himself consecrates to his memory a most elegant Marble *Kubbe* or Monument (29). The *Turks* greatly extoll this Emperor. They represent him as a miror of justice, a Prince of invincible fortitude of Mind, ever regular in his devotions, and to love no conversation so much as that of the Learned. He is also prais'd for his remarkable abstinence, so that he was never seen cloathed in any thing but *Sopb* (30). He reigned thirty, and liv'd seventy one years.

Murad's Burial and Character

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(29) *Kubbe*] This is a Tower and Monument beautifully built, and plac'd over the Graves of Vizirs, and other Great Men. People of a middle station have two stones always standing upright, one at the head, the other at the feet. One of these stones has the name of the deceas'd elegantly writ, sometimes in prose sometimes in verse, to which is added a prayer of this, or the like Form, at the direction of the Heir, *Dam Alla buteala rahmeti*, *May God shew eternal mercy to him.* If a Man is buried, upon the top of the stone is a *Turkish Turbant*, if a Woman, another sort of Ornament is plac'd there: The stone at the feet is the same in both.

(30) *Sopb*] This is a fine Cloth made of Wool, as thin and light as can be. It is chiefly worn by Ecclesiasticks, to whom their Law forbids the use of Silk, which is permitted only to the Emperor and his Chamberlains. Hence the Person that wears a Garment of *Sopb*, is call'd *Sopbi*.

During MURAD's Empire from 1360, to 1390, there reigned in *Europe*,

At *Constantinople.*	ANDRONICUS PALEOLOGUS, 1384-87. EMANUEL PALEOLOGUS, 1387-1417.
In the *West.*	CHARLES IV. Son to *John* King of *Bohemia*, 1346-78. WENCESLAUS, Son to *Charles*, 1378-99.
In *England.*	EDWARD III. 1326-77. RICHARD II. 1377-99.
In *France.*	CHARLES *the Wise*, or V. 1364-80. CHARLES *the Well beloved*, or VI. 1380-1422.

The End of the Reign of MURAD or AMURATH I.

The REIGN of

ILDIRIM BAJAZET I. (1)
Son of MURAD,

AND

Fourth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK I. CHAP. V.

I. Bajazet's *first Expeditions.* II. *Battle with the* Moldavians. III. *Victory of* Caraman ogli. IV. *His further Progress in* Asia *and* Europe. V. *Victory at* Nicopolis. VI. Bajazet *fortifies the Straits of* Nicomedia. VII. *Is perswaded by his Vizir to desist from* Constantinople. VIII. *Sends Ambassadors to the* Grecian *Emperor*. IX. *And makes Peace on condition of a certain Tribute.* X. *Builds a* Jami *at* Constantinople. XI. Tamerlane *invading* Asia. XII. *Refuses the offer of* Constantinople *made by* Paleologus. XIII. *Wages War with* Bajazet, *on the* Grecian *Emperor's account.* XVI. *Overcomes and takes him Prisoner.* XV. Bajazet's *Character*, XVI. *and Issue.*

H. 792
A. C. 1390
Bajazet's first Expeditions

I. MURAD being thus slain, is succeeded in the Empire by his Son *Bajazet*, who to show that his Father's Virtues were not remov'd out of the World but descended to him, the next year

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) [*Bajazet* is in *Turkish* spelt *Bayezid.*]

takes

BAJAZET. I.

Son of Murad, fourth Emperor of ye Turks in the Year 1300.

takes in *Europe*, *Caratova* and *Isseib*, and in *Asia*, *Aidin*, *Sarichan*, *Kars*, and *Monteshe*, and annexes them to his Empire. After this, a dispute arising between him and his Father-in-law, *German ogli*, he thinks Princes ought to decide their quarrels rather by arms than words, and therefore attacks and vanquishes him, and then dispossessing him of his whole Kingdom, banishes him to *Ipsala*. The Prince of *Caramania* wou'd have shar'd the same fate (who had married *Bajazet*'s Sister) if the *Moldavian* expedition had not induc'd the politick Emperor to turn his thoughts to weightier matters, and put off his design to a more convenient season.

Battle with the *Moldavians*

II. But as he was deterr'd from attempting by his Generals so warlike a nation, by a defeat the *Moldavians* had two years before, given *Seraasker Soliman* Basha at *Hierasus*, he resolves to trust none but himself with his Army, hoping that the obstacles which check'd the Progress of the Basha would give way to the royal Fortune. Wherefore having prepar'd all things necessary for the expedition, he transports his Forces into *Europe*, and making a bridge over the *Danube*, lays waste all *Moldavia*, and incamps at *Razboe* a Village on the banks of the River *Siretus*. At the same place comes soon after with an Army *Ilesan* (2), Prince of *Moldavia*. A fierce and doubtful Battle is fought,

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(2) *Ilesan*] *Stephanus* Prince of *Moldavia*, the greatest Hero of his age. He overthrew the renown'd *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, and wrested from him the *Transilvanian Alps*, which at this day limit *Moldavia* to the West. He added by several Victories, *Pocutia* and *Podolia* to his dominions, and in a pitch'd Battle with the *Poles* near *Cotnar*, famous for its generous Wines, he defeated their whole Army with great slaughter, and took fifteen thousand Prisoners. These he put into yokes, and oblig'd them to plough a Tract of Ground two miles long, and one broad, and to plant two Groves of Oaks, which for that reason are call'd at this day by the *Poles*, *Bucovina*, but by the Inhabitants *Dumbrava Roshie* or *Red Groves*, because planted and water'd with *Polish* Blood. He reduc'd all the Cities between [illegible] and *Moldavia*. He fought two Battles with *Bajazet Ildirim*, in the first he was Victor, and in the second he routed Him with a memorable slaughter, which seven vast piles of *Turkish* Bodies erected after the Battle, witnessed, by the Confession of *Hezarfen* himself, the faithful *Turkish* Historian. He subdued *Walachia* as far as *Bucurestia*, and made *Vintilas* Governor of that Province. He held *Bashrabia*, now call'd *Budiak*, the City *Kili* in the mouth of the *Danube*, as also *Akierman*, *Alba Graeca*, or the *Oxia* of the Ancients, and renown'd for being the place of *Ovid*'s banishment, and in short, he widely extended the Bounds of *Moldavia*, as shall be shewn more at large, if I live to finish my account of the antient and present *Moldavia*. In this posture he left his affairs when he was call'd out of the World, after a reign of forty seven years, and five months. His Son *Bogdan* made *Moldavia* tributary to the *Turks*. Hence the *Moldavians* call'd formerly *Ak Islac* or vulgarly *Ak vlach*, or the *white Walachians*, are now by the *Turks* call'd *Bogdani*. But the *Walachians* even to our days have retained the name of *Cara islac*, or vulgarly, *Cara vlach*, or the *black Walachians*.

but

but at length the *Moldavians* are vanquish'd and dispers'd. *Istefan* himself to save his life, flies to the City of *Nemz*, where he had plac'd his Mother with a strong Garrison, and arriving at break of day, commands the gates to be open'd. His Mother hearing of her Son's unexpected arrival, instantly repairs to the Walls, and denies him admittance, saying, "O Son! Since the time of thy birth I never saw thee "return from battle without victory. As thou art therefore unmindful "of thy former bravery, I had rather see thee perish by the hand of an "Enemy, than be branded with the infamy of being sav'd by a Woman. "Fly hence then, and return either Conqueror or never." *Istefan* stung with his Mother's reproaches, departs from the City, more swiftly than he came. In his way he meets a Trumpet, and bidding him sound to Battle, draws together twelve thousand *Moldavians*, who by flight had escap'd the Enemy's Sword. These he conjures either to vanquish or die, and immediately falling upon the Enemies, dispers'd over the Field and intent upon the Spoil, defeats and puts them to flight. Then with the same fortune at *Vashluy*, which is but twenty miles from *Jessis*, he takes the royal Tent, routs the *Turkish* Soldiers, and compells the Emperor, who before was the Terror of the World, frighted at so sudden a change, to fly with a few attendants to *Adrianople*.

Victory of *Caraman ogli*.

III. Whilst these things pass'd in *Europe*, they kindled a much greater flame in *Asia*. For *Caraman ogli* hearing *Bajazet's* Army was destroy'd by the *Moldavians*, and believing he had a fair opportunity of crushing the *Othman* Power, assembles his forces, and in breach of his treaty with *Bajazet*, besieges *Kutahia*, and destroys with fire and sword the *Othman* dominions in *Asia*. *Bajazet* whom adverse fortune could not discourage, was inrag'd at the news. Wherefore raising with his Usual speed (3) an Army in *Europe*, he leads them into *Asia*, and before his Arrival was so much as suspected, meets the *Caramanian* forces divided into many Parties, attacks and overthrows them in the first charge. *Caraman ogli*, after the defeat of his Army flying with his Sons to the Town of *Acjami*, is taken by the Pursuers, brought before the Sultan, and by his command, beheaded. By this means all *Caramania* fell under the power of *Bajazet*, who to destroy all the

ANNOTATIONS.

(3) Usual speed] The *Turkish* Historians so extoll this Prince's expedition in assembling his troops, in executing his designs, and in vanquishing his enemies, that when they talk of the natural speed of the *Tartars* in comparison with his wonderful marches, they call the first, *the creeping of a Snail*. When he was believed to be engaged in his *Asiatic* affairs he was suddenly seen in [illegible], if the *Asiatic* Princes provok'd him; whilst in *Europe*, he appear'd in *Asia* with his whole Army before his coming was heard of. He is [illegible] to communicate his Counsels to no Man, nor to execute any difficult [illegible] by means of any Friends. Whence he is justly and deservedly called by the *Turks*, *Ildirim* or [illegible].

Seeds

Seeds of rebellion condemns *Caraman*'s two Sons to perpetual Imprisonment at *Prusa*.

Bajazet's farther Progress in *Asia* and *Europe*

IV Not content with this Victory, *Bajazet* takes in *Europe*, *Nigeboli*, *Silistre* and *Urushchyk**, Towns on the *Danube*, and the next year in *Asia* he compells to acknowledge his Sovereignty, *Amasia*, *Tokad*, *Niksar*, *Samsun* and *Janik*, which were subject to Sultan *Ahmet Burhan-Elledin* (4) After this, turning his thoughts again to the *European* affairs, he had no sooner pass'd the Straits of *Callipolis* with a great Army, but he heard a new war was kindled in *Asia*. For *Kutrum* (5) *Bajazet* Prince of *Costamoni*, imagining the Emperor too deeply ingag'd in his *European* designs, to be able to return into *Asia*, had invaded and laid waste the *Turkish* Provinces of *Asia minor*. *Bajazet* being inform'd of this, for fear he should lose his own, whilst he is seeking the possessions of others, leaves *Europe* to his Generals, and with the greatest part of his army, immediately comes into *Asia*. There before he tried the fortune of War, he is told that the flame is extinguish'd by the death of its author, *Kutrum Bajazet*, who died of a distemper His Son *Isfindarbeg* instantly dispatches Ambassadors to meet him, who beg pardon for his Father's offence, and confess the Deceased had acted very rashly in turning his arms against the *Othmans*, and retarding the course of the Emperor's victories, promising in the Son's name that he would be the Emperor's future Vassal and Slave and confirm this promise with an oath. The present situation of the *Othmanic* affairs not admitting of severe Counsels, *Isfindarbeg* is received into Friendship, and Garrisons plac'd in his Towns of *Costamoni*, *Tarakliborli* and *Othmanjik* (6) After which he instantly leads back his forces into *Europe*, and in the same Campain takes *Selanik* or *Thessalonica*.

Victory at *Nicopolis*.

V. The expedition being ended, he returns to *Prusa* in order to refresh his weary Troops Whilst he is indulging himself, he is re-

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) [illegible]] He seems to have been one of th[illegible] *Persian* Governors who in the time of *Jenghiz* shook off the *Persian* yoke For it does not appear that there was then any other Empires or Kingdoms in *Asia* than those of the *Grecian* and *Persian*. His Principality was part of *Armenia major*

(5) *Kutrum*] Perhaps one also of the *Persian* Governors before mention'd His Name seems to intimate that he was troubled with some distemper in his feet or joints like the Gout. For *Kutrum* in the *Turkish* language, signifies one maim'd, weaken'd in his Nerves or a Paralytic.

(6) *Othmanjik*] A City, according to *Busbequius*, in *Bithynia* beyond Mount *Olympus*, founded by *Othman* first Emperor of the *Turks*, and therefore very famous amongst them Nor is there any other City in the whole *Turkish* Empire besides this, which retains the name of its Founder, tho' many were built by the order of the Sultans. But They give their names to the *Jami* only, as hath been observ'd.

O call'd

recall'd by frequent messages from *Europe*, that *Sigismund* King of *Hungary*, having made a league with other *Christian* Princes (7), and rais'd an army of a hundred thousand Men, had enter'd the borders of the *Turkish* Empire, and was now besieging *Nicopolis*. Whereupon *Bajazet* believing the least delay dangerous to his affairs, assembles with the utmost speed, his *Asiatic* and *European* Forces, and tho' he had not above sixty thousand Men, passes into *Europe*, where he attacks with such fury the Camp of the *Christians* that they were defeated at the first charge with great slaughter. *Sigismund*'s Partners in the expedition were all taken or slain, only he himself escap'd first to *Constantinople* (8), and from thence by water into his own Kingdom: After the Victory *Bajazet* finds in the Enemy's Camp, many warlike engines, and a very great treasure, with which he builds both at *Adrianople* and *Prusa*, a noble *Jami* and *Madrese*, and moreover orders a large *Darush-shifa* (9) to be erected.

Bajazet fortifies the Straits of *Nicomedia*. H. 797. A. C. 1395.

VI. *Bajazet* having now nothing to fear from the *Western* Princes, turns all his forces against *Thrace*, where he takes a Castle situated on the *Euxine* Sea, about sixty miles from *Constantinople*, and to deprive the *Europeans* of the means to pass into *Asia*, builds a new city, in a place call'd *Bogaz Kesen*, fortifies it very strongly, and gives it the name of *Guzelhisar* (10).

He is perswaded by his Vizir to desist from *Constantinople*.

VII. Having thus secur'd his borders on every side, the same year he incamps with a great Army under the very Walls of *Constantinople* without any opposition (11). Preparations being made for an assault

ANNOTATIONS.

(7) *Christian* Princes] All *Christians* are nam'd *Issevi*, by the Historians and in Letters, by way of compliment, as the Prince of *Moldavia*, *Kydvetul merai ilhil milletue Mesihie, um detul Kiuberai il tayfetil issevie*, i. e. "The "most excellent of the Princes of "the Sect of the *Messia*, the greatest "of the Nations believing in *Je-* "*sus*." Otherwise the opprobrious name of *Gaur*, Infidel, is bestow'd on all Christians; and *Kiafir* or Blasphemer; and *Kiefere*, a blasphemous Nation; as likewise in the plural, *Kiuffar* blasphemous Men, and also *Nasrani*, *Nazarenes*, as *Junani* is given to the *Greeks*, and *Ibrani* to the *Jews* or *Hebrews*.

(8) *Constantinople*] It is the common tradition of all *Christian* Writers, but chiefly of *Philip Lomcer* a diligent Collector of the *Turkish* affairs, that, after this shameful defeat, *Sigismund* retir'd to *Constantinople*, and after various turns in his affairs, got at last into his own Kingdom.

(9) *Darush-shifa*] The *Port of Health*, from *Dar*, *a Gate*, and *Shifa*, *a Remedy*. These are beautiful Hospitals erected near the *Jami*, built by the Emperors, who have officers over them, and stipends allowed for the care of the sick out of the revenues of the *Jami*.

(10) *Guzelhisar*] or the *beautiful Castle*. It is now call'd *Bogazgiechid**, or the passage of the Straits between the Bay of the *Propontis*, and the *Nicæan* Mountains, now call'd *Izmid daglary*, from whence *Constantinople* is supply'd with materials for Building and Shipping.

(11) Without opposition] The *Christians*

fault, his *Prime Vizir*, disswades him from the siege, representing in an elegant Speech, " that the *Othman* Empire, being now of so great " an extent that it gives law not only to all *Asia*, but the best part of " *Europe*, cannot without envy be look'd upon by any *Christian* Prince. " So many Provinces are added to his dominion that the *Othmanidæ* " need not dread the united forces of the whole World; but it is " to be fear'd that the late conquered Cities, the minds of the Inha- " bitants not being yet settled, may upon the least occasion shake off " their yoke to the irreparable detriment of the Empire. If to this " shall be added the news of the siege of *Constantinople*, all the *Chri-* " *stian* Princes will undoubtedly join their forces and declaring war " with the *Musulmans*, strenuously endeavour to preserve the *Greek* " Empire, the downfal of which would seem to threaten the inevi- " table destruction of the rest of the States. For they are not so stupid " but they will see, when once the Seat of the *Greek* Empire is ta- " ken, there will be no opposing the rapid course of the *Othmanic* " Arms. Wherefore tho' he did not despair of taking the City, yet it " was his opinion, it shou'd be deferr'd, least by grasping at too " much, there would be danger of losing what had been hitherto ac- " quired with so great labours However that some advantage may " be reap'd from the terror which the Inhabitants of *Constantinople* " are under, Ambassadors are to be sent to the *Istambol Tekkuri* (12), " to impose on him what terms *Bajazet* shall please, which instead of " being rejected will, he supposes, be embrac'd as a blessing from hea- " ven, since he can scarce conceive any hopes of escaping his pre- " sent danger."

VIII. *Bajazet* approving this advice, sends Ambassadors into the City to the Emperor *Paleologus* with a letter to this effect: " By the di- " vine clemency, Our Empire, to which God has set no bounds, hath " reduc'd to its obedience, almost all *Asia*, with many and large " Countries of *Europe*, excepting only thy City of *Constantinople*, for " beyond the Walls thou hast nothing left. Hence, since thou thy

Ambassadors are sent to the *Greek* Emperor

ANNOTATIONS.

Christians assign the raising of the Siege of *Constantinople* both to the intreaties of *Emanuel Paleologus*, and to the approaching expedition of *Tamerlane*. But as that expedition fell not out till seven years after, and as it is absurd to imagine that the *Turkish* Emperor would be so easily diverted from his purpose by the intreaties of an Enemy, what we have related from the *Turkish* Annals seems nearest to the truth.

(12) *Istambol Tekkuri*] *Istambol* seems to be corrupted either from the name of *Constantinople* it self, or from the vulgar phrase, εἰς τὴν πόλιν. For the more learned *Turks*, and the Emperor himself in his Mandates, writes it *Constantanie*. *Tekkur*, if we may offer our conjecture, is corrupted from τοῦ κυρίου, but they sometimes write, *Caisar*, *Cæsar*. Besides this, the name of *Tekkuri* is given to other *Christian* Governors by the *Turks*, as *Selanik Tekkuri*, the Governor of *Thessalonica*, *Geliboli Tekkuri*, the Governor of *Callipolis*.

self

" self mayest easily conclude that a Crown cannot be worn without a
" head, we amicably exhort, and admonish thee, (before thou try'st
" the unhappy fortune of War, and art a sad Spectator of the slaugh-
" ter of so many innocent men, and the inevitable destruction of the
" City, of which thy obstinacy and hard heart will be rightly judg'd
" the sole cause) to deliver up to us thy Capital on thy own terms.
" If thou refuse, we are sure thou wilt, when too late, fruitlesly re-
" pent the neglecting our admonitions." Thus much by letter, but he orders his Ambassadors, in case they should find the *Greeks* averse to the surrender of the City, to soften his demands, and conclude a peace for an Annual Tribute.

A Truce concluded for an Annual Tribute

IX. The Ambassadors entering the City deliver the Letter to *Palcologus*, who more terrified than he ought, readily complies with *Bajazet's* demands for the sake of preserving the City and Empire A Truce therefore is made for ten years on these terms. *Palcologus* is to pay yearly ten thousand *Filuri altun* (13) by way of tribute The *Othmans* shall be allowed to build in *Constantinople* a *Jami* and *Mekkieme*, and appoint a *Cady*, whose jurisdiction shall be bounded in this manner: If a *Christian* at *Constantinople* has a dispute with a *Mussulman*, it shall be decided by the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch, but if a *Mahometan* with a *Mahometan* it shall be tried by their own *Cady* In like manner if contests arise between *Christians* at *Adrianople*, they shall be ended by the Metropolitan of that City, but if between a *Christian* and a *Musulman*, by the *Ederne-molasi* (14).

A *Jami* built at *Constantinople*

X. The Truce being made on these conditions, the *Othmans* first erect a *Jami* call'd at this day *Daud Pasha* (15), and a *Mekkieme* (16), whilst the Christians yet reign at *Constantinople*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(13) *Filuri altun*] Is a peculiar appellation of the *Turkish* Rusps, or the *Venetian* Golden Crowns, in value three hundred aspers But *filuri*, derives its name from the vulgar *Greek*, φλορὶ

(14) *Ederne-molasi*] The Ecclesiastical Judge of *Adrianople* For *Ederne* is *Adrianople*, *Mola* is an ecclesiastical Judge, next to the *Istambol effendi* and the *Cadilaskers*, the *si*, has the power of the article ὁ, as if you should say, ὁ μολλᾶς τῆς Ἀδριανοῦ πόλεως, ὁ ἀγᾶς τῶν Ἰανιτζάρων. The *Mollahs* have many places of residence, but he of *Constantinople* only has the title of *Effendi* in honour of the City Others have only the title of *Molla* without any addition, as *Myir Mollasi*, the *Mollah* of *Egypt*, *Brussa Mollasi*, the *Mollah* of *Prusa*, *Halep Mollasi*, the *Mollah* of *Aleppo*.

(15) *Daud*] The *Hebrew* name *David*, but us'd by the *Turks*

(16) *Mekkieme*] The *Prætorium* or Hall of Judgment, where Causes are heard and determined, from *Mukkiem*, *strong* and *confirm'd*, or from *Hukim*, the *Sentence* or *Decree* There are more than twenty of these *Mekkieme* at *Constantinople*, of which the chief is That call'd *Mekkiemei Mehemed Pasha*, from its Founder, of the same name, and one of the prime Vizirs.

XI. The

Tamerlane invades Asia,

XI. The Rites of the *Mahometan* Religion, and the Ensigns of the *Othman* Empire, being thus introduc'd into the very Capital of the *Greeks*, it seem'd as if the imperial line would soon be extinct, and all the Provinces in subjection to the *Greeks* be possess'd by *Bajazet* with their Metropolis. But whilst he was meditating these things, the same fortune that had rais'd him, began to pull him down. For when *Bajazet* had settled his affairs in *Europe* to his wish, and was now aspiring to the Empire of the World, *Tamerlane* (17) from a low rank being made King of the *Scythians*, assembled a numerous Army of eastern *Tartars*, and overran the *Asiatic* Provinces that were subject as well to the *Persians* as the *Turks*.

and rejects the offer of *Constantinople*.

XII. To *Tamerlane* Ambassadors had been sent by *Paleologus* in his distress, representing the injuries offer'd him by *Bajazet* and imploring his assistance for which he promis'd to hold his Empire of him (18) *Tamerlane* is reported to answer, that he would indeed protect and defend him from his enemies, but made it a point of conscience to desire another man's property. O unparallell'd generosity tho' in a *Barbarian*!

makes war with *Bajazet*, and why?
H 800
A C 1397

XIII Indeed this seems to be one of the reasons why *Tamerlane* turn'd his thoughts and arms against *Bajazet* The *Turks* themselves relate that in the year of the *Hejira* 800, *Ahmed Halamir*, (19) Chan of *Bagdad*,

ANNOTATIONS.

(17) *Tamerlane*] He was born of the *Chigatai* orda* or Tribe, and indeed by his birth, was a *Barbarian*, but his manners were polite and civiliz'd *Temurleng* (corruptly *Tamerlane*) in the *Persian* language, signifies one lame in his thigh, which tradition says, was his case A proof of this is a story told of him by the *Turks* Amongst other *Persian* Prisoners (say they) a Painter being led to execution desir'd *Temurleng* that he would not suffer the whole art of painting to die with Him, for he could easily evince the excellency of that art to belong to himself. *Temurleng* having heard his request, order'd him to draw his picture. The Painter observing that Prince to be lame of his right thigh and blind of his left eye, drew him with his right leg bent or inclining, his left eye shut and a bow apply'd to the other, as if he had been shooting at game. *Temurleng* admiring the ingenuity of the Painter pardon'd and set him at liberty.

(18) of him] Wonderful certainly was the Magnanimity of the *Barbarian*, and his answer worthy to be transmitted in letters of Gold. *Paleologus* offers his City and Empire; *Temurleng* takes both under his protection but refuses the Empire with this generous answer, "That it was "not right to change so ancient an "Empire, and to put a Family so "eminently illustrious as to have "reach'd the *Tartars* themselves by "its fame, under the yoke of a fo- "reign sway." It was this greatness of mind, which put him upon fighting such bloody Battles, and raising such a mighty army, which if compared to those of *Darius* or *Xerxes* will be found to be equal if not superior.

(19) *Ahmed Halamir*] He was one

Bagdad, who was under the Sultan of *Egypt*, revolts from him on account perhaps of some injuries received, and turns to *Bajazet*, who by his conduct wrests from the *Egyptian*, *Ilbistan*, *Malatia*, *Divurge* and *Nebbi*, and annexes them to his Empire. In his return from this expedition he enters the Province of *Azerbejan* (20) subject to *Tahrinbeg* (21), and vanquishing the Satrapas or Governor of that Province lays on him a heavy annual Tribute. However, *Ildirim Bajazet* either thro' clemency or on account of the Tribute, restores the Province to *Tahrinbeg*. Shortly after, *Bajazet* suspecting this Prince's fidelity, tho' he paid that year's Tribute, carries away to *Prusa* his Wife and two Sons in hostage, or as others (who are of less authority with the *Turks*) say that being enamour'd of the Woman takes her by force from her Husband's embraces *Tahrinbeg* not bearing either the adultery or injury, immediately goes from *Bajazet*, and flying to his friend and protector *Tamerlane*, complains of the injury done him, and so raises a fierce war against *Bajazet*.

Vanquishes and takes him prisoner H 804 A C 1401.

XIV. *Tamerlane* therefore urged by the intreaties of this man or of *Paleologus* or of both, leads a strong Army of *Scythians* in the year 804, against *Bajazet*, by whom he is met near *Prusa* (22) a noble

ANNOTATIONS.

of the *Persian* Satrapæ so often mentioned before The name *Ilalamii* imports in the *Arabic* language, as much as *present* or *perpetual Lord* Both *Persian* and *Turkish* Historiographers agree that from his time the seat of the *Persian* Empire was remov'd from *Babylon*, to *Revan*, and from thence to *Ispahan* The present *Babylon* (or *Bagdad* of the *Turks*) stands not on the Eastern bank of the *Euphrates* where so many ruins, besides the consent of Historians shew the seat of the old, but over against it, on the Western bank looking towards *Europe*. In the *East Indies* is yet to be seen a certain small Tower call'd by the *Turks*, *Kuzcabakisi* or *the Tower of Birds*.

(20) *Azerbejan*] See Note p. 4.

(21) *Tahrinbeg*] He was one of the *Persian* Governours who shook off the yoke of the *Persian* Empire, weaken'd by the incursions of the *Tartars*.

(22) near *Prusa*] Most *Christian* Writers tells us that this battle was fought upon the banks of the *Euphrates*. But the unanimous consent of all the *Turkish* Writers that *Tamerlane* immediately after [illegible]. But he enter'd *Prusa* the [illegible] *Bithynia*, clearly prove [illegible] fought in the plains of this [illegible]. But their distance from [illegible] is well known to Geographers [illegible] opinion of ours is still [illegible] by the same [illegible] before the engagement [illegible] pitch'd his Tents near [illegible] *Neapolis* of *Asia minor*, and there with the *Turkish* [illegible], *Nasruddin* [illegible] three days, who so delighted him with his *Fables* that he left the City free and untouched For the sake of the curious I shall by way of digression, extract some particulars of this Man from a Book written in the *Turkish* language The Citizens of [illegible]*shehir* (where liv'd *Nasruddin*) prepar'd to defend their City, when they heard *Tamerlane* was coming against It *Nasruddin* earnestly disswaded them, and offers to go himself Embassador to *Tamerlane* As he is leaving his house, he is in some suspence what Present would be most proper to appease an Enemy, and render him benevolent to himself and his Fel-

fruit

noble City of *Bithynia*. A fierce battle is fought with equal bravery but with unequal succefs. There fell on both fides above three hundred and forty thoufand Men At laft after a long conflict the *Turks* are vanquifh'd, *Bajazet*'s eldeft Son *Muftapha*, who had behav'd with great bravery, is flain, the Sultan himfelf is taken, and being fhut up in an iròn cage, as a notable inftance of the fport of fortune, ends his days. The Conqueror *Tamerlane* prefently after the victory enters *Prufa*, and forces the reft of the *Afiatic* Countries to fubmit to his yoke Thus the Mighty who think themfelves fuperior to fortune, are at once reduc'd by her to the moft wretched eftate

ANNOTATIONS.

low citizens At lafthe refolved upon it, but fays he, Advice is good in times of neceffity I will therefore confult my Wife Accordingly, fays he to her, "which will be moft "grateful to *Tamerlane*, figs or "quinces? Quinces, replies fhe, as "being larger, more beautiful, and "therefore in my opinion likely to "prove more acceptable Whereupon fays he "how good foever advice "may be in dubious affairs, a Wo-"man's advice is never good, and "therefore I will prefent figs and "not quinces" Having gather'd the figs he haftens to *Tamerlane* who being told that the famous *Nasruddin Hoja* was arriv'd in his Camp, as Ambaffador, orders him to be intro duc'd, bare headed, and obferving his baldnefs, commands his figs to be thrown at his head His fervants punctually executing his order, *Nasruddin* at every blow, cries out, very compofedly, *God be prais'd* *Tamerlan* curious to know the reafon of this expreffion, is anfwer'd by him, "I thank God that I followed "not my Wife's counfel, for had "I, as fhe advis'd, brought quinces "inftead of figs, my head muft "have been broken." The fame *Nasruddin* growing afterwards more familiar with *Tamerlane* makes him a prefent of ten early and frefh gather'd cucumbers, for which he receives from him ten crowns in gold. Some days after, when cucumbers were more plenty by the advance of the feafon, he fills a cart with them, and drives it to *Tamerlane*. The Porter refufes him admittance 'till he had a promife of going halves with him, remembring the former prefent for the ten cucumbers *Nasruddin* being introduc'd to *Tamerlane*, is ask'd the reafon of his coming, and telling him he had now brought a much larger prefent of cucumbers than before *Tamerlane* orders him a baftinado for every cucumber The number is found to be five hundred. *Nafruddin* receives half the baftinadoes very patiently, but then cries out he has his full fhare, and hop'd the King would do juftice to his Porter The King asking what he meant? I agreed, fays he, with your porter, that he fhould receive half of my expected prefent for introducing me The porter being call'd, and owning the agreement is forc'd to receive the remainder of the baftinadoes Some time after *Nafruddin* being encouraged by *Tamerlane* to ask boldly what he would have of him, as affured of no denial, he only ask'd ten Golden Crowns to erect a building memorable to all pofterity. The money being given him, he immediately erects a Stone gate in the middle of the field, and faften'd it with locks and bolts. Being asked to what purpofe fo extraordinary a Gate, he anfwers, the fame of this Gate fhall be no lefs tranfmitted to lateft pofterity than *Tamerlane*'s victories, and whilft the monument of *Nafruddin*'s actions fhall move the laughter of thofe that vifit it, *Tamerlane*'s exploits fhall draw tears from the remoteft regions.

XV. This

Bajazet's Character.

XV. This Sultan memorable for his good and bad fortune reign'd fourteen years, three months, and liv'd fifty eight. He was of an invincible mind, a politick observer of times and seasons. In expeditions, in raising of Armies and marching them to distant places, *Bajazet* never had his equal for dispatch. Hence he acquir'd the sirname of *Ildirim* or *Lightning*. Prone to anger, the failing of great minds, but the first emotions being quickly appeas'd, mercy prevail'd. So great a lover of Architecture that *Moschs*, *Jami*, *Medrese* and *Imaret* are said to be erected by him every year of his reign. He is reported to have been very regardful of the studious and religious. He was the first of the *Othman* Emperors that wag'd naval wars, having built about three hundred long vessels for that purpose (23), and perhaps would have acquir'd the dominion of the Sea, if he had not unhappily, in open war, enter'd the lists with *Tamerlane*.

His Issue

XVI. Concerning his Sons (24), under the corrupted names of *Erdogul*

ANNOTATIONS.

(23) for that purpose] *Christian* Writers tell us that *Murad*, Father of *Bajazet* first introduc'd the use of Ships among the *Turks*. The *Turks* on the contrary, say it was *Bajazet*, and tell us that his Ancestors when they cross'd the Straits of *Callipolis* did it on rafts, or in hir'd Ships. I rather incline to believe them than foreign Writers.

(24) his Sons] *George Phranza* Master of the wardrobe to the *Greek* Emperor has given us a still more confus'd account of the sons of *Bajazet*. He was indeed a contemporary Writer, but he may easily be allow'd to mistake in the *Turkish* affairs, who so frequently contradicts himself in the *Græcian*, that is, in those of his own country. Nor should we fasten this reproach upon him, did not he himself acquaint us in the conclusion of his History that he compos'd it now worn out with years, a banish'd man, and consequently from his own memory, and not from Memoirs or publick Records. Besides that his Books have been corrupted and interpolated by some more recent hand, is at least very suspicious to me, when I reflect that in B. I. Ch. 31. he mentions *Bogdania* as then a Province, and tributary to the *Turks* in the time of *Muhammed*, when it is by all agreed, that Country (or *Moldavia* as it was then call'd) made a voluntary surrender to *Soliman* I, and from that time was known first to the *Turks* by the name of *Bogdania* from its Prince *Bogdan*. Not with less reason are these accounts suspected of forgery which gives us the civil wars of the Sons of *Bajazet* with Circumstances equally unknown to *Turkish* and *Christian* Writers. He gives us five Sons of *Bajazet*, *Moses*, *Jusuph*, *Jesse*, *Musulman* and *Mehemed*. The four last of these, he tells us, pass'd into *Europe*, *Moses* being taken in the battle fought with *Tamerlane*, *Jusuph* (continues he) became a *Christian*, *Jesse* was at first prosperous, and fell upon the *Hungarians* and *Servians*, but engaging with his brother *Musulman* [perhaps *Soliman*] in a battle in the fields of *Cappadocia*, he was defeated, and, being taken in his flight put to death by his brother. *Tamerlane* oppos'd *Musa* to his brother *Musulman*, which *Musa* passing into *Europe*, by the assistance of the despot of *Servia* subdued all the *European* Provinces in subjection to the *Othmans*. *Musulman* return'd by *Constantinople* into *Europe*, and engaging with his brother *Musa* was defeated, and put to death by him.

After

dogul, *Issa*, *Calepin*, *Cyricelebis* and *Cibelin* (25), many things are related by the *Christian* Writers, which both the course of the History and the testimony of the *Turkish* Authors demonstrate to be fictions. For, these unanimously ascribe to *Bajazet* four Sons, *Mustapha* (26), who fell in the battle with the *Tartars*, *Soliman*, *Musa*, and *Mahomet*. Tho' three of these, namely, *Soliman Chelebi**, *Musa Chelebi**, and *Mahomet* sway'd the *Turkish* Scepter, only *Mahomet* is reckoned among the *Othman* Emperors as will be shown at large in the sequel.

ANNOTATIONS.

After this, *Orchan* Son of *Musulman* was call'd into *Europe* by *Manuel Paleologus* Emperor of *Constantinople*, and put in Arms against *Musa*, but a little after betray'd by his Vizir *Simeon*, and depriv'd of his eyes. *Musa* brought a fleet against *Constantinople*, but being beaten at sea, he desisted from that war. *Mahomed* first skulk'd about and got his living by manual labours, but being afterwards aided by the Prince of *Cappadocia*, he proclaim'd war against his brother *Musa*, and defeated by him in two engagements, he again renew'd the war by the assistance of the Princes of *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, and corrupting the officers of *Musa* at last obtain'd the victory. *Moses* was taken in his flight, and kill'd by one of his own Generals. Such is the narrative given us by *George Phranza*, all which successive actions he crowds into three years and two months, with an absurdity obvious to all who have any tincture of Chronology, without my exposing him any further.

(26) *Calepin*, *Cyricelebis* and *Celebin*] seem all corruptions from the *Turkish* word *Chelebi**, which, as I before took notice, the chief of the *Turkish* youths subscribed formerly to their own names, as *Soliman Chelebi**, &c. The word *Cyricelebis* seems to be a corruption of the vulgar *Greek* word, Κυρίτζης (a diminutive of Κύριος or *Lord*) since *Phranza* gives *Mahomet* I the appellation of *Cyritzis*, B. I. Ch. 82.

(27) *Mustapha*] eldest son of *Bajazet*, and slain in the battle with *Tamerlane* by the confession of both *Christian* and *Turkish* Writers. His Body fought with the greatest care after the engagement, could no where be found, nor did he ever afterwards appear either amongst the prisoners or elsewhere. This procur'd him the epithet of *Nabedid* or the *lost*. Some *Christian* Writers call him *Erdogul*, for what reason I know not. Certain at least it is that only four sons of *Bajazet* are nam'd in the course of the History, but no *Erdogul*.

There reign'd in *Europe*, Cotemporary with BAJAZET.

At *Constantinople*.	JOHANNES PALEOLOGUS, 1341-88. EMANUEL PALEOLOGUS, 1388-1418.
In the *West*	WENCESLAUS, 1378-99. ROBERTUS of *Bavaria*, 1399-1410.
In *England*.	RICHARD II. 1377-1399. HENRY IV. 1399-1412.
In *France*.	CHARLES VI. 1380-1422.

The End of the Reign of BAJAZET.

INTERREGNUM Under
SOLIMAN CHELEBI
Son of ILDIRIM BAJAZET

BOOK II CHAP. I.

I. Soliman *saluted Emperor by the* Europaeans II *affronts* T[illegible] *Ambassadors* III. Tamerlane *makes* Musa Chelebi [illegible] *of* Asia, IV. *who is expell'd by* Soliman, V *and* [illegible] I[illegible]n-darbeg. VI. Soliman *disregards an Ambas*[illegible] Maho-met. VII. Musa Chelebi* *is again master of* Adrianople [illegible] *put to flight by* Soliman IX *who gives himself* [illegible] X. *He is at last betrayed by his friends and slain* XI S[illegible]man *life and manners.*

Soliman is saluted Emperor

I. THE great *Bajazet* being thus taken and incl[illegible], and and his eldest Son *Mustapha* kill'd in the batt[illegible] the *Tartars*, his second Son *Soliman Chelebi** (1), who with his Father's prime Vizir *Ali Basha* had escap'd by flight, seeks refuge against his ill fortune at *Nicæa*. When he had recover'd himself, he crosses the *Propont*[illegible]

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Soliman Chelebi**] The names of *Calepin*, *Cyricelebis* and *Cibelin*, given to this Prince by *Christian* Writers, are neither *Turkish* proper names, nor signify any thing etymologically, unless they are corruptions from the word *Chelebi** as was before shown. But that our *Soliman* is design'd by these names, is manifest from this, that *Calepin*, escaping out of the battle against *Tamerlane*, was saluted King by his Subjects at *Adrianople*, which can agree with none but him. But altho' *Soliman* and his Brother rul'd the *Turkish* affairs eleven years, yet neither of them are rank'd amongst the Emperors, or distinguish'd with the title of *Padishah* the usual name of th[illegible] *tan*. The reason of this is, that neither of them had the Empire entire to himself, but one govern'd in *A*[illegible], the other in *Europe*, and both falling by mutual slaughters and fratricide, *Mahomet* seized the whole Empire, and was call'd the fifth King or Emperor.

sponte and with a few Courtiers comes to *Adrianople*, where he is saluted Emperor by the remains of the *Europæan* Army.

II Whereupon *Tamerlane* after the victory (2) entering *Prusa*, sends Ambassadors with a Letter to *Soliman*, telling him, "he is sorry for "his father *Ildirim*'s fortune, which was not only unexpected but "scarce to be conceived. However these and the like things are by "God destin'd for Men blinded with pride, and so elated that they "deem just and lawful whatever is suggested by their Wills. He "himself indeed has hitherto been so fortunate that it is hardly pos-"sible for the mind of man to imagine a greater prosperity than His, "but now taught by his enemy's example, he is willing of his own "accord to give a check to his good fortune before he is forc'd to set "bounds to it. Wherefore (provided they wou'd only acknowledge "the Conqueror's clemency,) he wou'd instead of an enemy be a "friend, nay a father, to *Bajazet*'s family. For he is satisfied with "his Conquests, and will never rely on the allurements of inconstant "fortune." However prevalent with others, the flattering promises of a Conqueror might be, they made no impression on *Soliman* who remember'd he was sprung from a Father more us'd to give than receive law. And therefore he unworthily treats the Ambassadors, and sending a proud answer (3) to *Tamerlane*, becomes by his unseasonable arrogance the occasion of his own calamity.

Affronts Tamerlane's Ambassadors.

III For *Tamerlane*, when he heard *Soliman*'s answer, thinking favours were not to be forc'd upon the unwilling, sends for (4) his Brother *Musa Chelebi* and generously conferring the Empire on him, "Receive, (says he) thy father's Inheritance, for 'tis not *Kingdoms*, "but a *Kingly Mind* that I seek (5)." Thus *Musa Chelebi**, when regardful of *Tamerlane*'s promises he had departed the next day from the *Asiatic* forces, who were sav'd by fortune and the Conqueror's bounty, being created Sultan obtain'd the Empire of *Asia* (6).

Musa made Emperor of Asia by Tamerlane.

IV But

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) after the victory] This clearly proves that the Battle was fought not in *Mesopotamia* but *Bithynia* as was before observ'd.

(3) a proud answer] The tenor of these letters is not given us by the *Turkish* Writers, but they own that *Tamerlane* was justly offended with *Soliman*.

(4) sends for] Some *Christian* Writers say that *Musa* taken with his Father in the battle against *Tamerlane*, was immediately set at liberty and advanc'd to the Empire. Which account we dare the less charge with falsity, because it is certain, the *Turkish* Writers carefully palliate, and, if possible, bury in profound silence every circumstance which seems to cast any odious reflexion on the *Othman* Race.

(5) I seek] a Saying worthy of eternal praises, and tho' coming from the mouth of a *Barbarian*, yet no way barbarous. Nor since *Alexander the Great* who restor'd his kingdom to *Porus*, after he had vanquish'd him, do we any where meet with an instance of such uncommon generosity in giving away Kingdoms.

(6) Empire of *Asia*] The *Christian* Writers who mention *Musa* (as *Phranza* B. I. Ch. 30) make the Commencement of his reign, not in *Asia*

But expell'd by *Soliman*.

IV. But his Brother's Ambition suffer'd him not to enjoy his Empire in peace. For *Soliman*, the moment he hears his Brother *Musa* was made Sultan in *Asia* by *Tamerlane*, assembles the *Europæan* forces (who had not suffer'd so much by the late slaughter) passes into *Asia*, and marches directly to *Prusa*. *Musa Chelebi** being much inferior in strength (for the *Asiatic* Army could not in so short a time be renew'd) is seiz'd with a panick fear, abandons his royal seat, and flying to *Caraman ogli* (7), stays with him some time. But not thinking

ANNOTATIONS.

Asia but *Europe*, and give to *Musulman* the *Asiatic* Empire. But as these Writers confound not only the Deeds but the Names of those Brothers insomuch that it cannot be guess'd who is meant by *Musa*, *Isa*, *Jesse*, *Kasem*, *Ertugal*, *Calepin*, *Cibelin*, *Cyr[illegible]*, *Musu'man*, *Jusuph* and *Mehemed*, no body will blame us if in such obscurity of Chronology and History, we prefer the accounts of the *Turks* to all others, as supported with greater perspicuity and probability

(7) *Caraman ogli*] The King of *Caramania* a Country of *Asia minor* known by that name at this day It contains the greater part of the old *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*. *Caraman*, the *Persian* Governor here before the Invasion of *Jenghizchan*, gave his name to the Province and its Kings, and was the first who usurp'd an absolute sway over it, after the *Persian* Kingdom was subverted by the *Tartars*, and was the most powerful of the Allies next to *Aladin* Sultan of *Iconium*. On this occasion we cannot but take notice that *Nicephorus Gregoras*, *George Phranza*, and other *Christian* Annalists very wrongfully refer the division of the *Persian* Provinces to the time of *Othman*, and give us tedious catalogues of these divisions, which it is by no means worth while to transcribe. The *Turks* themselves, who, assuredly, omit nothing which can be pick'd up, with the least shadow of probability, to do honour to the *Othman* Race, deny not that the *Caramanian* Kingdom is much more antient than their own, and coæval with That of *Iconium*, out of whose ruins the *Othman* Empire arose. Moreover if (as they will have it who place this division in *Othman*'s time) only that part of *Bithynia* which was subject to the *Persian* (a country certainly of no great extent) fell to his share, how could he in so short a time wrest fro[illegible] the *Greek* Emperors, then not [illegible] weaken'd, and engag'd in no foreign wars, *N[illegible]*, *N[illegible]*, *P[illegible]* and other well fortified Cities of [illegible], and at the same time carry on a war with his Neighbours and Colle[illegible] But to say nothing of the other ab[illegible]dities of this Scheme, the [illegible] of the Oriental History refutes all their Fables In the the time of *J[illegible]chan* there were no other Kingdoms between the *Ægean* Sea and th[illegible] *I[illegible]*, but Those of the *Romans* and *Persians*, and of the latter great part was swallowed up by his arms The Seat therefore of the *P[illegible]* Kingdom and these Provinces which extend eastward being over-run by the *Jenghizchan Scythians*, the Provinces which lay westward must necessarily have submitted either to th[illegible] *J[illegible]chan*, or the *Greek* Emperors, [illegible] been govern'd by their own Satrap[illegible] But since neither the one nor the other was done, nor indeed could be from the shortness of the time which the *Tartars* held *Persia*, we must necessarily come to the *Tur[illegible]* accounts, and believe that the Satrap[illegible] or Governour of those Provinces, taking the advantage of these tumults and confusions, seiz'd every man his own Province, and assum'd the regal title To pursue these things more largely is not within our design, who only desire to furnish Those with an Introduction, who shall at any time be desirous to deduce more accurately the Oriental History from its Fountain.

himself

himself safe, he resolves to go to *Isfindarbeg* (8), in expectation of escaping by that means falling into his brother's hands

V. But even in this, *Musa* finds fortune averse to his endeavours, for *Isfindarbeg*, inform'd of *Musa*'s coming and intention, sends Ambassadors to him on the Borders of his Dominions, desiring him not to enter his Territories, or if he has enter'd them, instantly to depart, for he is afraid, *Soliman* will thence take occasion to overrun his whole Kingdom. Upon this, *Musa Chelebi* being in great anxiety and not knowing which way to turn, accidentally lights on a little boat near *Nicæa*, and in it passes thro' the *Propontis* into *Europe*. *Isfindarbeg* hearing of *Soliman*'s approach, acquaints him by Ambassadors, that according to his order he had forbid *Musa* to enter his borders or to see his face, by which he hop'd he had merited a confirmation of their Treaty of Friendship and Peace. *Soliman* receiving the Ambassadors very graciously, confirms the Treaty, and dismissing them, returns to *Prusa*, where contemning his Brother's attempts, he gives himself up entirely to gluttony and drunkenness (9).

He is not received by *Isfindarbeg*

VI. Every thing succeeded to *Soliman*'s wish. His Brother *Mahomet* (10) Prince of *Amasia*, the only Person he had to fear after *Musa*'s flight, sends Ambassadors to *Prusa* to salute him as Emperor in his name, and offer him noble Presents. *Soliman*, as he could not govern himself in prosperity, speaks very sharply to the Ambassadors and sends them

Soliman [illegible] from his Brother *Mahomet*

ANNOTATIONS.

(8) *Isfindarbeg*] The quality and condition of this Prince is much controverted, whether he was one of those [illegible] Satraps so often mentioned, or a [illegible] and [illegible] of [illegible], and the neighbouring Places. His Father has the *Turkish* name given him of [illegible] *Bayazid*, but his own name has no meaning in either [illegible] or [illegible] Tongue. For these People never join two consonants together in the beginning of a word, except in such words as are of foreign extraction, as [illegible] *Constantinople*, and the like. I should believe him the Father or Grandfather of that [illegible], who, according to *George Phranza*, lost [illegible] to *Mahomed* II in the Year of Christ 1462, of the *Hegira* 866, especially since *Castamonium*, of which he was acknowledg'd Sovereign by the *Turks*, lies in the Neighbourhood of *Sinopium*, if the destruction of *Isfindarbeg*'s dominion under *Muhammed* I. in the year of the *Hegira*, 814, was not related by the *Turkish* Annals. What is to be determined in such an ambiguous affair, is left to the Reader's judgment

(9) Drunkenness] The *Turks* only acknowledge three of their Emperors addicted to Wine and Drunkenness, this *Soliman* first, next Sultan *Selim*, who from thence obtained the name of *Mest*, or *drunkard* and thirdly, Sultan *Murad* Conqueror of *Babylon*. They boast of the rest as perfectly sober and rigid observers of the Law, which is likewise taken notice of in the publick Monuments

(10) *Mahomet*] The *Turks* say that *Soliman Chelebi** and *Muhammed Chelebi** were brothers by the same mother; but that *Musa Chelebi** was indeed the Son of *Bajazet*, but by another Venter, *Muhammed* in revenge of his Brother *Soliman*'s murder unjustly committed by *Musa* made war upon him, overcame and put him to death.

R away

away without any anſwer, which alienated from him his Brother's affection and prov'd extremely prejudicial to him in his following Calamity.

Muſa becomes maſter of *Adrianople.*

VII. Mean while *Muſa Chelebi**, having after *Iſfindarbeg*'s refuſing to admit him wander'd thro' ſeveral Countries of *Europe*, ſtops at laſt in *Walachia*. There aſſembling a great number of Soldiers of his Party and aſſiſted with *Walachian* forces he re-enters the *Turkiſh* Empire and paſſing the *Danube* without oppoſition, becomes Maſter of the royal City of *Adrianople*.

He is put to flight by *Soliman*

H 809
A C 1406

VIII. *Soliman* when he hears this, rouzing himſelf as it were out of ſleep, aſſembles in the Year 809 the *Aſiatic* Army, and paſſes into *Europe*. Neither here does *Muſa* dare to try the chance of War, but either out of a natural timorouſneſs (11) or diſtruſt of fortune, chuſes rather to fly than ſtand a battle, and ſo returns to *Walachia*.

Soliman gives himſelf up to his pleaſures

IX. *Soliman* arrogantly aſcribes theſe good Succeſſes to his Bravery and Prudence, and not to the favour of Fortune. So thinking himſelf out of her reach, he drowns himſelf in Luxury and Drunkenneſs, adding the *European* to the *Aſiatic* vices. Military diſcipline, by which the *Othman* Empire roſe to ſuch a height, is neglected, Honours are conferr'd on Wine-ſellers and Panders, in a word, the Court has the appearance of a Brothel-Houſe rather than a School of Virtues, which cou'd not but alienate from him the Minds of the Generals and Great Men.

He is betray'd by his Friends and ſlain

X. *Muſa Chelebi**, who ſtill remain'd among the *Walachians*, thinking he ought to turn his Brother's Intemperance to his advantage, privately ſends meſſengers with letters to exaſperate the Great Men, who, offended at *Soliman*'s Actions, are eaſily perſwaded to revolt, whilſt he, buried in luxury knows nothing of it Whereupon *Muſa* re-aſſembles an Army and with long marches comes to *Adrianople* There he finds his Brother unprepar'd and ignorant of what paſs'd abroad, who when he could neither draw his forces together, nor any other way repel the unexpected enemy, reſolves as the only courſe in his deſperate ſtate to ſave his life by flight, and implore the aſſiſtance of the *Greek* Emperor at *Conſtantinople*. Accordingly he almoſt ſeem'd to have eſcap'd the Enemy's ſword and to be out of danger, having got twenty miles on his journey before he was purſued. But he whom fortune wou'd have ſav'd, is betray'd by his favorite vice. For thoughtleſs of his affairs, when according to cuſtom he made himſelf drunk at every houſe, and in his cups deſpis'd his Brother's power, he is taken in a Bath (in a certain Village (12) between *Conſtantinople* and *Adrianople*) and

ANNOTATIONS.

(11) Timorouſneſs] It is matter of aſtoniſhment to the *Turks* that *Soliman* immers'd in every vice was ſo ſucceſsful in his affairs whilſt *Muſa*, endow'd with ſo many virtues, was very unfortunate in war, ſo that either out of puſillanimity or caution, he never durſt come to a pitch'd battle

(12) Village] Its name is not extant in any Annals. Nevertheleſs it ſeems to have been *Chorli** the *Tyrilos* of the Ancients, or ſome Village in the neigbour-

and slain by one of *Musa*'s Soldiers (13). His Body is brought to his Brother, who tho' glad of his rival's death, orders it to be buried in the Sepulchre of his Grandfather *Murad*, call'd *Chodavendikar*.

XI. *Soliman* governed the *Turkish* Affairs seven Years and ten Months. He was a young Man far exceeding all the rest both in good and bad qualities, a valiant and most fortunate General, of an invincible mind, a Prince of great clemency and generosity, on the contrary, when he came to relax, and imagin'd he had nothing to fear, he degenerated into vice, and sunk into luxury, by which means, he was not only deserted by his constant companion Fortune, but forfeited the deep-rooted affection of his People and Great Men, and turn'd it to *Musa*. This was the cause that with his prosperity he quickly lost both his life and reputation, and sullied with his Vices (14) the *Othman* race which had been render'd illustrious by his Virtues.

His Character

ANNOTATIONS

neighbourhood of it, because that is twenty two miles from *Constantinople*, and equally distant from *Adrianople*

(13) Soldiers] Some *Christian* Writers relate that *Soliman*, or, as they call him, *Cyricelebi*, intent upon an expedition against the *Despot* of *Servia* departed this life But they seem to confound him with his Brother *Musa*, who wag'd war against *Sigismund* King of *Hungary* and the *Servians*. We therefore deem the *Turkish* account nearest the truth.

(14) Vices] The *Turks* only acknowledge five of their Emperors to have been remarkably addicted to vice, namely, the three before-mentioned in this Chapter, with *Mustapha* I who unfit to govern, was twice advanc'd to the Throne, and twice depos'd, and *Ibrahim*, boundless in his lust, and for that reason after a short reign depos'd and strangled. Of all the rest, the *Turks* make honourable mention, and boast of their virtues as superior to all description: and even in those whom they speak reproachfully of, they say that it is the vices, not the Emperors, that they blame.

The End of the *Interregnum* under SOLIMAN.

INTER-

INTERREGNUM Under

*MUSA CHELEBI**

Son of SULTAN BAJAZET.

BOOK II. CHAP. II.

I. Musa *in* Europe, II *and* Mahomet *in* Asia *created Emperors*, III *divide the Empire between them.* IV. Musa *advances towards the* Morea. V. *Routs the* Hungarians. VI. Mahomet *turns his Arms against* Musa, VII *and drives him into* Servia VIII Musa *assisted by the* Servians *takes* Adrianople, IX. *against whom* Mahomet *leads his Army.* X *He is honourably receiv'd by the* Greek *Emperor,* XI. *and is saluted Emperor by the* Europeans XII *He conquers takes and kills his Brother.* XIII. *Why call'd an* Interregnum ?

Musa is saluted Emperor in *Europe*,

I. MUSA CHELEBI* after having undergone many hardships, thro' various Scenes of Fortune and Battles fought with great ardor arrives at a Crown, and on his brother *Soliman*'s death is saluted Emperor at *Adrianople* by the whole *European* Army

and *Mahomet* in *Asia*

II. Whilst these things are transacting in *Europe*, *Mahomet* Lord of *Amasia*, *Soliman*'s uterine brother, but *Musa*'s by another mother (1), hearing of *Soliman*'s murder, assembles in order to revenge the fratricide, as many forces as he can, and seizes *Prusa*, where he is created

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) Another mother] That he was Brother of *Soliman Chelebi** and Son of *Bajazet* by another Venter is out of all dispute. Here indeed is introduced by foreign Writers *Orchan* Son of *Calepin* or *Soliman*, and said to be slain by his Uncle *Moises* [or *Musa Chelebi**] at the river *Hebrus* which washes *Adrianople*. But the falsity of these Stories is sufficiently expos'd by the testimonies of the domestic Writers, who know nothing of any *Orchan* Son of these Parents. They tell us that *Musa Chelebi** was taken Prisoner by a Soldier of *Muhammed*'s of the regiment called *Seraje*, and put to death by the order of his brother, as will be seen hereafter.

Emperor

Emperor by his Army. But being taught by the example of his unfortunate brother, he applies himself to settle the *Asiatic* affairs before he publiſhed his reſolution to dethrone *Muſa*. For ſince *Tamerlane's* Expedition, *Aſia* weaken'd by the *Tartars*, had been invaded by ſo many and ſuch ſtrong bands of robbers and infeſted with conſtant incurſions, that her former wounds could by no means be heal'd. Theſe plunderers *Mahomet Chelebi** vigorouſly attacks, routs, kills and takes, and ſo with great fame reſtores peace to *Aſia*.

III. His Exploits reaching *Adrianople* ſtruck ſuch terror into *Muſa Chelebi** that inſtead of claiming his father's whole Empire as he had reſolv'd, he was now afraid of loſing what he poſſeſſed, and durſt not contend with his brother. Wherefore to divert *Mahomet* from any thoughts of revenging his brother's murder, he offers by Ambaſſadors to reſign to him all *Aſia* and promiſes to be contented with the *European* dominions.

They divide the Empire

IV. And that he might remove from his brother all ſuſpicion, he turns in the year 814 his arms againſt the Chriſtians, and finding the fortune of war, which he had ever dreaded, more favorable, takes in the *Morea* the Towns of *Peraverd* and *Matrune*, where having plac'd garriſons he ſends his army into winter quarters.

Muſa invades the *Morea*, H 814 Ch 1411

V. *Muſa*, exalted with the ſucceſs of this year's expedition, attempts greater things the next year and aſſembling a ſtronger Army, marches againſt the *Hungarians* (2), govern'd at that time by King *Sigiſmund*. Theſe near the City *Samandria* ſituated not far from the *Danube*, he attacks and defeats in ſuch manner that ſcarce a man is left to carry news of the ſlaughter It is ſaid, nothing incumber'd the enemy ſo much as the immenſe riches they brought with them. For ſuch a quantity of gold and ſilver is reported to be found in their tents after the victory, that the Janizaries meaſured the money in Bowls and Hats, and the reſt of the ſpoils ſupplied the charge of building a large Temple (3) called *Jami Atyk*, the foundations whereof were laid the ſame year.

Routs the *Hungarians*

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Hungarians*] *Philip Lonicerus* (with almoſt all the *Chriſtian* Writers) aſcribes this expedition to *Cyricelebi* or *Soliman*, Tom. I. p 28. He tells us that *Cyricelebi* rais'd forces ſufficient to infeſt the neighbouring *Bulgarians*, *Servians* and *Macedonians*, in a tumultuous Incurſion: That to check his attempts *Sigiſmond* King of *Hungary* aſſiſted by the *Bulgarians* and *Bohemians*, led out a numerous Army againſt him, and engag'd him in a bloody battle at *Columbacium*, a Town of the *Servians* near *Samandria*, not far from the *Iſter*, in the year of *Chriſt* 1409. This Battle the *Turks* aſſign to the year of their *Hegira* 815 or 1412 of *Chriſt*. But ſince the *Turkiſh* Annals expreſsly aſcribe this expedition to *Muſa Chelebi**, this error alſo ſeems to be owing to the confuſion of Names.

(3) a large Temple] This likewiſe confirms our opinion. For an *Inſcription* on the gate of this *Moſch*, call'd at this day *Jami Atyk*, or the *Old Jami*, teſtifies that it was begun by *Muſa Chelebi** out of the ſpoils taken in that battle, and dedicated to God as a perpetual Monument of his Victory.

Mahomet turns his Arms against Musa,

VI. Hitherto fortune had smil'd on *Musa*, but was soon going to frown on him. For to no other cause can be ascrib'd the calamity which befell *Musa Chelebi**, otherwise a Prince of an excellent disposition, great justice and moderation. About this time, his Prime Vizir *Korshah Muluk* (4) and the famous General *Ornusbeg* (5) without any provocation revolt to *Mahomet* and by private letters signify to him "that the *Othman* Empire something weaken'd by civil dissensions "wou'd not bear to be govern'd by two Heads (6), and that the whole "Army seeing *Musa*'s timorous nature, were of opinion the Empire "should be confer'd on him alone. If therefore he would hasten into "*Europe* with his forces they promis'd to deliver to him not only the "whole Army, but his father's Throne."

and drives him into Servia.

VII. *Mahomet Chelebi** at the receipt of these letters instantly prepares to pass into *Rumelia*. On the other hand, *Musa* incourag'd by his late successes, diligently assembles his Army, in order to secure the Straits of *Callipolis* before his brother's arrival. But finding his Generals only made a show of fighting, and that nothing was done as he desired, perceiving moreover the treachery of his Men, in the very heat of the battle, privately withdraws out of the field, and escapes into *Lazvilaieti* †. *Mahomet*, prevented by the Season from proceeding any farther and establishing his Empire, returns with his army to winter at *Prusa*.

† Or *Servia*.

Musa assisted by the Servians takes Adrianople.

VIII. *Musa Chelebi** assisted by his old friend the Prince of *Servia* (7)

ANNOTATINOS.

(4) *Korshah Muluk*] *Muluk* seems to be his proper name. *Kor Shah* in the *Persian* language signifies a *blind* or *one-ey'd Prince*. Hence it may be concluded, that he was a *Persian*, tho' it is not certain.

(5) *Ornusbeg*] Or as others read, *Evrenus* †. Foreign Writers give a fabulous account of this name, which see in the Preface. It seems to be no *Turkish* name, but corrupted from the *Latin Honorius*, which it is known was the name of a *Greek* Emperor. If this were prov'd, we must believe that *Ornus* was once either himself a *Christian*, or born of *Christian* Parents, who abjuring his Religion, embrac'd the *Mahometan* Superstition. However this be, the *Turkish* Annals are full of his Heroic Actions.

(6) By two Heads] They had no good reason for their revolt from *Musa Chelebi**, a just and merciful Prince. They pretended therefore a singular concern for the safety of the *Othman* Empire, whose ruin they, as good and faithful Counsellors, were to provide against, by electing the most worthy of the Brothers, and so putting an end to the Schism. But what Traytor will ever want a colour for his perfidy before he reduces it to action?

(7) Prince of *Servia*] The *Turkish* Writers seldom give us the names of *Christian* Princes in their Narrations, but commonly signify them by their Dominions, as, *Majar Kyrali* King of *Hungary*. *Nemche** *Kyrali* King of *Germany*. *Rum Tekkuri* Emperor of the *Greeks*, &c But it is gathered from *Christian* Historians that this was *George*, *Despot* of *Servia*, whose two Sons *Murad* II, depriv'd afterwards of their Eyes, having married the Daughter before.

[† The *English* Reader may perhaps wonder how *Ornus* can be read *Evrenus*, but it must be observ'd that this word in *Turkish* begins with an *Elif* and *Vav*, which may express either *o* or *ev*, consequently by inserting an *e* after the *r*, *Ornus* becomes *Evrenus*]

with

with warlike Stores and Forces, returns the same winter, into his Empire, and becomes master of *Adrianople* destitute of a garrison. There he finds *Korshah* and *Ornusbeg*, designedly left by *Mahomet* in *Europe*, and either because he saw they could not effect their intentions, or out of his merciful temper, pardons and receives them into favour.

IX. But what has establish'd the Kingdoms of other Princes, prov'd his destruction, whilst he unseasonably shows Mercy to the ungrateful, and *Musa* by a repeated example has demonstrated, that an enemy is sooner to be trusted than a newly reconcil'd friend. For these Generals, unmindful of the favours bestowed on them, and perhaps spurr'd on by the fear of future punishments, invite *Mahomet* again to seize the Empire, who coming from *Nicæa* with a greater Army, passes the *Bosphorus* by the *Greek* Emperor's permission (8) under the very Walls of *Constantinople* (9).

against whom *Mahomet* leads his Army.

X. The same day he enters *Constantinople*, and is receiv'd by the Emperor in a very honorable manner, and presented with rich presents worthy the Giver and Receiver. After which, on the third day, he pursues his march to *Adrianople*.

He is honorably received by the *Greek* Emperor,

XI. He had scarce been two days (10) from *Constantinople*, when he is met by *Shah Muluk* and *Ornusbeg*, who had withdrawn in the night from *Adrianople*. They immediately fall prostrate at his feet,

and saluted Emperor by the *Europeans*

ANNOTATIONS.

(8) Emperour's permission] His name is not express'd by the *Turks*, who only call him *Istambol Kaisari*. But it may be inferr'd from the time, that it was *Manuel Palæologus*.

(9) Walls of *Constantinople*] The passage of this *Muhammed Chelebi** thro' *Constantinople*, and the honours pay'd him there are not mentioned by any *Greek* or *Latin* Writer, except *George Phranza*, who after his custom confounds this *Muhammed Chelebi** with *Soliman*. What credit the *Turkish* Historians deserve is left to the Reader to judge.

(10) Two days] It was either the Town of *Epibatæ*, twelve hours distant from *Constantinople*, and the Seat of the great General *Apocaucus*, the most implacable enemy of *John Cantacuzenus*, or *Sylebria*, about the same place, and two hours nearer to *Constantinople*, in which are seen at this day pompous ruins of Palaces, which *Gregoras* says belong'd to *John Cantacuzenus*. In these ruins, under a great heap of Stones, I found on a piece of Porphyry a foot and a half square, ingraven the Statue of a Woman sitting upon a Chariot drawn by four Horses, crown'd with Laurel, her hair flowing as if thrown back by the wind, a Palm in her right hand, and in her left the reins of the horses, with this Inscription, δῦς ἀφιεροῦται Ὀλυμπ ξδ The name is unhappily lost, either by age, or in the heap of the ruins, her nose and right ear are mutilated, all the other parts are entire. The Antiquity of the Stone was sufficiently manifested by the notation of the 64th *Olympiad*, or five hundred and twenty years before *Christ*. I preserved that Monument in my *Palace* in the Suburbs of *Constantinople* on the *Bosphorus*, built in a place the most agreeable that can be imagined. But I hear that since my departure, it fell with the whole Palace, and the other Monuments into the hands of the Daughter of *Sultan Ahmed*.

and

and kissing, according to custom, the ground (11), salute him Emperor in the name of the Europaean Army.

He conquers and takes his Brothers.

XII. *Musa Chelebi** deserted by his own people, and destitute of counsels and forces, thinks of repairing to his old Sanctuary *Servia*. But he is scarce out of the Suburbs with a few attendants, when he is surprized by *Mahomet*, who was come before with a select band of Soldiers. Despair rendering him valiant, since he finds he must conquer or die, he draws up his people and fights with great bravery, Valour however giving way to numbers, when he sees his attendants vanquish'd and dispers'd, he himself also takes to flight, with intent to prosecute his design. But not far from the City he is overtaken by a horseman of the Regiment call'd *Seraje* (12), and brought alive to his brother, who instantly puts him to death, he having administred the *Turkish* affairs in *Europe* three years and six months (13). *Mahomet*

ANNOTATIONS.

(11) Kissing the ground] No mortal is thought worthy to kiss the hand of the Emperor. So that if the Prime Visir comes into his Presence, either going to or returning from an Expedition, thrice bending his right knee, he puts his right hand to the ground, and then applies it to his mouth and forehead. He does the same when he withdraws. It is likewise the custom to walk not with a slow, but with a swift pace in presence of the Emperor. For a slow pace shews something of Majesty, which is thought to have too much presumption in so sublime a Presence.

(12) *Seraje*] It was the first and oldest Regiment or Legion of Horse amongst the *Arabians* and *Turks*, from which the word *Sararen* seems to be corrupted. For of any *Arabian* Nation by that name there is no mention in their Annals, nor has *Saracen* either in the *Arabic*, *Persian* or *Turkish* Languages any meaning. Into the place of *Seraje* the *Spahi* have succeeded, as into that of the *Segban*, or ancient Foot the *Janisaries*. To this day the Foot under the *Basha's* are call'd *Segban*, the Horse *Seraje*. But this word is derived from the *Persian Seranjam*, i. e. *oppos'd to danger*, or *over whose head danger hangs*, compounded of *Ser*, the *Head*, and *enjam*, *Danger*, or any *unfortunate accident*. As *bashime gelan Seranjam*, *Danger*, or some *unhappy event* which hangs over my head. There is at this day another body of *Turkish* forces call'd *Serden Gechdi**, or the *forlorn Hope*, whose Institutions shall be spoke to hereafter. *Segban* is likewise a *Persian* word, and signifies *Keeper of the Dogs*. For *Seg* in the *Persian* Language is a *Dog*, *ban*, *a Keeper*, as *Bagban*, *Keeper of the Vines*, *Rubban*, *Keeper of good Ways*, by which name they denote the *Greek* Monks, as *Rubban Zahiduzahid perest*, a *superstitious (or abstemious) Monk*, and observer of Superstition.

(13) Six months] The number of the years assign'd by *Christian* Writers to these three Sons of *Bajazet* agrees not at all with the *Turkish* account. The *Christians* say that *Soliman* reign'd six years, *Orchan*, *M*[illegible] the pretended Uncle of *Orchan*, a[illegible] *Mahomet* fourteen together. But t[illegible] *Turks* assign seven years and [illegible] months to *Soliman*, three years [illegible] months to *Musa*, and to *Mahomet* alone, eight years ten months, which added together make twenty years two months It is evident that the *Christians* relying on no authority have given to *Mahomet* that time in which his brothers also reign'd The computation of *Phranza*, who assigns only three years to the civil dissentions of the brothers, has been already taken notice of.

amply

amply rewards (14) the Soldier's diligence, makes him one of his Counsellors, and at last advances him to the Prime Vizirship. This man became afterwards a famous General among the *Turks*, and erected a noble *Medrese* at *Callipolis*.

XIII. Before we proceed, it will be proper to observe that neither of these Princes whose Lives we have been relating, is acknowledged for Emperor by the *Turks*, but that whole space is called an *Interregnum* The reason they alledge is, that neither *Soliman Chelebi**, nor *Musa Chelebi**, ever possess'd the whole *Othman* Empire, but whilst one rul'd in *Europe*, the other always reign'd in *Asia*. Wherefore neither do they reckon the three foregoing years, in which *Musa Chelebi** was yet alive, to *Mahomet*'s (15) reign, but fix the beginning of it to the year of the *Hegira* 816, in which *Musa Chelebi** as we said, was put to death by his brother's command.

Why call'd an *Interregnum?*

H 816
Ch 1413

ANNOTATIONS.

(14) Amply rewards] As a reward, they say, he was admitted amongst the privy counsellors called *Musahib*, and afterwards advanc'd to Prime Vizir. There is at this day at *Callipolis* in the Cittadel a fine building said to be from him, called *Bagazbisar*, as likewise a Market place at *Constantinople* called *Ser iye Pasha*, which seems to have deriv'd its name from him or his Son For there is no other eminent Basha of that name amongst the *Turks*

(15) *Mahomet*] It must be observ'd, that during the life of *Mahomet*, *Musa* took the appellation of *Chelebi** only, but after his death he was call'd Sultan. The eleven years and four months in which his brothers held the Sceptre, are only an *Interregnum* with the *Turks*.

The End of the *Interregnum* under MUSA CHELEBI*.

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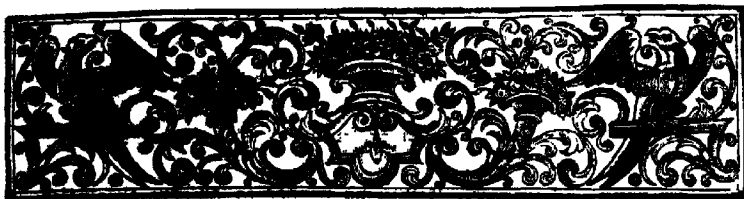
The REIGN of

MAHOMET I.

Son of BAJAZET,

AND

Fifth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK II. CHAP. III.

I. Mahomet *created Emperor of* Asia. II *Clears his Dominions of Robbers.* III. Musa *being killed, he obtains the whole Empire* IV *Attacks* Caraman ogli. V. *Makes Peace with him* VI *Attacks him again, guilty of breach of faith, and forgives him* VII *Subdues* Isfindarbeg. VIII. *Makes the* Walachians *tributary* IX *A false* Mustapha *appears in* Asia, X. *who is vanquish'd and hang'd* XI. Mahomet's *death conceal'd by* Ibrahim Chan XII *His Character.*

Mahomet created Emperor of *Asia*

I. THO' we have related in the foregoing Chapter, *Mahomet's* (1) actions whilst his Brothers were alive, a recapitulation will be necessary for the better carrying on the thread of the History The common saying, that *whilst two are contending for a thing a third comes and runs away with it*, was verified by this Emperor. For whilst his elder Brothers excited by ambition and an immoderate thirst of dominion, were fighting for the Kingdom, and by civil dissensions wasting their forces, with which, had they been friends, they might not only

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Mahomet*] The first Emperor of the *Turks* of this name. It is a doubt amongst some *Christian* Writers whether he was the Son of *Bajazet*, or his Grandson by *Soliman*; but since the *Turkish* Writers almost unanimously make him the Son of *Bajazet*, the thing seems to me out of all dispute. Of his first name *Muhammed Chelebi* I have spoke in another place.

have

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MAHOMET I.

Son of Bajazet, fifth Emperor of ye Turks,
in the Year 1413.
From an Original in the Seraglio

have defended their borders but enlarged their Empire, he remain'd quiet in *Amasia* of which he was Prince, intent only upon clearing his Provinces of the plundering *Tartars*, and restoring peace and tranquillity to his People. For the sake of which, when he heard his eldest Brother *Solyman* was escap'd out of the battle by means of *Alipasha*, *Bajazet*'s prime Vizir, and created Emperor at *Adrianople*, he sent Ambassadors to congratulate him and promise in his name all faithfulness and subjection. But afterwards being told that *Solyman* was taken by *Musa* and kill'd, he resolves to expiate fratricide with fratricide (2) and leaving the Arts of peace which he had hitherto exercis'd, seizes *Prusa*, where in 813 he is declar'd Emperor by his People.

Clears his Dominions of Robbers

II. Things succeeded thus prosperously, it was by many thought adviseable to carry war into *Europe*, but the politick *Mahomet* was of another opinion. For tho' by the good Success, he had hitherto been attended with, he knew his subjects to be well-affected to him, yet he easily saw, if he should now attack his brother *Musa*, it would both incourage the plundering *Tartars* not yet quite expell'd, and render the future war more difficult with an enemy prepar'd to receive him. On the other hand, if he conceal'd his intention, and deferr'd his designs till a more convenient season, he shou'd more easily subdue both his *Asiatic* and *European* Enemies. Wherefore the same year he obtain'd the Empire, he unexpectedly surprizes, takes and beheads *Cara deulet Shah* (3) the only surviving leader of the *Tamerlanian Tartars*, who relying on the Emperor's absence, was destroying with fire and sword the Countries about *Amasia*. The rest of the Plunderers are kill'd and dispers'd, so that in a short time, peace is restor'd to his dominions.

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) Fratricide] Altho' the *Turks* allow that their Emperor may kill every day fourteen of his Subjects with impunity and without impeachment of Tyranny, because (say they) He does many things by divine impulse, the reason of which is not permitted them to know. Yet Fratricide and Parricide under whatever pretences committed have never been approved by them. And in the two first ages of the *Othman* Empire, they think the Brothers and Kinsmen of their Emperors were never justly put to death by Them, unless for rebellions in their *Sanjacs*, or when it was done with the consent of their Nobles. But in the third age these *Sanjacs* were taken away by *Solyman*, memorable for his fruitless siege of *Vienna*, and it was ordained by law, that the Emperor's relations, should not be kill'd, but to prevent conspiracies, closely confin'd. Altho' after that law by the connivance of Fathers or Brothers some of the Sons of Sultans retain'd their *Sanjac*, yet now all that distribution of Apannages has entirely ceas'd, and the Sons of the Sultans, according to the humour of the Prince upon the Throne, are more strictly confin'd as *Solyman* II, and *Ahmed* II, or with less rigor as under *Mustapha*, the present Sultan *Ahmed* III. The place of their confinement is the imperial Palace.

(3) *Cara deulet Shah*] A name compounded of *cara*, *black*, and *deulet*, *happy*, (which at this day is us'd by the *Tartars* not the *Turks*,) and *Shah* King or Lord.

III. *Asia*

He kills *Musa*, and is sole Emperor H. 816. A. C. 1413

III. *Asia* being thus in tranquillity, at the instigation of his Great Men, he passes into *Europe* in the year 816, and having taken and put to death his brother *Musa*, is proclaim'd at *Adrianople* Emperor of all the *Alothman* dominions, in the 39th year of his age. At the same time he orders the *Eskijami* founded in that City by *Musa*, to be finish'd.

He is attack'd by *Caraman ogli*,

IV. Whilst *Mahomet* is thus employ'd in *Europe*, an unexpected flame is kindled in *Asia* For *Caraman ogli* thinking himself able to crush the *Othman* Power (which he had always look'd upon with a jealous eye) whilst the Emperor is busied in his *Europæan* wars, assembles his forces, and laying waste all *Bithynia*, encamps under *Prusa*, burns the Suburbs, and closely besieges the City itself one and thirty days. *Mahomet* hearing this, passes his army into *Asia* by the Straits of *Callipolis* to chastize his insolence, and to that end strengthens his forces with those of *Sabbeg* and *German ogli*

who sues for peace,

V. But the perfidious *Caraman ogli* cou'd hardly withstand the fame, much less the sword of *Mahomet* For being inform'd of his coming, he instantly departs from *Prusa*, and chusing to hazard his honor rather than his life, puts on the *Neckerchief* (4), and humbly entering the Emperor's Camp, confesses his fault on his knees and begs pardon. The Emperor's clemency suffer'd him not to refuse it, and therefore receiving him into favour on certain conditions, he returns to *Prusa*, where he the next year orders to be erected, a large *Jami*, *Imaret* and *Madrese*, with a very spacious *Clan* (or Exchange for the use of merchants) being resolv'd to inlarge by peace the Empire obtain'd by war.

which he breaks, and is vanquish'd and pardon'd

VI. But *Caraman*'s perfidiousness, did not yet suffer the Emperor to be quiet. For hearing that *Mahomet*'s victorious forces were dismiss'd, he breaks the treaty without cause, and invades the *Othman* Empire. *Mahomet* full of Indignation, instantly meets him with a select Party, and attacking him, puts him to flight, tho' he fought with great bravery. *Caraman* with his Son are taken prisoners, and being

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) *Neckerchief*] A *Turkish* Phrase signifying Surrender, or a Petition for grace and favour, called *Aman*, from whence the saying *bogazine Mahrama tacdi*, *he put on the neckerchief*, i. e. he declar'd himself his future Subject. The law exempts such from punishment according to the præscript of the sentence or *Fetua*, *Egilan bash kisil mez*, *let not the bended head be struck off*, unless where the number of Prisoners is so large that danger may be feared from Them, or where the irruption of an enemy prevents their being carried off. In either of these cases they may be kill'd with impunity to lessen the number of *Christians* Thus if any *Musulman* has married a captive *Christian* Woman, he may not lie with her out of the limits of the Empire, as well because while he is on hostile ground, the event is yet uncertain, as because if by any accident she should make her escape before she is brought to-bed, there is danger that the child will be brought up in the Christian Religion, which with them passes for a mortal Sin.

brought

brought before the Emperor, he is thus reproach'd by him for his breach of faith: "I, says he, no less just than victorious, will and "command Thee, unjust and vanquish'd to be sav'd: for it is incon-"sistent with the imperial Honor to return like for like to wicked and "profligate Men. It was thy part to commit the treachery suggested "by thy mind, and it is mine to act agreeably to my Majesty and Mag-"nanimity" (5). Thus reprimanded he dismisses him, and restores him his Provinces, only placing Garrisons in *Sivribisar*, *Nukteydak*, *Enishehri*, *Sedishehri*, *Numad*, *Saidul* and *Ain*.

Isfindarbeg vanquish'd and put to death.

VII. *Caraman* being thus kept in awe, *Mahomet* thinking it proper to chastize *Isfindarbeg* Prince of *Castamoni*, his Ally in the Conspiracy, turns his Arms against him, and takes the principal and best fortified Towns of the Countries of *Castamoni* and *Janik*. The next year with a greater Army, he subjects to his dominion *Buri*, *Jiga*, *Tosia*, *Bakyrkuresi* with *Changyri** where *Isfindarbeg* resided, and distributes that Prince's great Treasures among the Soldiers (6). At the same time he builds a stately Palace at *Amasia* (7).

Mahomet makes the Walachians tributary

H 820
A C. 1418

VIII. After weakening all his Enemies in *Asia*, *Mahomet* assembles his *Europæan* and *Asiatic* forces, and departs from *Prusa* to *Adrianople*. From thence he marches against the *Walachians*, routs their Army, lays waste great part of the Province, takes *Severia* (8), where is a bridge said to be built by *Trajan*, and the Castles *Sakche** and *Cale* (9),

ANNOTATIONS.

(5) Magnanimity] It will perhaps be astonishing to some to find so much clemency, and a mind so truly royal in a *Barbarian* Prince; but it has long pass'd into a Proverb, *that* Greece *is no longer in* Greece, and *that as many* Barbarians greecize, *as* Greeks barbarize For I call not them *Greeks* who are born in *Greece*, but those who have transferred the *Grecian* Learning and Institutions to themselves. It is justly said by *Isocrates* in one of his Panegyricks, *I had rather call them* Græcians *who are Partakers of our Discipline, than those who only share with us the same common birth and nature.*

(6) among the Soldiers.] It is customary with the *Turkish* Emperors to promise their Soldiers all the Goods of the Enemy unless the City is taken by surrender, the Walls only and the Government of it reserv'd to Themselves. It is not to be express'd what fire this gives to Men naturally greedy of Plunder and Rapine.

(7) at *Amasia*] He seems to have erected this Palace at *Amasia* not to fix the Seat of his Empire There, but only for a place of retirement and diversion. The Seat of the Sultans never was there, it having been only an Apennage (as they call it) for younger Princes.

(8) *Severin*] A Tower now decay'd by time, and retaining its name perhaps from some *Roman* Prefect, or other Prince of the same name its Founder. In the place where it is now seen, *Trajan*, when he march'd against the *Scythians* threw a Stone Bridge over the *Danube* of admirable Workmanship, whose Foundations appear at this day in the bottom of the River. I shall enlarge more upon this in my description of *Moldavia*.

(9) *Cale*] No City of this name is now to be met with in these Regions. But as it is plac'd between *Sakche* and *Girgiew* Towns upon the *Danube*, the first bordering upon *Walachia*, the latter upon *Moldavia*, I imagine the Town *Tusa* or the Castle [illegible] to be intended by it.

ſituate on the other ſide the *Danube*, and fortifies *Girgiow* with new Works and a good Garriſon, ſo that the *Walachians* could not any more paſs the *Danube*. Pent up in this manner, and preſs'd by the ſword of the Enemy and the want of warlike Stores, deſpairing alſo to preſerve their liberty, they purchaſe their ſafety with the promiſe of an annual tribute (10); for the performance whereof the Sons of the Prince and of three Great Men are given to the Emperor in hoſtage. After which he returns to *Adrianople*.

A falſe *Muſtapha* appears in *Aſia*.

IX. The fruits of theſe victories obtain'd with ſo much blood and labour were like to be wreſted from *Mahomet*, by the fraudulent hand of an Impoſtor (11). At this time were rais'd in *Aſia* great tumults by a man of low fortune belonging to the family of a certain petty Prince, *Peder Ulledyn* (12). *Muſtapha*, eldeſt Son of *Bajazet* fell, (as we have related) in the battle with *Tamerlane*; but it was ſaid to be uncertain whether he was carried away captive, or ſlain with the ſword of the Enemy. The Perſon above-mention'd falſely aſſum'd the name of Prince *Muſtapha*, and being aſſiſted by the advice of *Peder Ulledyn*, gather'd together a numerous band of profligate Men, with whom he laid waſte *Zagara* (13), and the neighbouring Countries. The next Spring attempting greater things, he beſieg'd *Nicæa*, and perſwaded the Inhabitants to join in the Rebellion.

ANNOTATIONS.

(10) annual tribute) It cannot be denied that the *Walachians* are ſubject to the *Turks* by right of Arms: and therefore the Salt-pits and Cuſtoms were not long ago uſed to be ſold out of the Imperial Exchequer. But the annual Tribute being increaſed under Prince *Matthew* to 50000 Imperial Crowns, they were reſtor'd to the Principality. But the *Moldavians* who voluntarily put themſelves under the Protection of the *Turks*, as low as the time of one *Peter* ſirnam'd *Rares* only made a *Bairam Pyſhkiſhi*, or, as we ſhould ſay, an *Eaſter Offering* of 4000 gold crowns, twenty falcons, and forty bred mares. In his time the *Turks* demanding regularly the *Jeziye* or *Harag*, or a great Sum of money in the name of a Tribute, *Peter's* anſwer was, that he would indeed reſign the Principality, but to change a Preſent into a Tribute, or make any addition to the money to be offered to the Emperor was out of his power. But when in the extremity of his affairs he had retir'd into *Tranſilvania*, the *Turks* obtain'd their demands, and appointing a Succeſſor to Him, ſo enlarg'd them by degrees that the unhappy *Moldavians*, beſides 75000 Imperial crowns, are oblig'd to pay 50000 *Leonines* in lieu of the *Jeziye Mali*, or the *Eaſter-Offering*.

(11) Impoſtor] He is not the Impoſtor *Muſtapha*, whom the *Chriſtian* Writers make to have rebell'd in the time of *Murad* II, encourag'd by aſſiſtance from the *Greek* Emperor. For this made his appearance in *Rumelia*, otherwiſe call'd *Romania*, the other in *Aſia*, being a *Plebeian* and ſubject of one of the *Perſian Reguli* or petty Sovereigns.

(12) *Peder Ulledyn*] Seems to be one of the petty Sovereigns who revolted from the *Perſians* in the time of *Jengbizchan*.

(13) *Zagara*] A Town of *Aſia minor* different from that placed near *Philippolis* in *Europe*, and call'd the *Eſki Zagara* or old *Zagara*.

X. This

X. This Sedition daily increasing, seem'd to threaten great mischiefs to the *Othman* Empire, especially as *Peder Ulledyn*, to deceive the rest, was seen to reverence his Servant as his Lord. Wherefore the Emperor thinking it of the utmost importance to the *Othmans* to stifle the rebellion in its birth, immediately leads his forces from *Adrianople* into *Asia*, and finds the Impostor still intent on the Siege of *Nicæa*. The Counterfeit *Mustapha* raising the Siege boldly marches with his Followers against *Mahomet*, but at the first Charge is vanquish'd by the Imperial Army, and put to flight. Part are slain, and part taken, among whom the Impostor with his Lord *Semidine ogli* (14), attones for his crime on the Gallows.

who is taken and hanged

XI. The rebellion being thus quell'd, *Mahomet* in the year 824, takes *Eski Gelibali* (15), *Tarkly*, and *Herge*. Returning from this Expedition he is seiz'd with a flux, of which he died. He had appointed by Will his eldest Son *Murad* for Successor. But as *Murad* was then waging war with part of the Army in *Rumelia* (16), the prime Vizir

Mahomet's death is conceal'd.
H 824
Ch 1421

ANNOTATIONS.

(14) *Semidine ogli*] a Patronymic of the foremention'd *Peder Ulledyn*, and is the same as *Son of Semadine*.

(15) *Eski Geliboli*] The ancient *Callipolis* seems to have been a Fortress plac'd at the Hellespont, and now either destroyed or lost under a new and barbarous name.

(16) *Rumelia*] The meaning of this word amongst the *Turks* has been explain'd above in Ch. IV. Here it will not be improper to give a more exact account of this name. The *Chalifes* of the *Arabians* (or as they are commonly call'd by *Christians*, of the *Saracens*) whilst they remain'd about the *Euphrates*, and had not extended their limits thro' *Natolia*, call'd all those Countries which belong'd to the *Roman-Greek* Empire *Rum-yli* (i. e.) *Part of the Romans*, probably because the *Greeks*, the Possessors, call'd themselves ῥωμαῖοι or *Romans*, as their Successors do at this day. To this my opinion, besides the consent and testimony of domestic Writers, is added a corroborative Proof from the name of the City *Erzirum*, which City, (in *Armenia major*) as a Bulwark long withstood the sacrilegious Invaders, and diverted their rage from the rest of the *Asiatic* Provinces many years. For it is compounded of the *Arabian Erz*, *Land* and *Rum*, *Rome*, as if you shou'd say, the Land or Territory of the *Romans*. But after They had (finding an opportunity from the Wars which the *Greek* Emperors wag'd with the *Latins*) reduc'd all *Natolia* to their obedience, with the diminution of the *Roman* Empire, the Apellation of it was likewise reduc'd, and at length confin'd to that part of *Europe* which is subject to the Empire of the *Othmans*. However with the *Turkish* Geographers it is customary to call all *Europe* by the name of *Rum*; for instance, *Rumden anadoluye gechmek**, i. e. *to pass out of* Europe *into* Asia. So on the contrary, *Anadoldan Rume*, *out of* Asia *into* Europe. From hence a fivefold signification of this word *Rum-yli*, or, as it is call'd, *Rumelia* has arose. With Geographers it is taken for all *Europe*. In the more ancient *Arabian* Historians it comprehends all those Provinces which lie from *Erzurum* westward, sometimes *Europe* so much of it as is subject to the *Othman* Empire, sometimes also *Greece* properly so call'd without *Peloponnesus*, but rarely *Greece* and *Peloponnesus* together. And that this is the meaning of it here, I am perswaded from the agreement of the *Turkish* and *Christian* Historians, that *Murad* (his Father

yet

Vizir *Ibrahim Chan* (17) conceals the Emperor's death one and forty days, transacting affairs as if by his order. Afterwards at *Murad*'s return, he delivers up to him the Army and Kingdom. Whereupon being saluted Emperor by All, he sends his father's body to *Prusa* to be buried in the *Jami* he had founded.

His Character.

XII. *Mahomet* lived forty seven, and reigned eight years and ten months (18), a Sultan, great in War and Peace, and fam'd for Justice and

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yet living) made an expedition into the *Morea*, tho' with what success both are silent.

(17) *Ibrahim Chan*] The *Turks* call him their *Ulysses*. Wherefore also Sultan *Murad* II, gave him the Appellation of *Chan*, never bestow'd on any but the Princes of *Persia* and *Tartary*, for his concealing the death of the Emperor forty one days in such manner that not one of the Lords of the Court had the least intimation of it, whilst himself directed every thing. The same name is given to his Descendents at this day, being call'd *Ibrahim chan ogli*, a Race the most illustrious, powerful and wealthy in the whole *Turkish* Empire. You will scarce find a City of any account in those Countries which obey'd the *Turkish* Empire in the days of *Ibrahim chan*, but what glories in him as the Founder of its *Jami*, and Revenues belonging thereto. And indeed so many and so magnificent are the Structures of this Race, that it is not easy to conceive where their Founders cou'd find money for so vast an expence. The Posterity of this *Ibrahim*, have no legitimate Wives, in the opinion that no blood is worthy of their own, and therefore like the Sultans, they chuse to themselves Concubines out of the Captives as well for Offspring as Pleasure. By the precept of their great Ancestor, they court no offices civil or military, nor enjoy any besides the *Tevliyet* or inspection of the *Jami* founded by themselves and Ancestors, on pretence indeed that it is unworthy of their descent, but in reality, because they fear lest being advanc'd to the degree of Vizir they should experience the fate so common to the Vizirs, and be depriv'd at once of their Wealth and Dignity Nor can the Sultans themselves compel them into any public Offices, from which They were exempted by the peculiar indulgence of Sultan *Murad* II, an Indulgence afterwards confirm'd by *Soliman Canuni* in honour of *Ibrahim Chan*, and in force to this day. But if any necessity of the empire calls upon them, they voluntarily send a supply of forces into the Camp, levy'd and arm'd at their own expence They have the greatest honours paid them by the Sultan, who makes them two annual visits, eats with them at a costly entertainment, and allows them more frequent access to his Person than any others. When they enter, it is customary with the Sultan to rise a little from his Seat, and to their Salutation of *Selamunalykum* (*peace be with thee*) to answer, *Alykum es-selam* (*peace be also with you*) Then, as they are standing with a submissive silence, the Sultan says to them, *Saffa geldinuz*, or *Chosh geldinuz*, *you are welcome.* Sometimes he bids them sit down, and talks with them of ordinary affairs which he does only with the Mufti, or, rarely, with the prime Vizir. Of this Race I knew one *Ibrahim beg* a man of few words, grave, and of a majestick carriage. Twice or thrice in the year I was visited by him in my Palace on the *Bosphorus*, and when he took leave of me, he always said, with a low voice, *Eyucal! may you continue in health!* At his entrance, the Salutation was *Chair ola*, *may it be well with you!* for to give the Salutation of peace to *Christians* in the usual form of *Selamunalykum* is a crime with them. Hence *Christian* Princes may easily imagine how infirm is the Peace they can promise themselves from the *Turks*

(18) ten months] This is to be remembred in order to settle the confus'd

and Clemency. He is chiefly extoll'd for raising the Othman Empire from the low condition it was reduc'd to by the Tamerlanian slaughter, and the more destructive quarrel of his Brothers (19). Neither did he retrieve it only from ruin, but left it both enlarg'd and establish'd to his Son and Successor.

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fus'd calculation of the *Christian* Historians. See more concerning it, in the Note at the end of Book II. Ch. II.

(19) his Brothers] The *Christian* and *Turkish* Historians agree that, after the terrible blow given to *Bajazet* by *Tamerlane*, the *Turkish* Affairs were reduc'd to that low ebb, that, could but their discord have united the *Christian* Princes, the *Othman* Power might have been, if not wholly destroyed, at least easily expelled out of *Europe*. But since the Judgments of God lie beyond the fathom of our reason, we had better in silence adore, than bring them under our Censure.

During the INTERREGNUM and *Mahomet's* Empire, there reign'd in *Europe*,

At *Constantinople*, EMANUEL PALÆOLOGUS, 1387-1421.

In the *West*, SIGISMUND King of *Hungary*, 1410-37.

In *England*, HENRY IV. 1399-1412. HENRY V. 1412-22.

In *France*, CHARLES VI. 1381-1422.

The End of the Reign of MAHOMET I.

The REIGN of

MURAD II.

Son of MAHOMET,

AND

Sixth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK II. CHAP. IV.

H. 825. A. C. 1422. A false *Mustapha* appears.

I. *MAHOMET*, as I have said, dying in the year of the *Hejira* 825, was succeeded by a Son worthy of so great a Father, *Murad* II. in the eighteenth year of his age. In these his younger years he gave a no less signal than difficult proof of his Virtues. An obscure Person (different from the other Impostor) (1) impudently assumed the name of *Mustapha* Son of *Bajazet*, who perished by an unknown fate in the battle with *Tamerlane*. This Man first lurking about *Selanik*, soon gain'd so great a reputation by his name, that he perswaded not only the common People but the *Europæan* Soldiers, with many Officers, that he was the very Person he pretended to be. So when he had allur'd to his Party almost all *Rumelia*, and assembled a considerable army, he passed thro' the Straits of *Callipolis* (with the connivance (2), as 'tis said of the *Greek* Emperor) into *Asia*, in order to seize *Prusa* the Seat of the *Othman* Empire.

Thessalonica

II. *Murad*,

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(1) different from the other] This was an *European*, and made his first appearance in *Thessaly*, a distinct Person from that *Asiatic* mentioned before. The *Christians* pardonably take him for the true *Mustapha*, as they could at that time have no Intelligence of the *Turkish* Affairs but from the *Greeks*, who to avert the last danger would probably have embraced even a Beggar for a King.

(2) with the connivance] I should take this for a Calumny of the *Turks* upon the *Grecians* for a pretence of War against them, did not *Phranza* (Book I. Ch. XXXIX. and XL.) tell us

MURAD or AMURATH II

Son of Mahomet, sixt Emperor of the Turks in the Year 1422

[illegible] Original in the Senator[illegible]

II. *Murad*, taught by his Father's example, sends the prime Vizir *Bajazet* into *Asia* (3) with chosen Troops to stifle the flame in its birth. But the Vizir was not crown'd with the same success as had attended *Mahomet*. For the counterfeit *Mustapha* with his army bravely meets *Bajazet*, and joining battle, vanquishes and kills the Vizir, and routs his forces destitute of a General.

He defeats *Murad's* Vizir

III. The sad news of this defeat being brought into *Europe*, *Murad* not at all discourag'd, says, "This misfortune has not befallen me by "the virtue of these Impostors or by my Vizir's fault, (whom I have "often experienc'd to be both a brave Soldier and excellent General) "but by some just tho' unknown indignation of God against his Peo-"ple, which, if we would have our affairs to prosper, must first be "appeas'd by true repentance, hearty prayers, and fervent tears (4); "and then I shall think my self sure of Victory, and of being reveng'd "on

Murad appeases God by *Seid Bechar*,

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us that *Mustapha* (whom he supposes to have been the real Son of *Bajazet*) was brought by *John Paleologus* out of *Peloponnesus* to *Callipolis*, and set over the Western Parts of the Empire, tho' *Murad* earnestly desired the *Greeks* not to lend him any assistance.

(3) into *Asia*] *Phranza* in the place above mentioned gives us this Relation inverted. For he says, that the Battle fought by *Mustapha* with *Bajazet*, *Murad*'s Vizir, (an expert, says he, and able Warrior) was near *Adrianople*, but that *Mustapha* after the Victory moved into *Asia* against *Amurath*, by whom being defeated he returned into the West, and was pursued, overtaken, and killed by *Murad*, with the assistance of some *Genoese* Vessels. But as it is undeniable that *Muhammed* I dy'd at *Adrianople*, and that *Murad* II his Son returning out of *Rumelia*, there first assum'd the Ensigns of the Empire, I had rather accuse *Phranza*, than the *Turkish* Writers, of an oversight in this Affair.

(4) tears] The *Turks* ascribe every Victory not to Multitude, Valour, or human Industry, but solely to divine Providence; and therefore they always seek a just Ground of War, that they may not seem to take Arms against the Will of God. But they call those Wars just, (and only those) which are undertaken for the Propagation of the *Mahometan* Religion: On the contrary, unjust Wars with them are such as are enter'd into for the enlarging the Bounds of their Empire, or the Royal Revenue. From whence it may be easily imagined that they can never want a just pretence for a War. Thus their Opinion was dextrously laid hold of by *Kuprili Mustapha Basha*, prime Vizir to Sultan *Soliman* II, Uncle of the present Emperor *Ahmed*. For when the *Turkish* Soldiers, struck with former disasters, refus'd the Service, he in a Council gave this Opinion; "That the Victories of the *Germans*, "and their own Defeats, were ow-"ing not to the Valour of the Ene-"my, but to the Sins of the *Musul-"mans*, therefore the Gold and Sil-"ver Furniture of the Emperor was "to be sold, and the Militia to re-"ceive their Pay out of the Money "arising from the Sale; and by a "Proclamation of the Emperor it "was to be declared, that he under-"took the War against the *Germans* "for no other Cause but merely the "Propagation of the Faith; and "therefore they who were obedient "to the Laws of the *Coran* ought to "follow him, not as forc'd into the "Service, but as Volunteers; for if "he had only 12000 true Observers "of the *Coran*, he assuredly pro-"mised himself a speedy recovery of "whatever had been wrested from "the

"on our Enemies." He concluded with this common *Turkish* Saying, *Virminje Maabud ne eile sun Mahmud?* i. e. *When the Creator opposes, what can the Creature do?* (5) At that time flourish'd among the *Turks* for virtue and holiness *Seid Bechar*, who in the common opinion of the *Othmans* could obtain of God whatever he pray'd for. To this man, living in a Cell, far from the allurements of the World, *Murad* humbly directs his steps, and having declared the news of the defeat, he adds, "The increase and victories of our Enemies are a sufficient "argument to me that our Nation by innumerable transgressions of the "Law have incurred the wrath of the eternal and omnipotent God. My "own sins hinder me from expiating their offences and begging par-"don; for when I consider my own unworthiness, I readily confess, I "neither can nor dare stand before the divine Majesty. Wherefore I "see a necessity of thy mediation, by means of which I may approach "the throne of mercy, appease the spirit of our most holy prophet, "and render him propitious to my self and the whole army of *Mu-"sulmans*." *Seid Bechar* yielding to *Murad*'s request, is by way of extasy (pardon the fable) snatch'd up the following night into heaven, where he sees the pure and immaculate spirit of *Mahomet* (6), and thrice

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"the Empire by the *Germans*." And accordingly in the first Expedition he retook *Shehirkioi*, *Nissa*, *Semendria*, and *Alba Græca*, but in a second he lost near *Salankemen* almost the whole Army, with his Life and Reputation.

Creature do?] The *Turks* ascribe this Saying to Sultan *Murad* II, by which is meant that, without God Man labours in vain. *Maabud* is one of the 1001 Names of God (for so many the *Turks* give him) and signifies his having a Care of his Servants and Worshippers. *Mahmud* is a proper Name and has regard to *Maabud*, so that the Proverb may be literally render'd, *Maabud* not giving, what will *Mahmud* do?

(6) spirit of *Mahomet*] Satan (who apes the divine Works and Mysteries) while by the *Mahometan* Religion he was desirous to overthrow the Doctrine of *Christ*'s twofold Nature, invented something like it with regard to *Mahomet*, but so fabulous, that it seems a greater Paradox than that Doctrine even to human Reason which more easily fathoms other Fables than the Abyss of divine Mysteries. For who can without laughter hear what his Biographers say concerning the Spirit of this false Prophet, and which his Followers assert with no less Warmth than we do *Christ*'s Divinity. They pretend that seventeen thousand years before God decreed the Creation of the World, he planted in the same place, where the World now is, Paradise, and in the middle of it a lofty Tree called *Tuba*, in whose Branches he lodg'd the *Taus* or *Peacock*, and put into its Heart the Spirit of *Mahomet*, to be there carefully preserved. At length, when he had determined to create this visible World (which according to them will be the last,) and to give it to Man for his Habitation, he took something out of the Spirit of *Mahomet*, and with it animated the first Man called *Adem*, and placing him in Paradise, caution'd him against eating of *Wheat*. *Adem*, when he rang'd the Garden at full Liberty, and unmindful of the divine Precept, fell to eating of Wheat, immediately perceived, he had swallowed something deadly, but however felt the Spirit of *Mahomet* living within him, and knew it would prove the Cause of a future Resurrection. After this *Adem* dy'd, and was insensible

thrice kissing (7) the dust of his feet, humbly beseeches him to obtain of God by his powerful prayers, victory for *Murad* over his profligate enemies. To this petition repeated three times, *Mahomet* at length answers: " for my sake (says he) the divine Majesty has heard *Murad*'s " prayers, and therefore tell him, God will be with him and give him " victory." Early the next morning, *Seid Bechar* in obedience to the Prophet's command, sends *Murad* word of the welcome message he had received, who transported with joy, pays a second visit to the Saint. Whereupon *Seid Bechar* with his own hands girds the Sultan with a sword (8), saying, " Go on and prosper, most august Emperor, for " victory attends you."

IV. *Murad*, incourag'd by the words of the Saint, returns God thanks, and leads his army with great marches against the counterfeit *Mustapha*. Mean while the Impostor had assembled his forces near *Ulubad*, where having broke down the bridge, he undauntedly waited the coming of *Murad*. The Emperor arriving, encamps on the other side of the River, in expectation of the promised assistance from Heaven, and perhaps to extinguish by delay the first heat of sedition which is usually very great This method succeeded to his wish. For when both Armies had remain'd six days without motion, and the Generals anxious of the event, had continued in their posts, on the seventh, the Impostor was seized with a violent bleeding at the nose which lasting three days, made him so weak that his life was almost despair'd of. This extraordinary and unexpected accident caused the enemy's army

and miraculously vanquishes the Impostor

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sible as well of his Birth as of the Death of his Posterity, till *Mahomet* was born, when the particle of *Mahomet*'s Spirit leap'd within him, and as by Sympathy, declar'd to him and his Posterity eternal Salvation, and the blessing of a Resurrection. Whereupon *Adem* broke out into Thanksgiving, and said——After so many Ages my Posterity have at last brought forth my only true and genuine Son, who is that last Prophet for whom God created the World and me——After *Mahomet*'s Death (or as the *Turks* say, his *Hejret* or *Flight* out of this World) his pure and immaculate Spirit was translated to Heaven, and there enjoys the beatific Vision of God.

(7) kissing] The *Turks*, tho' they are of Opinion that the Dead, even the very Saints, give no assistance to the Living (from whence the Hereticks of our Age have suck'd their Poison) yet grant that *Mahomet*'s Soul hears and conveys the Prayers of Men to the Throne of God, and believe this Privilege to be peculiar to him amongst all the Creatures; in this they seem to agree with the Orthodox

(8) with a sword] From that time it is a sort of Law with the *Turks*, for the Emperor the second Day after his Advancement to the Throne, if he is at *Constantinople*, to visit with great Solemnity, the Monument *Eyubensari*, (of which more hereafter) standing in the Suburbs called *Eyub*, and there to be girded with a Sword *Sheikh Tekke*, or the Prelate of the Monastery, who concludes the Solemnity with these Words· *Yuri nusret Senundur*, *Go*, *Victory is yours*, *only yours from God.* But if the Emperor is at *Adrianople* or elsewhere, he is obliged to perform this Solemnity at his return to *Constantinople*, as if he was enjoin'd it by some divine Law.

to

to imagine God was come to blast the counterfeit *Mustapha*'s designs. Accordingly the Impostor's followers dreading the divine wrath, desert him in the night and fly for their lives. He himself follows quickly after, but not with the same speed, by reason of his weakness caused by loss of blood. *Murad* hearing what had happen'd, immediately pursues the run-aways, and taking the counterfeit *Mustapha* extremely ill in the Town of *Cara Agoda*, commands him to be instantly beheaded.

Caraman ogli slain,

V. The Impostor being thus miraculously destroy'd, it remained to quench the sparks of this flame which were flown into the neighbouring countries. For when *Bajazet*, *Murad*'s Vizir was vanquish'd by the counterfeit *Mustapha*'s forces, *Caraman ogli Mehemed beg* thinking the *Othman* affairs in a desparate state, resolved to seize at least some part of *Murad*'s dominions. Wherefore assembling as large an army as he could, he besieges *Andalia*, in hopes that being destitute of relief it would quickly surrender. But the garrison, whilst they are bravely defending their walls, accidently kill *Mehemed beg* himself with a cannon-ball. The *Caramanians* terrified by this disaster, and despairing to take the town, chuse another General of the same name, and with great precipitation raise the Siege.

and his Ally *Othman beg*

VI. *Gamze beg* Governor of *Andalia*, seeing the enemies retiring in disorder, couragiously sallies out to pursue them. *Othman beg* Sovereign of *Tekke* (9) was come, perhaps the evening before, to *Caraman*'s assistance, but at the same time, was seized with an acute distemper (10) and deserted by his men. *Gamze beg* in taking the enemy's camp, finds this Prince breathing his last, and cutting off his head sends it to *Murad* in token of his victory, to compleat which he moreover adds all *Othman beg*'s dominions to the *Othmannic* Empire.

Mustapha rebels,

VII. To celebrate this noble victory obtain'd without hazard or toil, *Murad* returns in triumph to *Adrianople*. There whilst he is thinking to cultivate the arts of peace, and settle the state of the Empire, which the times had not yet suffer'd him to do, he is again disturb'd by civil dissention. For his younger brother *Mustapha* (11) a youth, allur'd

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(9) of *Tekke*] It is known that this Country belongs to *Asia Minor*, and lies not far from *Kutabia* (probably so called from some *Tekke* there) but its ancient Name does not occur. As to *Othman beg* he seems to be one of the Posterity of those *Persian* Satrapæ so often mentioned.

(10) with an acute distemper] The *Turks* will have this to be a Miracle in confirmation of the promise of their Lawgiver, and the Prediction of *Sheikh Seidi Bechar*. So strangely are Men prepossessed with any prevailing Superstition.

(11) brother *Mustapha*] The same whom *Phranza*, Book I Chap XL. calls *Mustaphopulus* Brother of *Ameta*, and who, he says, came into *Constantinople* after the Siege was raised by *Murad*. But I cannot comprehend his meaning, when he there says, that the *Turks* which came out of *Asia*, full of admiration asserted that he was like the Founder of their Religion *Mahomet*, and might by his Looks

allur'd by the deceitful counsels of the *Greeks*, and perhaps incited by an unseasonable thirst of dominion, rebels in *Asia*, seizes *Nicæa* weakly garrison'd, and being amply supplied with all necessaries by the *Greeks*, strongly fortifies it as the seat of the future war.

VIII. *Murad* to stifle this rebellion in time, leads a great army into *Asia*. *Mustapha Chelebi** as he did not dare to meet his brother in the field (for besides the *Greek* soldiers he was join'd only by a few plunderers) shuts himself up in *Nicæa*. But walls prove no safeguard to him. *Murad* assembling his forces closely besieges and valiantly assaults the town, and on the 25th day takes it with his brother, whom he immediately orders to be strangled in his presence.

and is taken and put to Death

IX. To repair the wound given by this execution to the *Alothman* race, *Murad* in the year 827 marries the daughter of *Laz ogli* (12) betrothed to him before, a Lady excelling all of her time in beauty, and the *Helena* of the *Servians*.

Murad espouses *Laz ogli's* Daughter

H 827

Ch 1424

X. The next year 828 afforded *Murad* a singular occasion to display his virtue and enlarge his dominions. The growth of the *Othman* Empire had been long looked upon with an evil eye by *Isfindarbeg* Prince of *Siphab* (13), who fearing to be dethron'd, was meditating to weaken it by his utmost endeavours. That it would be in vain to attack so warlike a Nation, the unfortunate attempts of his Predecessors had convinc'd him, and whether it was to be destroy'd by policy, he had resolv'd to try. Wherefore he had not only made peace with *Murad*, but also a league, and to remove all cause of suspicion, given him his Son *Cassimbeg* in hostage. Nay, he had observed the agreement, whilst he knew a numberless army was ready upon the least motion. But hearing *Murad* had taken a Wife, disbanded his army, and laid aside all thoughts of war, he imagin'd he had a fair opportunity to effect his purposes, and therefore like a lurking Tyger, with forces he had long been preparing, he rushes forth and cruelly destroys with fire and sword the neighbouring Cities *Tarakly* and *Burni*, to compel the unwilling to obedience, and terrify perhaps the Inhabitants from making a Defence.

Isfindarbeg rebels.

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Looks alone be known to be Emperor For not to insist that such Expressions could hardly be spoken by the *Turks* who have no Picture of *Mahomet*, the Words themselves agree much better with the counterfeit *Mustapha*, whom they allow to have so exactly resembled the *Mustapha* whose Name he assumed, that they who had before been about him as well as his Guards, affirmed that he was the same. I am apt therefore to believe that *Phranza* impair'd in his Memory by age, cares, and calamities, when he began to write his History, ascrib'd what he had heard in his youth concerning the counterfeit *Mustapha*, to the other *Mustapha* Brother to *Murad*.

(12) *Laz ogli*] of the Family of *Lazarus*, *Despot* of *Servia*, from whom likewise all *Servia* has received the Name of *Lazogli Vilaieti*, or *the Land of Lazarus*.

(13) *Siphab*] A Country in *Asia Minor*.

XI. *Murad*

on his Submission is pardon'd.

XI. *Murad* upon news of this rebellion, instantly assembles his forces and passes from *Europe* into *Asia*. When he came to *Bolova*, he is met by the Nobles of *Siphah*, detesting the daring and rash enterprize of their Prince, and humbly imploring him to depose *Isfindarbeg* and make his Son, whom he had in hostage, their Governor. When *Isfindarbeg* hears of this unforeseen proceeding, not knowing what to do, he also comes to *Murad*, begs pardon, and offers both his second Son in hostage and his only Daughter, of incomparable beauty, in marriage to the Emperor; with which the Sultan being appeas'd, promises to forgive his past offence.

Murad's expeditions in *Asia* and *Europe*.

H. 830
A. C 1426

XII. In his return from this expedition, he takes the famous City of *Izmir*, a place of great trade at this day; and subdues not only that Town but the adjacent Countries *Monteshe* (14), *Aidin* (15), and *Sarichan* (16), with all the dominions belonging to *Hamid ogli* (17). The East being thus quieted, in the year 830 he turns his arms against the *Venetians*, lays waste the Island of *Janta* (18), takes the Castle of *Giogerjinlik* (19), and with great spoils collected from the adjacent Countries on the Continent, returns victorious to *Adrianople*. The same year, near *Ergene* (a marshy place half-way between *Constantanie* and *Ederne*) he orders to be built at a vast expence a Bridge of square stone, with seventy-two arches, and on the West-side, a *Jami*, *Bath*, *Imaret* and *Chan*.

Gierman ogli subjects his dominions to *Murad*

H 831
A C 1427

XIII. In the year 831, *Gierman ogli* (so often mention'd) taught by the examples of his neighbours, whilst he reflected on his former narrow escape, thought it safer to calm the Lion's rage with a peaceable Cession than have to do with his Talons. Wherefore he comes with profound respect to *Murad*'s Court, and voluntarily delivers to him the keys of all his Towns. *Murad* gives him a very honorable reception, loads him with royal Presents, and makes him perpetual Sanjack of *Ipsalam*.

Murad invades *Greece*

† *Athens*

XIV. After this, in order to subdue what yet remain'd in *Greece*, under the dominion of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, he assembles both his *Asiatic* and *Europæan* forces, and leads them into *Greece*. As he met with no opposition, he takes *Selanik*, *Atine* † and *Karline*, and with a great number of Captives and Cattle returns with his victooious army to *Ederne*.

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(14) *Monteshe*] A Country known to Geographers by this Name.

(15) *Aidin*] A Town of the Province of *Monteshe*.

(16) *Sarichan*] Or *Citron-Inn*, a Town of the same Country, and the Country it self.

(17) *Hamid ogli*] See Note, p. 41.

(18) *Janta*] An Isle of the *Adriatic* Sea subject to the *Venetians*, now called *Zante*, and formerly *Zacynthus*.

(19) *Giogerjinlik*] A Fort on the Borders of the *Morea* whose ancient Name is forgot. It signifies Etymologically a *Pigeon-House*.

XV The

XV. The next year 832, *Greece* being subdu'd, he marries *Isfindar-beg*'s daughter, betroth'd to him four years before, of whom after six years was born the great *Mahomet*, vanquisher of *Constantinople*, and scourge of Christendom.

marries *Isfindarbeg's* daughter
H 832
A C. 1428

XVI. At the time of this Hero's birth in the year of the *Hejira* 838, *Caraman ogli* (20) rebels in *Asia*, as if with design to crush in his infancy the Conqueror of one half of the world. *Murad* immediately leads his forces into *Asia*, and at the first assault takes *Akshehri* (21) and *Conia*. *Caramanius Ibrahim beg* finding himself too weak to resist the Imperial Army, goes to *Menla Gamze* (22), a Monk of great fame for virtue and sanctity, and intreats him to make his peace with the Emperor. The Monk readily undertook the office, and by his piety, reverenc'd by all the Musulmans, or eloquence, (in which he is said to have excelled) so wrought on *Murad*, that forgetting the injuries done him, he freely pardon'd *Caramanius* and restored him to his former state.

Caramanogli rebels
H 838
A C 1434

XVII. The *Asiatic* affairs being settled, in the year 839, a new enemy arises in *Europe*, *Morakraly* brother of the *Greek* Emperor (23) As this man was besieging *Giogerjinlik*, a Town on the borders of the *Morea*, *Cassim Basha*, *Beglerbeg* (24) of *Rumelia*, with a select band of

Murad defeats the Prince of the *Morea*.

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(20) *Caraman ogli*] The same Prince of *Caramania* who surrended his Country to Sultan *Murad*, and married his eldest Sister. But how he came to fly out of *Rumelia* into *Asia* is not known.

(21) *Akshehri*] Or *White-Town* in *Asia Minor*.

(22) *Menla*, or *Mola Gamze*] At that time the most celebrated Saint amongst the *Turks*, whose Cell even to this Day is in *Caramania*, religiously visited by them.

(23) *Morakraly*] He seems to have been the Despot *Demetrius*, who about that time, according to *Phranza* govern'd the greatest part of the *Morea*. He is called Brother of the *Grecian* Emperor from the affinity he had with him

(24) *Beglerbeg*] What the Word signifies etimologically has already been shewn But it must be observed, that tho' all Bashaships where Governors are honour'd with three *Tugs*, are called *Beglerbeglics*, yet by way of eminence only three Bashas have at this Day the Title of *Beglerbeg*, namely, of *Rumelia* who resides at *Sophia*, of *Anadol* who lives at *Kiutabia*, and of *Damascus*, formerly also the Basha of *Buda*. The rest, tho' their Flatterers sometimes give them the Appellation of *Beglerbeg*, yet at Court have no higher Title than that of *Desdur-mukerrem*, i. e. *Plenipotentiaries*. That Word is derived from *Dura*, by which a Character expressing the Imperial Name is signified, to bear which and to propose in the Emperor's Name Mandates in their Jurisdictions is allowed to these alone next to the Vizir. Such is their Authority in the *Othman* Empire, that, as long as they bear that Name, if they go from the Metropolis into the Provinces allotted to them, or are sent from one Province into another, in their Journey (without the Walls of *Constantinople*, where alone they have no Jurisdiction) they have a Power over all their inferiors, of whatever Province, equal with that of the prime Vizir They can at pleasure hang, behead, or punish with any other Death, the Guilty, nor can the Basha of the Place give them any Obstruction. His redress is only complaint to the Court against any abuse of Power in these Plenipotentiaries.

European soldiers unexpectedly attacked him and put him to flight The Conqueror having taken and slain most of his enemies, return'd laden with the spoils of their Camp.

War with the *Hungarians*

XVIII. Mean while, a fierce war breaks out with the King of *Hungary*. Battles are fought with doubtful and various fortune (25). sometimes the *Hungarians*, and more often the *Turks*, are defeated. At last the brave General of the war *Michal ogli Alibeg* (26), assembling a stronger army, like an inundation over-runs the richer Provinces of *Hungary*; carries away captive the Inhabitants, little expecting such an incursion; and with great booty and fame returns to *Adrianople*, in which City Sultan *Murad* orders to be built in the year 840, a stately *Jami* (27) and *Imaret*, Structures worthy an Emperor

H 840. A C 1436.

Belgrade besieged in vain

XIX. Whilst these things are transacting, the *Hungarians* taking *Ali beg*'s departure for a flight, rush again into the *Turkish* dominions destroying all with fire and sword. *Murad* to check their boldness and keep them more in awe, passes the *Danube* near *Vidin*, and lays waste the country wherever his forces could march At length he besieges the great Bulwark of *Hungary*, *Belgrade* (28), in order to secure his own People from the inroads of the *Hungarians* and to weaken his enemies by continual incursions; but fortune did not favour his designs For the brave defense of the besieged, and the approach of Winter force him to raise the Siege when he seemed to be very near taking the City But in his return he subdues *Sophia* (29), with some other Towns of *Bulgaria*.

Valak ogli is dispossess'd,

XX. *Murad* was however vexed at his disappointment before *Belgrade*, and ascrib'd it not so much to the valour of the enemy as to treachery. *Valak ogli* was nearly allied to the Sultan in blood and friend-

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(25) various fortune] The *Christian* Annals ascribe glorious Victories in those Days to *John Huniades* General of the *Hungarians*.

(26) *Michal ogli*] Of this Family I have spoken in the Preface. His Irruption into *Hungary*, and the Calamities thence brought upon the *Christians*, are passed over in silence by *Christian* Writers.

(27) *Jami*] A large Mosch commonly known at this Day by the Name of *Eski Jami* or *the old Mosch*, it is the largest of all those of *Adrianople*, and stands near the Place where the Vizir holds his Court.

(28) *Belgrade*] *Alba Græca*, formerly *Taurunum*, universally known and now limiting the *Turkish* Empire on the side of *Hungary*. Whether the *Turkish* Losses in the Siege of this City were so great as the *Christians* relate, may justly be doubted by him, who reflects that after the raising of the Siege, the *Turks* in their return assaulted and took *Sophia* and other Towns in the same Country, perhaps *Nissa*, *Scopia*, *Novomont*, or *Shehirkioi*) by the Confession of the *Christians* themselves They indeed say, that these Places were taken before the Siege of *Alba Græca*, but the *Turks* say afterwards.

(29) *Sophia*] The Metropolis of *Bulgaria*, and Residence of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rumeli*, a City without Walls. It seems to derive its Name from a Church built like *Sancta Sophia* at *Constantinople*, tho' not of the same largeness, and now turned into a *Jami*.

ship

ship (30), and had always so behav'd that it would have seemed a sin to question his fidelity. But upon a closer enquiry, it appear'd that he had not only discovered the *Othman* counsels to the King of *Hungary*, but also done his utmost to prevent the taking of *Belgrade*. Wherefore to punish so unexpected a treachery, the Emperor commands the eyes of his two Sons, whom he had in hostage, to be put out, marches himself with an army into *Servia*, takes the City of *Semendre* on the *Danube*, seizes the territory of *Zerin ogli* (31), and thus dispossessing the Prince, subjects all *Servia* to his dominion.

and flies to the King of Hungary,

XXI. *Valak ogli* happy only in escaping by flight the due reward of his treachery, applies to the King of *Hungary* (32), excites him against the *Turks*, and breaks off a treaty of peace; by which means, as if fortune had conspir'd against all his places of refuge, he became the occasion not only of the following slaughters, but also of that King's death.

Caraman ogli rebel, but pardon'd
H. 84[illegible]
A. C. 14[illegible]

XXII. In the year 844, the Mosch called *Eski Jami* (33) begun at *Adrianople* by *Musa Chelebi**, is finish'd. The next year *Caraman ogli Ibrahimbeg*, inveterate enemy of the *Othman* Empire, kindled a new war. For breaking the conditions of peace, he had lately confirm'd by oath, he enters with an army the *Asiatic* Provinces destitute of a defense, and miserably lays them waste. At the first notice of this affair *Murad* flies into *Asia*, assembles an army at *Prusa*, and that the state might not in the mean while suffer farther damage, sends before some chosen forces he had brought with him. These are met in their march by *Caraman*'s wife the Emperor's elder sister (34) (given him formerly in marriage for the stricter band of their alliance,) who bids them halt and lay aside warlike thoughts, promising to be arbiter of peace, and to end the war to her brother's satisfaction. Accordingly she goes to her brother, sets forth in an elegant speech her husband's offence, begs pardon with tears, adding, her husband should bind himself by oath, never to act in the least against the *Othman* Empire, nor his soldiers on any account, just or unjust, ever set foot in the Emperor's dominions, and

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(30) blood and friendship] *Christian* Writers also relate, that *George*, Despot of *Servia*, gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Murad* for a Confirmation of the Peace. And as these are more accurate in giving the Names of Princes than the *Turks*, I see no reason for questioning it, especially since they add, that the Sons of *George*, after the rupture between their Father and *Murad*, were depriv'd of their Eyes, which is acknowledg'd also by the *Turks*.

(31) territory of *Zerin ogli*] With the *Turks*, the Country along the River *Save* from its conflux with the *Danube* as far as *Peterwaradin*, is known by this Name.

(32) King of *Hungary*] This was *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary* and *Poland*, more known by the *Varnesian* Slaughter than any other action.

(33) *Eski Jami*] Etymologically the old Mosch, of which, *See* Note above (27).

(34) elder sister] The time of this Marriage is not ascertain'd, but it seems to have been after the surrender of the *Caramanian* Prince, in the Year of the *Hejira* 831.

that

that she would be the pledge of those conditions. Her eloquence, and his brotherly affection entirely reconcile the angry Emperor. Wherefore on these terms *Murad* receives him into friendship, and confirming the former league by an *Abd-name* (35), returns into *Europe*.

Murad resigns the Empire H 847. A. C. 1443.

XXIII. The Empire being now in profound peace, its enemies reduc'd, and a treaty concluded with the *Hungarians* (36), *Murad* tired with cares and expeditions, voluntarily resigns, in the year 847, the Empire to his Son *Mahomet*, and retires to *Magnesia* (37) with design to lead a private life.

Caraman excites the King of *Hungary* to league against *Murad*

XXIV. When this was known, *Caraman ogli* who but the year before had by the intercession of *Murad*'s sister, obtain'd his pardon, thinking it a proper time to be reveng'd, meditates again the destruction of the *Othman* Empire. So discovering the treachery which he had long harbour'd in his bosom, he privately sends a letter to the King of *Hungary*, saying, " *Murad*, that old destroyer of the world, has abdicated the " Empire, and resign'd his scepter to his Son *Mahomet*, a youth un-" qualified by his age and understanding for the administration of civil " or military affairs. Wherefore if you ever intend to revenge the in-" juries you have receiv'd, a fairer opportunity will never offer. For " if I on the *Asiatic*, and you on the *Europæan* side, invade at the same " time the *Othman* dominions, we shall doubtless very quickly rout out " the whole *Othman* race, and restore the injur'd and dispossess'd Princes " to their former happiness."

Invasion of the *Hungarians*, &c

XXV. The King of *Hungary*, who had lately, with his hand on the Gospels, sworn by the immortal body of *Christ* to observe the conditions of the peace, would not have readily listen'd to this advice, if he had not been perverted by the authority of the Pope of *Rum* (38) At his instigation therefore and absolution from his oath, he assembles an army

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(35) *Abd name*] an *Arabian* Word compounded of *Abd*, a *Covenant* or *Condition*, and *Namè*, a *Letter*. By this Name the Letters are signified which foreign Ambassadors, after a Peace obtain'd, procure from the Sultan, to their respective Princes, containing the Terms of the Peace (which the *Arabians* call *Mevad*) and ratified with the *Dura*, or Character of the Imperial Name.

(36) with the *Hungarians*] Shamefully broke by *Ladislaus*, as shall be related in a following Note out of the *Turkish* Historians.

(37) *Magnesia*] No *Christian* Writer, whom I have seen, mentions this first Abdication of Sultan *Murad*. With the *Turks* it is clear that the *Varnesian* War happen'd under *Mahomet* II, of which *Murad* was only General, not being then Emperor, and that he, the War being finish'd, retired a second Time to *Magnesia*, and *Mahomet* from the Year of the *Hejra* 847, reign'd to the Year 850, when *Murad* being recalled by the Nobility, *Mahomet* by reason of his Youth, was sent to *Magnesia* to live privately till the Death of his Father, which the Series of this History will more amply declare

(38) of the Pope of *Rum*] The unseasonable Zeal of this Man has been sufficiently deplored by the *Christians* But the common *Turks* (not the more learned) believe the Pope to be immortal, and in proof of their Opinion relate a Fable, That a Pope being wounded in the Face with a Sword by

army and being joined by the *Bohemian* †, *Polonian*, *Latin*, *Bulgarian* † *Chichi* *Valak ogli*'s auxiliaries, who had all conspir'd the destruction of the *Othman* Empire, he leads them into the *Musulman* dominions.

Murad resumes the Empire

XXVI. So great armies consisting of such warlike nations, inspir'd the *Christians* with as much courage as they struck the *Musulmans* with terror. Their fear was increased by the youth and unexperience of their Emperor, and therefore they unanimously resolve in counsel to recal *Murad* to the Empire. Whereupon Ambassadors with *Mahomet*'s consent are dispatch'd to *Murad*, beseeching him to resume the reins of the Government, and defend the State with his counsels and sword, so terrible to the enemies. *Murad* rejects this ambassy, saying, "You "have both an Empire and Emperor, do whatever you shall deem for "your welfare and advantage: but envy me not the quiet and peace-"able life which after so much toil endur'd for your sakes, I think, "I have deserv'd." The Ambassadors returning a second time and urging him more vehemently, he at length consents, and with the utmost speed passes thro' *Callipolis* into *Europe*.

The battle of *Varna*

XXVII. At *Adrianople* having consulted with his Son and Great Men about the state of affairs, he takes upon him (tho' unwillingly and after many intreaties) the office of General. To discharge which the more happily, he leads out his army the third day, and with long marches proceeds towards *Varna* (39), where he was inform'd the *Hungarian* King

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by [illegible] the Caliph, the Scar of the Wound has been observ'd by Captives in the Popes of the present Age. Thus credulous Nation believes what is reported even to their own dishonour.

(39) *Varna*] It is a Tradition of the *Turks* that *Murad* calling a general Council at *Adrianople* before the Battle of *Varna*, spoke thus, "We "(says he) believe the *Hazret Isa* "(the Holy *Jesus*) to be, as indeed "he is, the *Ruh Ullah* (the Spirit of "God) born of a Virgin Mother, "a Prophet highly beloved of God, "yet alive, but preserv'd from the "malice and rage of the *Jews* and "convey'd into the third Heaven, "to reprove them for their treachery, and the *Nazrani* (the *Christians*) for having corrupted his "Gospel, and for exhibiting him "whom we acknowledge to have "been a very great Prophet, but "mortal and appointed to die three "Days before the End of the World) "as the Son of God begotten from "Eternity and of the same Majesty "and Power with the World's Crea-"tor. Moreover, amongst their o-"ther Superstitions, they firmly be-"lieve some Mysteries as they call "them, for instance, that *Isa Mesih* "(*Jesus Christ*) has endued his Priests "with a Power of converting as of-"ten as they please, Bread and Wine "into his real Body. Upon this "Mystery, and upon the *Injil Sherif* "(the Holy Gospel) they lately swore "a Peace with me; wherefore it is "not to be doubted that God whose "Gospel they have bely'd, whose "Mysteries they have trampled up-"on, will certainly punish them." It is moreover related, that in the very Engagement *Murad* ordered the Writing which he had received from the King of *Hungary* in Confirmation of the Peace, to be hung from the Point of a Spear and carried through the Ranks by an unarm'd Person, crying out, "Let the *Gaurler* (Infidels) come "on against their God and Sacra-"ments, and if their belief of these "Things be certain, let them, O just "God,

King lay incamp'd. That his speed might not be retarded by the Foot, he goes before with the Horse, and in three days coming in sight of the *Hungarian* Camp, immediately falls upon the enemies, but not with the success he expected. For the right wing, destitute of Infantry, being unable to withstand the first shock are put in disorder and pursued above a mile. But this prov'd the safety of both the Sultan and his Empire. For the young King of *Hungary* excelling the rest in valour, whilst he is resolved to complete the Victory which he now thought his own, in the heat of the battle challenges *Murad* to single combat (40). *Murad* accidentally meeting him, pierces his Horse with a *Jirid* (41), whereupon the King falling to the ground, the Janizaries (who were now arriv'd) instantly cut off his head, and putting it on the

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" God, who causes thy Sun to rise up-
" on the Good and the Bad, declare
" themselves their own Avengers,
" and the Punishers of their own Ig-
" nominy."

(40) single combat] Whether the *Turks* forg'd this in honour of their Emperor, or the *Christians* are silent concerning it in order to conceal the rashness of *Ladislaus*, is left to the determination of the Reader. I am however more inclined to believe the *Turks*, because our *Christians*, and particularly *Phranza*, Book II. Ch. XIX. tell us, that the King penetrating as far as the Tent of *Amera*, fell there, his Horse being first wounded by a Janizary named *Chamutza*.

(41) *Jirid*] A sort of light missive Javelin much used by the *Turks*. They who are expert in the use of it carry three of these Javelins in a Case hung from the right side their Horse, with which they hit the Mark with an exactness scarce to be match'd by the most skilful Gunners. Of this I shall give an Instance which, had I not been an Eye-witness I should hardly have believed. In the last year of the former War before the Forces departed from *Zenta*, some of the Emperor's Chamberlains exercised this Sport before him on a Plain near *Philippolis*. The Javelins they used were not pointed but blunt at the End. One *Mehemed Aga* a *Circassian*, and Master of the Stables, (a Place of great Dignity with the *Turks*) was among them. One of the Company hit him, unwares upon the Back with a *Jirid* sent with great force. *Mehemed* asham'd, and perhaps enrag'd with the smart, gave the reins to his Horse of the *Egyptian* breed, and furiously pursued the flying Enemy, who sensible that if he rid directly on he could not escape his pursuer, turn'd his Horse to the right, when *Mehemed* with a Javelin sent after him, blunt as it was, pierc'd the Jaws of his Horse, and threw both Horse and Rider to the Ground. The Emperor seeing it, forbad *Mehemed* using that exercise. I saw the same Man in ostentation of his Strength strike an ordinary and pointless *Jirid* through the outer Gate of a Monastery in *Moldavia*, made of Planks three Inches thick. The *Turks* accustom their Bodies to this exercise in the following manner. They begin with the Iron *Jirid* (or *Lobut* as 'tis call'd) weighing 12 *Occa's*, (an *Occa's* is four hundred Drams) They fix the Thumb of their left Hand in their Girdle, and with their Feet in a right Line, throw the Javelin at a Heap of Mud as long as their Strength lasts, and sometimes hold out even to seven hundred Throws, they afterwards take a wooden Javelin, twice as large as an ordinary one, and when they have fix'd it two thousand times in the Mud, they then come to the common Javelin, which in respect to the Iron one seems a Feather, and thus continual practice makes them able Darters.

point

point of a Spear, shew it to the enemy, crying out, *Behold the head of your King!* At the same time they rally the scatter'd Horse, and the fight being renew'd, they break at the first charge, their enemies ranks and disperse them. The *Christians* make some stands, but night coming on (42) and wanting a Leader, they are entirely routed. Some few escape in the dark, and the rest are all slain, or made captives. *Murad* leads back to *Adrianople* his army not much lessen'd, and laden with the spoils of the enemies camp.

XXVIII. The glory acquir'd by this expedition would have been perhaps to others an inducement to greater undertakings, but to *Murad* it was an instance of the uncertainty of human power. He had seen the *Hungarian* King, surrounded with so many armies, reverenc'd by so many nations, when he thought himself sure of victory, fall by one stroke of fortune, and his victorious forces put to rout. From whence he infer'd what might possibly be his own fate, after having enjoy'd so long a prosperity. Wherefore pursuing his former purpose he again delivers the scepter to his Son, and resolves upon a private life at *Magnesia*.

Murad resigns again

XXIX. But neither there is he suffered to be quiet. In the year 850 the Janizaries, instruments formerly of many victories over their enemies, now of the ruin of their fellow citizens, raise a great sedition on some slight occasion. Hence it came to pass, (as it usually happens in civil dissentions,) the houses of the citizens as well as of foreigners are plunder'd, all persons that come in their way, without distinction of age or sex, are robb'd or murder'd, as if those who ought to defend the citizens had conspir'd to their destruction. Scarce any other cause of this rebellion could be assign'd but the Emperor's youth or too great clemency, on which relying these plunderers thought they might do what they pleased. Wherefore the great men to put a stop to this mischief send to *Murad*, intreating him by letter, "To take upon him "again the Government, for his Son *Mahomet* is young and not of "sufficient authority to appease these tumults, wherefore they hope he "will have pity on the *Othman* State, and not suffer an Empire he had "so well establish'd and enlarg'd to perish like a ship without a pilot, "nor the riches of the citizens acquir'd with so much labour, to be "seized by the rapacious hand of the Janizaries. In a word, so great "is their reliance on his prudence and approv'd management, that they "hope not only the peace of the Empire will be restor'd, but render'd "much more illustrious under his conduct." *Murad* touch'd with the

He is again recall'd by reason of a Sedition of the Janizaries.
H 850
Ch 1446

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(42) but night coming on] 'Tis related that those who thought to escape thro' unknown ways, and in the dark, fell unexpectedly upon Mount *Chengie** (the old *Hæmus*) and there were taken by the Country People in Couples and Leashes like so many wild Beasts, but of the Princes and Generals of the Army, scarce *Hunniades* himself escap'd; concerning whom, *See* the large Accounts of the *Christian* Writers.

present

present danger, remounts the throne (43) at *Adrianople*, and sends his son to *Magnesia*,

He subdues *Greece* and *Epirus*, and expells *Scanderbeg* H 851 A C 1447

XXX. *Murad* being again at the helm, easily appeases the civil dissensions, and the next year turns his arms against the rebellious *Castriot*, *Iskenderbeg* (44), and not only drives him out of his Kingdom and lays waste all *Greece* and *Arnaud* (45), but also takes by assault in the *Morea*, *Balibadri* and *Akchehisar** (46) Moreover because *Iskenderbeg* had without reason deserted the *Mahometan* religion, and treacherously broken his faith, he converts all the Churches of *Arnaud* into *Jami* and Moschs, and orders all the *Epirots* either to be circumcised, or expiate his treachery with death *. By this means all *Arnaud* was in a short time initiated in the *Mahometan* faith

Defeats the *Hungarians* at *Cossova*

XXXI. Whilst these things pass in *Greece* a new war is kindled on the borders of *Hungary*. For the King of *Hungary* (48) to revenge

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(43) the throne] *Christian* Writers themselves tell us that *Murad*, after the Battle of *Varna*, retired to a monastic Life at *Prusa* But his quitting this way of Life is by them ascrib'd to the Successes of *Hunniades* in *Hungary*, and the Rebellion of *Scanderbeg*, not to the Sedition of the Janizaries, or the Intreaties of the Bashas

(44) *Iskenderbeg*] The famous *George Castriot* Son of *John*, Prince of *Epirus*, whose warlike exploits are the subject of Volumes of the *Christian* Writers In his younger years his eminent Virtues procured him his Name from *Murad*, which is a corruption of the *Greek* Word *Alexander*, and, as I before observed, given to very few *Turks*. The *Turkish* Historians mention only two *Iskenders* (or *Alexanders*) besides this *Castriot*, *Iskender Rumi Ibnifeilkes*, or *Alexander* the *Macedonian* Son of *Philip* (whom they are in doubt, whether to place amongst *Prophets* or believing Princes, Heathen they will not allow him to be) and *Iskenderi Zuul Carnein* or *Alexander Cornigger*, otherwise by them called *Sahib Kiran Monarcha*. By this Name we may conjecture that *Hercules* is understood, because they write that he carried no other Arms but a Club, which with them is called *Gurz* B[illegible] this by the w[illegible]

(45) *Ar*[illegible] [illegible] Name are figured [illegible] *donia*

(46) *Akchehisar** [illegible] whose ancient Name I kn[illegible]

(48) King of *H*[illegible] determine who is here meant by the *Turks*. For the lawful Prince of [illegible]gary at that time was *La*[illegible] nam'd *Posthumus*, detain'd by *F*[illegible]deric Duke of *Austria*, and disown'd by the *Hungarians* I therefore conjecture, that *John Hunniades*, General of the *Hungarian* Army, is the Person here spoken of That he receiv'd some defeats from *Murad* is not denied by *Christian* Writers, they add indeed, that this was with such notable loss to the *Turks*, that *Murad* declared he should be unwilling to repeat his Conquests at so dear a price The difference is, that the *Christian* Historians affirm these things happened before *Greece* was subdued, but the *Turkish* afterwards

* [*George Castriot* was Son of *John* King of *Epirus*, or [illegible] *Albania* who was forced to put five of his Sons into *Murad*'s Hands as Hostages Of these the youngest was this *George*, whom *Murad* was so fond of that he carefully trained him up in the *Mahometan* Religion, and the *Turkish* Discipline, and gave him the Name of *Skanderbeg*, or *Lord Alexander* But whilst *Murad* was engag'd in the *Hungarian* Wars, *Scanderbeg* took an opportunity to withdraw into *Epirus*, where he is said by the *Christian* Historians, to perform Wonders against the *Turks* He died at *Lissa*, in the *Venetian* Dominions, *Jan* 27 1467 being Sixty-three Years of Age]

the death of his predeceſſor, in conjunction with other Princes (among whom was alſo the Prince of *Walachia* who had lately revolted from the Sultan) enters the *Othman* dominions. *Murad*, who was employed rather in ſetling than ſubduing *Greece*, hearing of this invaſion, goes to *Sophia* quicker than could be imagin'd, and from thence with his Veterans and other troops raiſed in *Rumelia*, marches againſt the enemy. But before the armies came in ſight, the *Beigler*, certain Muſulmans, whom *Murad* had order'd to come to his aſſiſtance, whilſt they are marching to his Camp, meet the *Walachians* at a diſtance from the reſt of the army, and attacking them, eaſily put them to rout. *Murad* interpreting this as an omen of Victory, leads on his forces to *Coſſova* (48), a Plain near *Nigromonte*, chiefly famous for that here the valiant *Chodavendikar* after his victory over *Laz ogli* was crown'd with *Sehadet* or Martyrdom. Immediately after his arrival at this place, he begins the battle, but not with the ſucceſs he expected, becauſe the enemies being covered with armour, are proof againſt the ſword. The Sultan ſeeing this, draws back his forces, and orders them to lay aſide their light arms, and ſtrike at the enemies heads with pole-axes and clubs The *Chriſtians* being ſurrounded on every ſide, and perceiving they could not withſtand the Muſulman's fury in open field, hem themſelves in with their carriages, and retreating with a ſlow pace, valiantly fight from thence with various fortune till Sun-ſet. At laſt, the King ſeeing his men diſcourag'd and ſcatter'd, aſſembles the braveſt of his Horſe, and exhorting the reſt with a ſhort ſpeech to renew the fight, promiſes to go and fall upon the rear of the enemy, and by that means eaſily gain the Victory. Accordingly he withdraws from the battle; but more ſollicitous for his own than his people's ſafety, inſtead of attacking the enemy's rear, takes to flight. The Soldiers finding themſelves deſerted by their General, deſpair of Victory, and leaving their Camp, turn their backs and ſhift for themſelves. The *Turks* purſue them with eagerneſs, kill great numbers, and take many priſoners. There fell in the battle, except the King himſelf, all the *German*, *Bohemian*, and *Poliſh* Generals, and about two thouſand made captives.

XXXII. *Murad* having gained the Victory, returns with honour to *Adrianople*, and there marries the ſame year his Son *Mahomet* to the Daughter of *Soliman beg* Prince of *Elbiſtan* (49). After which, in the year 855, on *Monday* the ſeventh day of *Muharrem*, when he had ſtruggled ſome time with a light diſtemper, he departed this life.

Marries his Son *Mahomet*, and dies

H 855.
A. C 1451.

ANNOTATIONS.

(48) *Coſſova*] A Place near *Nigromonte*, famous for two mighty Battles, in the firſt of which *Murad* I. gain'd a Victory over the *Bulgarians* with the loſs of his own Life, the ſecond fought with the *Hungarians* by *Murad* II. This Battle is to be met with in the *Walachian* Annals, which deſcribe it ſo fierce and bloody as to exceed all before it, and not likely to be equalled by any to come after it.

(49) *Elbiſtan*] A certain Country of *Aſia Minor* mention'd before. Its ancient Name is not known.

His Character and Issue.

XXXIII. Sultan *Murad* lived forty-nine, and reign'd thirty years, six months, and eight days. He was a just and valiant Prince, of a great Soul, patient of labours, learned, merciful, religious, charitable, a lover and incourager of the studious, and of all who excell'd in any Art or Science, a good Emperor, and a great General. No man obtain'd more or greater Victories than he. *Belgrade* alone withstood his attacks. Under his reign the Soldier was ever victorious, the Citizen rich and secure. If he subdu'd any Country, his first care was to build, *Jami*, *Moschs*, *Imaret*, *Medrese* and *Chan*. Every year he gave a thousand *Filuri* to the *Evladi resul allah* (50), and sent two thousand five hundred to the *Mahometan* Monks at *Mekiè*, *Medinie*, and *Kudssherif* (51), He had five Sons, *Mahomet*, *Aladin*, *Hasan*, *Orchan* and *Ahmed*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(50) *Evladi resul Alla*] i. e. Sons of the Prophet of God, properly called *Emir*, that is, *Lords*; they derive their descent from *Fatima*, a Sister of *Mahomet*. In former times they were, like the *Levites*, destin'd to the Worship of God, and received a yearly stipend out of the Treasury. They are now dispers'd over the whole Empire, and are distinguish'd from the other *Musulmans* by wearing green *Turbans* instead of white. They may be tried before ordinary Judges, but are to receive their punishment from no Man, not even from the Emperor himself, but only from their own Head of the same Extraction called *Nakib* or *Nakybul eshref*, *Chief of the Saints*, and of the same Race. A Circumstance hardly credible, but however true, is observed in this Family, that the *Emirs* before their fortieth Year are Men of the greatest Gravity, Learning and Wisdom; but after that, if they are not quite Fools, yet they discover some sign of levity and stupidity. Tho' this is interpreted by the *Turks* as a sort of divine impulse in token of their Birth and Sanctity, it is nevertheless a common Saying among them when they see any stupid Person, *Emir Soidur*, *he is of the Race of the* Emirs.

(51) *Mekiè Medinie* and *Kudssherif*] *Mecca*, *Medina*, and *Jerusalem*, are the three Places to which the *Turks* go in Pilgrimage. *Mekiè* or *Kaabè* is a City of *Arabia*, where stands a large Mosch (in the Place where before stood a lesser) built by Sultan *Selim* Conqueror of *Egypt*. The *Turks* have a Tradition, that in this Place *Abraham* pitched his Tents in such manner that no Traveller could pass by without being seen by him, and refresh'd with a draught of Water, and the third part of a Loaf. That *Muhammed* afterwards transported hither from the Celestial Paradise a square black Stone, and plac'd it as a *Mihrab*, i. e Altar or Mark of the Place where God is to be worshipped He that takes a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, in the opinion of the *Turks* receives from God a full remission of even his greatest Sins. They likewise go on Pilgrimage to *Medina*, as to a Place made sacred by the burial of their Lawgiver. They believe his Body to be preserv'd there uncorrupted and entire, except one Tooth, which in a Fight was, they say, crown'd with Martyrdom. In the Book called *Muhammedyé*, containing the Life of *Mahomet*, it is related, that the Arch-angel *Gabriel* never stood in so much fear of the divine Wrath, as when a club of the Enemy striking the Mouth of the Prophet, beat out a fore Tooth, that therefore to prevent its falling to the Ground, the Arch-angel immediately dropp'd from Heaven, received it in its fall, and restor'd it to the Prophet, but not to its former Situation. The Sultans have a human Tooth which they believe to have been *Mahomet*'s, and preserve it amongst their choicest Treasures. They likewise with great care preserve a Robe of his in the Treasury, whose

Ahmed. Of theſe only *Mahomet* aſcended the throne, all the reſt died in his life-time of diſtempers. *Haſan* and *Orchan* were buried at *Adrianople.* *Ahmed* met with death and a grave in *Amaſia* (of which he was Lord) *Aladin*, who had ſucceeded *Ahmed* as *Sanjak* of *Amaſia*, died alſo there but was buried at *Pruſa.*

Annotations.

Border the *Mufti* three days before the *Ramazan* (or Month of Faſting) after ſome Prayers, dips in Water, which from thence is believed to become holy and exempted from corruption. The Water called *Abi Hyrcai Sherif*, or *The Water of the holy Robe*, is put into ſmall Glaſſes ſeal'd with the Seal of the Treaſury, and ſent by the Emperor to the prime Vizir, and the other Grandees, as a Mark of his Favour. When the *Turks* firſt break their Faſt after Sun-ſet, they pour a drop of it into a large Glaſs of Water, and after three ſips, ſwallow the whole at a Draught. They think that *Kudſherif* (or *Jeruſalem*) is a venerable Place, ſo that he who in his viſit to *Mecca*, paſſes by *Jeruſalem*, is, according to them, no perfect *Haji* or *Pilgrim*. Their chief Devotion there is pay'd to the Church built by *Juſtinian*, by them falſely ſuppoſed the Temple of *Soliman*. They pretend beſides that there is a ſquare Stone of three Cubits hanging in the Air, and miraculouſly ſuſpended by *Mahomet*. For as he was riding on the Aſs (called *Burak* in the *Koran*) he was ordered by *Gabriel* to aſcend into Heaven, and immediately was taken up on high with his Aſs, and the Stone whereon his Aſs ſtood, which the Arch-angel obſerving, ſaid, *that his Command extended only to the Prophet, not the Stone*; upon this *Mahomet* ſaid to the Stone, *Dur ya Mubarek, Stand, O happy Stone*, and immediately the Stone reſted in the place where it was. It is not permitted to *Chriſtians* to enter into any of theſe three Places; and therefore when a *Dutch* Ambaſſador, by what means is not known, had obtained from the Emperor a Mandate to the Governor of *Jeruſalem* for his entrance into the Moſch, the Governor refuſed to obey the order. The Ambaſſador asking him the Reaſon of his Diſobedience, his anſwer was, That he would ſtrictly comply with the Mandate, which indeed allowed him an Entrance, but not a Return; he was therefore at his liberty to go in, if he was willing never more to come out. This ſtop'd the Ambaſſador's Curioſity.

Cotemporary with *MURAD* II. in *Europe*.

At *Conſtantinople*,	John Paleologus, 1421-45. Constantine Paleol. 1445-53.
In the *Weſt*,	Albert of *Auſtria*. 1437-39. Frederick III, of *Auſtria*. 1439-93.
In *England*,	Henry VI. 1422-60.
In *France*,	Charles VII. 1422-61.

The End of the Reign of MURAD II.

The REIGN of

MAHOMET II.

Seventh Emperor of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. I.

Mahomet grants peace to *Caraman ogli*

WE are now come to Sultan *Mahomet Fatih* (1), than whom the *Othman* Empire, not to say the whole world, never saw a more illustrious or more fortunate Prince. What several had wished, and few had ventured to attempt, was accomplish'd by him, namely, the conquest of *Constantinople*; which City, fortified by Nature and Art, open to two Seas, and defended by a more numerous army than his, was by him taken and made the Seat of his kingdom, to the utter subversion of the ancient eastern Empire. But to return to our history. *Murad* being dead, *Mahomet* II, now in the twenty-first year of his age, is crown'd a second time (2) on the 10th of *Muharrem* in the year 855

H 855
A C 1451

That very summer he leads out his forces against *Caraman ogli*, who never missed an opportunity of raising disturbances, and infesting the adjacent Countries. *Caraman*, when he hears of the Emperor's approach, perceiving himself too weak to oppose him, has recourse to his usual artifices, and sues for peace on any terms. Tho' the Sultan knew the treacherous temper of the man, yet, not to be detain'd by so inconsiderable an enemy from greater undertakings, stifles his resentment, and grants the desir'd peace.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Fatih*] An *Arabian* Word signifying an *Opener* or *Vanquisher*. This Name was given to *Mahomet* for his assault and conquest of *Constantinople*.

(2) a second time] Hence it is evident he had been crown'd during the Life of his Father, but had resigned to him when he re-assum'd the Scepter, of which we find no mention among the *Christian* Writers

II. The

Mahomet II. Surnam'd Fatih.
SON of MURAD, seventh EMPEROR of ye TURKS
in the Year 1451
From an Original in the Seraglio

II. The next year he makes greater preparations, orders Cannon to be made, and assembles out of all his Provinces an army, with which he marches to besiege *Constantinople*. The *Greek* Emperor, terrified at so great danger, sends Ambassadors to the Sultan, and humbly begs peace on whatever conditions he should please to impose *Mahomet* tells the Ambassadors, "That he pities the Emperor's case: and there- " fore cannot in conscience deny peace to the humble. But least he " should be blam'd by his own people, for having been at so great an " expence, and for arming almost all *Asia*, without any advantage to the " *Othman* affairs, he desires *Cæsar* to give him for ever a little spot of " land on the *European* bank of *Bogaz* †, no bigger than an Ox-hide (3). " On this condition he would immediately withdraw his forces, and " raise the Siege." The *Greeks* readily consent, thinking it great gain to redeem themselves from such danger with so small a matter. The terms therefore being confirm'd on both sides, he sends his army to *Adrianople*.

He besieges *Constantinople*, but on a peace he desists.

† The *Bosphorus*

III. *Mahomet*, after raising the Siege, shows the *Grecian* Ambassadors a rocky place (4) on the bank of the *Bosphorus*, and demands the possession. Upon their consent he orders an Ox-hide to be cut into small thongs, and with them inclosing a piece of ground five hundred paces in circumference, seizes it to his use, the *Greeks* not daring to gainsay it. Here he builds in forty days a castle with thick walls, and fortified with five high Towers, representing the letters of *Mahomet*'s name (5), and immediately after runs up another (6) to answer it on the *Asiatic* bank. Moreover he provides these Castles with great Guns, and other warlike Stores, and strengthens them with a good Garrison, ordering the Governors not to let the Vessels pass which daily brought provisions to *Constantinople* from the *Euxine* sea. This done, he returns under the appearance of peace to *Adrianople*, and on the third

He shuts up the *Pontus* by a Castle

ANNOTATIONS.

(3) Ox-hide.] *Mahomet* seems to have imitated *Eliza* Queen of *Carthage*, whose Fraud is to be seen in *Justin*, Book XVIII. Chap. V. For not only *Turks*, but *Lonicerus* himself (Tom. I. p. 37) allow him to have been studious of Antiquity, and particularly delighted with reading the Expeditions of ancient Kings and Generals, as of *Alexander the Great*, of *Scipio Africanus*, of *Hannibal*, of *Julius Cæsar*, &c.

(4) rocky place] It is on the *European* side of the *Bosphorus*, about six *Italian* Miles from *Constantinople*.

(5) of *Mahomet*'s name] This is a *Tetragrammaton* or Word of four Letters with the *Turks*, namely, *Mim*, *Hha*, *Mim*, and *Dal*, which with the *Teshdid* over the latter *Mim* to show it must be doubled, make five Characters in all. As so many Towers fortified the above-mention'd Castle, these Towers are said to have had by accident some resemblance of those Letters; from whence the Emperor drew a certain Presage, that he should take *Constantinople*, because the Castle built by himself had a fortuitous Inscription of his own Name. It is at this day called *Rumeli Hisari*, i. e. *the European Castle*.

(6) another] It stands on the *Asiatic* side over against that just mentioned, where the little River *Giöksu* (or blew Water) falls into the *Bosphorus*, and is at this Day called *Anadolhisari*, or the *Asiatic Castle*.

day after his entrance, lays the foundations of that stately Palace, which is at this day called *Jiban Numa* (7).

Besieges *Constantinople* a second time H. 857 A. C. 1453

IV. In the third year of his reign, and of the *Hejira* 857, *Mahomet* at last discovers the designs which he had hitherto conceal'd in his breast. For raising as great an army as possible, he marches from *Adrianople* towards *Constantinople*, and closely besieges it. In this expedition, besides other Engines hitherto unheard of, that was particularly worthy of admiration, by which from the North-side some Vessels were brought over hills and declivities, into the inner Haven, and occasion'd the taking of the City (8). For doubtless, vain would have been the efforts of the land-army, which tho' they strongly assaulted *Ederne Capu* (9) and *Egri Capu*, could not prevail against the *Greeks*, render'd valiant by despair, had not the Sea-forces thro' the gate *Phenar* (10) taken

ANNOTATIONS.

(7) *Jiban Numa*] *i. e.* Watch-Tower of the World, because from the Women's Apartment built to a great height, there is a Prospect into all Parts.

(8) the City] The *Turks* say, that the Sultan observing that his Ships could not enter the Haven, which extends as far as *Blachernæ*, and that it would be very difficult to assault and take the City from the Continent, he order'd some Vessels to be built on the Continent, and carried over Land the Space of several *Italian* Miles, from the Village *Beshiktash* to *Galata*, and sent into that part of the Haven now called *Casim Pasha*, from which being apply'd to the Wall, his Soldiers first took the Gate called *Phenar*.

(9) *Ederne Capu*] 'Tis a Gate on the Continent opening towards *Adrianople*, and from thence called *Adrianople-Gate*. To the North of it the next Gate is *Egri Capu* (Oblique Gate) memorable for the most antient Palaces in *Constantinople*. These are reported by some to have been built by *Belisarius*, first the Avenger of *Italy*, and afterwards the Sport of Fortune, by others they are ascrib'd to *Constantine the Great*, but erroneously. For the present Palation (in the *Turkish* Language *Balat*) which Name the Region about them has retain'd, sufficiently evinces, that these stately Structures were Imperial, and built by later Emperors. In the Ruins of these, in the time of Sultan *Mahomet*, was found by a Boy, a Diamond, said to weigh 120 Scruples. A Spoon maker purchased it for twelve wooden Spoons, and ignorant of its value, shew'd it to a *Jew*. The crafty *Jew*, well knowing its worth, pretended it was only a Chrystal, and offered a golden Crown for it, and upon the Man's insisting upon three, very readily told out the Money. The Spoon-maker wondering the *Jew* offered so much Money for a Chrystal, changes his Mind, and demands ten Crowns. The *Jew* agrees to it, which made him think it a precious Stone, and therefore told him, he was only in jest, that the Stone was not his own, otherwise he would have sold it for a Crown. The *Jew* perceiving the Fellow knew the Stone was something more than a Chrystal, prefers a Petition to the Emperor, and discovers what he had seen. The Sultan without delay sends for the Spoon maker and his Diamond. Amaz'd at the Lustre and Size of it, he handsomely rewarded the *Jew* and the Spoon-maker, and threw it amongst his Jewels. It was afterwards called *Kashikchi** *Tashi*, the *Spoon-maker's Stone*, and is believed by the *Turks* not to have its fellow in the whole World. But that Palace is called by the *Turks*, *Tekkiur Serài*, or the Palace of the *Græcian* Emperors.

(10) *Phenar*] Vulgarly *Finer*, a Gate looking to the lower Haven of *Constantinople*, and particularly celebrated at this Day, because in the neighbourhood of it, the more noble and wealthy *Greeks* have their Residence.

Here

taken great part of the City, and compell'd the rest to surrender to *Mahomet*. These things happen'd on the fifty-first day of the Siege, the negligence

ANNOTATIONS.

Here stands also the Patriarchal Seat and Cathedral Church, famous, as for other Things, so for its containing the Sayings, Writings, and Acts of all the Patriarchs since *Constantinople* was taken by the *Turks*, accurately written Not far from hence is an Academy built for the Instruction of Youth, by one *Manolaki* a *Greek*, who had nothing ignoble in him but his Blood. In this Academy are taught Philosophy in all its Branches, and the other Sciences in the old uncorrupted *Greek* In my time there flourish'd here Prelates and Doctors of great Piety and Learning, namely, *Johannes Cariophyllus* an excellent Divine and Philosopher, afterwards the celebrated Preacher of the Cathedral-Church, *Balasius Scevophylax*, *Antonius* and *Spandonius*, *Peripatetic* Philosophers, *Jacomius* an accurate Grammarian, from whom, during my Residence at *Constantinople*, I learned the Elements of Philosophy, *Sebastus*, sufficiently known by his Controversial Writings against the *Latins*, and his Ecclesiastical Calender; *Dionysius Hieromonachus*, and *Alexander Maurocordatus*, celebrated by the learned World on many accounts, Professor of Philosophy, Divinity, and Physic, afterwards Interpreter to the *Othman* Court He writ, besides a Tract on the Circulation of the Blood, printed several times in *Italy*, a large History from the Foundation of the World to our Times, also Letters, and other little Works innumerable, which I now hear are published in *Moldavia*, by the care of his Son *Nicolaus Maurocordatus*, a Man well vers'd in the Oriental and Occidental Learning. For we are not to imagine, with the generality of *Christians*, that *Greece* is so far sunk in Barbarism, as not in these latter Ages to have produc'd Men little inferior to the most learned of her ancient Sages. To say nothing of Times more remote from us, even our Days have seen three Patriarchs of eminent Reputation for Learning, one of *Constantinople*, and two of *Jerusalem*. He of *Constantinople* was *Callinicus*, a very eloquent Orator, who, which seldom happens, died in his Patriarchate. Those of *Jerusalem* were, *Dositheus*, and his Kinsman and Successor *Chrysanthus*, yet, as I hear, alive. From the first, besides other Monuments of his Learning, we have three printed Volumes of Controversial Writings against the *Latins*. Besides these, there flourish'd at *Constantinople*, *Meletius* Archbishop first of *Arta*, and afterwards of *Athens*, a Man skilled in all Parts of Learning, but chiefly studious of the *Helmontian* Principles (or rather those of *Thales*) which he also explain'd to me for the space of eight Months, *Elias Miniati Hieromonachus*, a most acute Philosopher, and eminent for his Knowledge of both dogmatic and scholastic Divinity, afterwards Bishop of *Messene* in *Peloponnesus*; *Marcus Larissæus* an excellent Grammarian; *Metrophanes Hierodiaconus*, chiefly studious of Poetry, and a happy Imitator of the Ancients; *Licinius* born at *Monembasia* or *Malvasia*, Philosopher and Physician, and both ways eminent. He was chief Physician of our Court. His Skill and Experience in the Medical Art, procured him both Esteem and Authority amongst the *Turks*. He afterwards left *Constantinople*, and in his own Country was honoured with the Title of a Count by the Republic of *Venice*. About a year after he was taken in *Monembasia* by the *Turks*, and, as I am inform'd, publickly hanged in *Constantinople* for a Literary Commerce which he had before held with the *Venetians*. *Constantine* Son of *Ducas*, Prince of *Moldavia*, superior to most in the ancient *Greek*, and in Philosophy, a Scholar of *Spandonius*; *Andronicus* of the noble Race of the *Rhangavi*, justly praised for his Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue in its purity, and for his reading the Fathers. To these I might justly add *Jeremias Cacavela*, a *Cretan* by birth, *Hieromonachus*, and Preacher of the Great

negligence or treachery of the Vizir (11) (who was said to be corrupted by the *Christians*) preventing the City from being sooner taken. But I shall relate the particulars of this affair more largely from the *Turkish* Historians.

The City taken by assault next the sea

V. The *Christians* after fifty days Siege, tir'd with continual labours and watchings, when they see but few, tho' brave, defenders remain, their Walls full of Breaches, their Batteries destroy'd, in a word, the City block'd up by sea and land, and destitute of all assistance, believe, upon mature deliberation, that there is no safety but in a surrender, being perswaded that the Vizir, whom they knew to be corrupted by them, would be very serviceable in the affair. The Emperor himself approves of the advice, and sends Ambassadors to *Mahomet* to make his own terms. As they are coming out of the City with white Streamers in their hands, the tokens of peace, they are civilly receiv'd by the Sultan, who promises to give the Inhabitants their lives and goods, with liberty to remove wherever they pleas'd. The Ambassadors offer the surrender of the City on these conditions, and are sent back to give their master an account of their proceedings. But before they reach'd the walls, Sultan *Mahomet*, having something to communicate to them, orders them to be recalled. The Messengers accordingly pursue the Ambassadors (who were now some way before them) with full speed. The haste of this *Turkish* band caused the Centinels on the Ramparts to suspect that *Mahomet* would fraudulently attempt to enter the City with the Ambassadors. Wherefore they fire upon the unwary *Turks*, to hinder their nearer approach. The *Turks*, when they unexpectedly see some of their companions grievously wounded, sound a retreat, and coming to the Sultan, declare what had happen'd. *Mahomet* imagines the *Greeks* had repented of their agreement, and treacherously wounded his people. Wherefore, full of indignation, he orders his army to be ready, and by their bravery to destroy the remains of the perfidious enemy. On the other hand, the *Greek* Emperor being told by the Centinels,

ANNOTATIONS.

Great Church at *Constantinople*, from whom I drew the first Precepts of Philosophy, *Anastasius Condoidi*, a *Corcyran* by birth, Preceptor to my Sons; as likewise *Anastasius Nausis* a *Macedonian*, a Man whose eminent Knowledge in *Greek* render'd him sufficiently known both in *England* and *Germany*.

(11) of the Vizir] He seems to be *Hatil Pasha*, whom *Phranza*, Book III. Chap. XIII. names as chief of the Council, and the most approv'd of all, and says he advised *Mahomet* to desist from this War, not only before the Siege, but even repeated and confirm'd his Advice afterwards, when Things succeeded not to his wish, but his Opinion being rejected, he privately betray'd the Resolutions of the Council to the *Greek* Emperor, for which reason he was, a few Days after the City was taken, put to Death. We are not to expect such Discoveries from the graver *Turkish* Historians, who tho' they are not ignorant of the Treachery of their own Ministers, yet never clearly express it, as well not to pay so much regard to the Memory of Traytors, as to spare the Honour of that eminent Degree in which they are placed

that the *Turkish* army attempted to take the City by fraud, and were now approaching the walls, commands his people to arm and exert their utmost in this extreme necessity. The *Greeks* are animated by their present danger, and seeing despair to be their only refuge, are resolutely bent to defend the City. Whereupon there ensues a fierce and bloody conflict, one side fighting for religion, liberty, and life, and the other for Victory and Empire. But whilst the *Greeks* valiantly fight on the side of the Continent, those that defended the City from the Haven, being beaten from the walls by the enemy's darts, give the *Turkish* forces an opportunity to enter the Town

The Emperor himself is killed

VI. In this assault the Emperor himself falls whilst he is bravely acting the part sometimes of a General, sometimes of a Soldier, and in the greatest dangers animating his men by his presence By his fall, the whole glory of the *Greek* Empire is laid in the dust. His headless body was found on that of an Ensign-bearer, from whence the place to this day has acquir'd the name of *Sanjakdar Yokushi* (12).

The other part of the City surrenders

VII. When these things were known to those who yet bravely repelled the attacks of the *Turkish* land-forces, they resolve to seek their last hopes of safety in the surrender already agreed on. Wherefore erecting on the walls the signal of peace, they cry aloud from the Ramparts, " Why do you without the fear of God, causelessly, and " for no fault of ours break your promise? The agreement for the " surrender of the City is now made and order'd by both Emperors to " be ratified. Desist therefore from fighting, nor assault those who " have promised to be your future subjects." *Mahomet* hearing these words, and ignorant perhaps of what had passed in the Haven, commands the battle to cease, promises to stand to the former conditions, and so receives the other part of the City by surrender.

Mahomet explains the Conditions of the surrender

VIII. Next day, *Mahomet* enters by the gate called *Topkapu*, and to the *Greeks*, anxious about their religion and lives, makes the following determination. " I promised you in our agreement, that if you chose " to remain here, all the Churches and Monasteries should be un-" touch'd, and your religion suffer no damage. But since I have re-" ceiv'd half the City by force of arms, and half by surrender, I think " it just, and accordingly order, that the religious Houses and " Churches which stand in that part I have conquer'd, be converted " into *Jami*, and the rest left entire to the *Christians*." So from *Akserai* (13) to *Sancta Sophia*, all the Churches were turn'd into *Jami*, but

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(12) *Sanjakdar Yokushi*] i. e. *Ascents* or *Hills* with Ensigns upon them. It is a high Mount, on whose Top a Temple is erected, not far from the Cathedral Church, in honour of the Virgin *Mary*, the only ancient Church which the *Turks* have left to the *Christians*.

(13) *Akserai*] *White Palace*, so is the Street called by the *Turks* which looks to the *Propontis*, where now are seen beautiful Chambers of the Janizaries

but from the Temple *Suly Monastyr* (14) to *Ederne Capu*, all remain'd to the *Greeks*.

He goes in Procession to *Sancta Sophia*

IX. After this, the land and sea-forces being assembled in the market-place *Akserai*, he goes in a triumphal procession to *Sancta Sophia*, and there orders the *Ezan* (15) to be sung, and *Namaz* to be perform'd. After prayers he goes to the Imperial Palace, and as he is entering, being addicted to Poetry, he is reported to say an extempore Distich in the *Persian* Language (16). The taking of *Constantinople* (17) happen'd in

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Janizaries called by the *Turks Yengiodalar*, or the *New Mansions*, thro' this Street it is not permitted even to the Women of the Janizaries to pass. For whatever injuries they receive from them here go unpunish'd. But if any Whore voluntarily comes into it for the embraces of a Man, it is customary to hang her Turban on a knife, stuck in the Wall at the entrance of the Street, on sight of which all passing that way turn off to another Street.

(14) *Suly Monastyr*] The *watry Monastery*. It was in the times of the *Christians*, a Church of the *Arminians*, who took up all that quarter of the City. It is now a *Jami*, and owes its Name to the Springs which flow from the Foundations of the Church.

(15) *Ezan*] A Hymn containing the Profession of the *Muhammedan* Faith, repeated five times a day to call the People to Prayers, from the highest Tower of the *Jami* called *Minare*, by the Chanter *Muezin*. On *Friday* is added a sixth *Ezan* called *Sella*, two hours before the Noon *Namaz*, which is followed by no Prayers, as neither does the *Temjid* which is sung before the Morning Prayers, immediately precede these Prayers, for it is as it were a Doxology to God, the Giver of Light, and Sanctifier of the sacred Day. There are but two Heads of Confession, namely, *There is no God but God*, and *Muhammed is his Prophet*. To the *Ezan* is usually added, "God is the most high, there "is no God but God, and *Muhammed* is his Prophet; (which is twice "repeated) come to the Place of "Tranquillity or Integrity (meaning *Mecca*) come to the Asylum "or Salvation." As the *Christians* when they take a City sing their *Te Deum*; so the *Turks* for the like Success thunder out their *Ezan* in the Churches, which they immediately convert into *Jami*.

(16) *Persian* Language] The Distich was, *Perde dari m'kuined ber kysr Caisar ankebut Bumi neubet mizenedber kiumbeti Efrasiyab*, that is, "The "Spider has wove her Web in the "Imperial Palace, the Owl has sung "her watch Song upon the Towers, "of *Efrasiyab*," (a Palace of the King of *Persia*, celebrated in the *Turkish* Fables.) This Oracle seems to intimate the downfall of the proud Majesty of the *Grecian* Emperors. For as we see Spiders throw their Webs over ruinous and deserted Houses, in like manner, the *Grecian* Empire, subverted and wrested from its ancient Possessors, is likely to become as the Palaces of *Efrasiyab*, in which, instead of Guards, Owls make their Nests, and scream out their direful Notes. A true Prediction, and fulfilled in every Circumstance! For at this day, as I before observ'd, the Palace of the *Grecian* Emperors is become the Residence of Owls and Bats, a lively Emblem of the destroy'd Empire.

(17) of *Constantinople*] I am not ignorant that almost all the *Christian* Historians, both *Greek* and *Latin*, give a different Account of the taking of this City, and make the whole to be acquir'd by Arms. But many Considerations (by which the Truth of what is here related is evidently supported) hinder me from being mov'd by their Authority. First, the concurrent Testimony of all even the gravest Historians amongst the *Turks*. Of them both ancient and modern,

in the year of the *Hejira* 857, on the 20th day of the month *Jemaziul evvel.*

X. The

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dern, however diſagreeing in their Narrations of other Facts of their Emperors, when they come to this head, with one Mouth as it were declare, that half of the City (and indeed the greateſt part of it) was ſurrendered to *Muhammed* on covenanted Terms, which they have alſo tranſmitted to us. Now as it is cuſtomary with moſt Oriental Writers, not the *Turks* alone, to magnify their own Affairs, and as much to depreſs and ſink thoſe of others, I can hardly believe they would aſſert a Lye to their own diſhonour For to take a City by force of Arms, is by all Nations, which have any ſenſe of military Proweſs, eſteem'd much more honourable, than to receive it by ſurrender A ſecond, and ſtill more ſtrong Argument is, the *Greeks* were quiet Poſſeſſors of their Churches in the ſurrendered part of the City under three Emperors, *Mahomet* II, *Bajazet* II, and part of the Reign of *Selim* I, who indeed afterwards took them away. The Acts of theſe Churches during thoſe times are to this day preſerv'd in the Records of the Patriarchal Church. How they came to be taken away, I ſhall relate from a grave and co temporary Hiſtorian of the *Turks*, *Ali Effendi*, a Native of *Philippopolis*, who held the Office of *Chazne Kiatibi*, or Secretary of the Treaſury under the celebrated *Ferhad Paſha Tefterdar*, or Treaſurer to Sultan *Selim* I. This account will ſerve to confirm my Opinion concerning the ſurrender of the City *Selim* I on a Time zealous for the Propagation of his Faith, ſent for the Mufti, and talking familiarly with him on indifferent Matters, at laſt artfully turn'd the Diſcourſe, and ſeriouſly asked him which he thought would be moſt pleaſing to God, and moſt redound to his Honour, to ſubdue the whole World to the *Othman* Empire, and make the Followers of *Iſſevi* (*Jeſus*) and *Muſavi* (*Moſes*) tributary to himſelf, and ſo bring into the Treaſury of *Beitulmal Muſlimin*, of the Muſulman State, the Wealth of ſo many Kingdoms, or, deſpiſing ſo great a Treaſure, convert all Nations to the *Muhammedan* Faith? The Mufti, not comprehending his meaning, anſwered, that one loſt Soul (and ſuch was that of every *Chriſtian* and *Jew*) recovered to the true Faith, was of infinitely more value in the ſight of God, than the Riches of the whole Earth. The Emperor by this *Fetva* being confirm'd in his Opinion, a few Days after ſent for the Prime Vizir, and ordered him to convert all the Churches of the *Chriſtians* into *Jami*, to forbid them the publick Profeſſion and Worſhip of their Religion, and by all means uſe his endeavours to reconcile them to the Profeſſion of *Muhammediſm*, with even capital Puniſhment of ſuch as diſobeyed the Imperial Mandate. The Vizir, thunder-ſtruck with this Innovation, and the Command of an attempt ſo contrary not only to the *Mahometan* Law, but to the good of the Empire it ſelf, knew not what to reply; but hearing that the Mufti had confirm'd the Emperor in this by his *Fetva*, he immediately leaves the Court, and going to him, ſharply reproves him for the Counſel he had given. The Mufti owns himſelf over-reached by the Emperor, but with an Oath promiſes his Endeavours to repair his Miſtake, and recover the Emperor to a better Mind. They then conſult together, and privately diſpatch a Perſon to the *Greek* Patriarch, to furniſh him with an anſwer to the Imperial Mandate when there ſhould be occaſion. Next they opened the Mandate to the *Caimacan*, ordering him to convert all the Churches of the *Chriſtians* into *Jami*, and compel all the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* of another Faith by all means to embrace *Mahometiſm*. He receiving the Mandate, ſummons the Patriarch and all his Clergy to the Palace, and reads to them his Inſtructions. The Patriarch, as taught before by the Vizir and Mufti, anſwers, that he would

Eyub ensari's Monument is discover'd

X. The City being thus settled the third day after it was taken, the Sultan is told, that a certain *Mahometan* General *Ebu Eyub Ensari*

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would try the Matter with the Emperor, and plead his Cause before the Mufti, and others learned in the Law, and whatever the Sentence of God should determine according to the Law of the *Coran*, by that he would abide. But should he be denied this Justice, he would require the Souls and Sins of himself and all his People, in another World, and before another Tribunal. The *Caimacan* sent the Patriarch's answer to the Vizir, inclosed in a Letter according to order, and with it the humble Petition of the *Christians*. These being received and read, the Mufti with the Vizir goes to the Emperor, tells him that the Patriarch of *Constantinople* refused Obedience to his Mandate, and gave for a reason of his Disobedience, a Trial which must first be had between himself and the Emperor. *But*, added the Mufti, as at the Voice of *Emrisheriyn*, *let the Will of Righteousness be performed*, flowing Waters ought to stop; so I think it but just that your Majesty should hear his Complaints, and vouchsafe them an Answer. The Emperor, sensible that he could do nothing by force, contrary to the Opinion of the Mufti, replied, let it be so, and ordered the Patriarch, the Metropolitans, and some others of the Seniors to attend him at *Adrianople*. When they stood in the Divan, they complained that the Emperor's Mandate was not only injurious to themselves, but rashly violated and trampled upon the Covenant entered into with his Ancestors, and confirm'd by an Oath. The Emperor's *Tefterdar Effendi* (for he always pleads the Sultan's Cause) asking them what Covenant it was that they talk'd of? The Patriarch answer'd, "Be it known to your Majesty, that our Ancestors voluntarily surrendered one half of *Constantinople* to *Muhammed Fatih*, on Condition, 1. That the Churches of the *Christians* should not be turned into *Jamis*. 2. That Marriages, Funerals, and other Rites of the *Christian* Worship, should be solemniz'd as usual, without Lett or Molestation. 3. That the Feast of *Easter* should be kept with full Liberty, and for that purpose the Gate *Phenar* left three days open for the *Christians* to come from the Suburbs, and join in the nocturnal Devotions of the Patriarchal Church. On these Conditions (I say) did we surrender the City to your Majesty's Grandfather, with the tender of the Keys in golden Bowls, and by his Sentence were confirm'd in the possession of our Churches to this day, and religiously protected by two of your Ancestors from all Violence, which Rights your Majesty is now wresting from us, with what Injustice to us I need not say. To the other head of your Majesty's Mandate which orders us to quit *Christianity*, and embrace *Mahometism*, besides what is before alledged, I have to say, that it contradicts the Law of the *Coran*, which expressly says, No Person who from his entrance into Manhood, to his seventieth Year, annually pays thirteen Drams of pure Silver in the name of a Tribute, shall be forc'd into *Mahometism*." To the Mufti confirming by his Testimony that such a Law was owned by Commentators on the *Coran*, and even to be found in the Text it self, and ought to stand inviolable, the Imperial Advocate answered, That it was a doubt with no Man, that what the Patriarch had produc'd out of the sacred *Coran*, and the Mufti confirm'd, was true and highly venerable, but his Account of the surrender of *Constantinople* appeared neither true nor probable. The Patriarch being asked by the Mufti, whether he could produce the Instrument of this Covenant, was answer'd by him, that it perish'd in a Fire, but that he had three Eye-witnesses amongst the Janizaries themselves, on whose Faith he durst rely for the Confirmation of

what

sari (18) had long since foretold that he should be crowned with Martyrdom under *Constantine*, but that an Emperor of the Mussulmans who should take the City, would by revelation discover his Monument. The Sultan, desirous of fulfilling the prediction, asks *Sheich Akshems-iddyn*, who

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what he advanc'd. The three Janizaries, each almost 100 years old, were produc'd, and before the Mufti, owned that they were present at the taking of *Constantinople*, and with their own Eyes saw the *Greek* Nobles come out of the City, and present the Sultan, yet in a Tent without the Walls, the Keys in golden Bowls, and require and obtain the Grant of the three mentioned Conditions Here the Emperor interpos'd——Notwithstanding, says he, these Conditions were granted to the *Christians* by our Grandfather, yet since neither Justice, nor our Law, allows such beautiful Buildings destin'd to divine Worship, to become *Butchanè, Houses of Idols*, we cannot confirm the Conditions. Wherefore, according to the Prescript of the holy *Koran*, we give all *Christians* leave to make a publick Profession of their Religion; but it is our Will and Pleasure, that all Churches built of Stone, and hitherto possessed by *Christians*, be entirely turn'd into *Jami*; with liberty nevertheless to build wooden ones in their room, or repair any such as are worn out with time. According to which Mandate the Patriarchal Church called *Panmacaristos*, (which on the West looked to the Palace of *Moldavia*, called *Bogdan Serai*, on the East to the *Walachian* Palace called *Cara Iflak*, corruptly *Ulah Serai*) was then converted into a *Jami* by the Name of *Fethiye*, and shortly after all the rest. I thought it proper to produce these things out of the beforementioned *Turkish* Historian, which deserve the more regard, as no other *Turkish* Writer delivers the *Christian* Affairs with greater Care and Modesty. I found the Book at the House of a *Greek* at *Philippopolis*, nor did I ever happen to see any other Copy of it After my departure it remained at *Constantinople*, and came, as I hear, into the Hands of *John Maurocordatus*, who is now Interpreter to the *Othman* Court, with other Collections of mine concerning the Affairs and Manners of the *Turks*. And of all the Churches which for almost a whole Century the *Christians* were in Possession of after the calamitous Conquest of *Constantinople*, only one was left them by *Selim*, and that in favour of a certain *Greek* Architect, who had built for *Selim* at *Adrianople*, a large and elegant Temple. He was Nephew of another Architect, whom Sultan *Mahomet* II, intrusted with the care of a *Jami* which he built at *Constantinople*, and for his faithful execution of the Design, presented him with the Church above mention'd, together with the whole Street in which it stands; of which Grant an authentic Record is to this day preserv'd in the Treasury of that Church. Near that quarter, when I was at *Constantinople*, I raised a Palace on a high Hill called *Sanjakdar Yokushi*; the Building was elegant, and afforded a Prospect over almost the whole City and Suburbs. Under Sultan *Mahomet* IV, my Father-in law *Serban Cantacuzenus*, Prince of *Walachia*, having raised from the Valley Walls of 25 Cubits high, levelled the Ground for a Garden, and had now raised the first Wall of his House at an expence of 35000 Imperial Crowns, when he received an order to proceed no farther, because he could already look into the Imperial Palace called *Tersane Serai*. At length, by the Intercession of the prime Vizir *Ali Pasha*, I obtain'd leave of the Emperor to carry on the Building of my Palace on the old Foundations, which I had hardly finish'd, when I was, as it were, thrust into the Principality of *Moldavia*.

(18) *Ebu Eyub Ensari*] A Suburb so called from the Monument *Eyub Ensari*, situated at the head of the inner Haven, where the River *Kiagyz chanè* discharges it self. Near this

who by a divine impulse, (as 'tis pretended) always accompanied the Emperor, to prevail with God by his prayers, to reveal to him the Monument of *Eyub Ensari*, that so great a testimony of the divine original of the *Mahometan* law might not be lost. *Sheich* being told the place in a vision, carries the Sultan into the Suburbs, which from that General's name is at this day called *Eyub*, and in a certain spot orders the ground to be dug up; by which means a great stone is found with this Inscription, *Heza Cabri Sahibi Resul-allah, Abi Eyubi Chalidin Zidul-ensari*, which may be thus render'd: "This is the Sepulcher of "the lasting friend, or counsellor, and of the never dying Apostle of "God, *Eyub*, whose aid be increas'd and prevail." *Mahomet* gives God thanks for this discovery, and commands a *Turbè* (19), *Jami*, and School to be erected over the Tomb.

Mahomet's farther Progress.

XI. About the same time, just as the downfall of an old spreading Oak crushes all the neighbouring Trees, the adjacent Towns, particularly *Syllivri* (20) and *Burgaz*, offer their keys to the Sultan, chusing rather to make him their gracious Sovereign than Conqueror. The next year the Emperor builds in the center of *Constantinople* the great Palace called at this day *Eski Serai* (21). In the year 860 he goes with

H 858.
Ch 1453
H 860.
A C 1455.

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Place stood formerly the Monastery of the *Blacbernæ*, dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and famous for many Miracles, now given by the Sultan for an Habitation to the *Cingari*. Nothing remains of the Church besides a Fountain, which bubbles out with salutary Water to the Faithful, and now in possession of a certain *Turk*, who for Money allows the *Christians* to draw out of it.

(19) *Turbè*] Is a Turret commonly placed over Sepulchres, of which I have spoken elsewhere. They are usually built open at the Top, after the form of the *Kiabè*, or Monument at *Mecca*. This is done to let the Rain come at the Flowers and other odoriferous Trees there planted; the Top is guarded by a brazen Net, to hinder Birds from getting in.

(20) *Syllivri*] *Syllebria* a City on the *Propontic* Shore, between *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*, ten hours distant from the latter. It is a Metropolitical See, and has a most beautiful Church built in the time of the *Christian* Emperors. Here are preserv'd the intire Remains of St. *Euphymia*, visited by the *Turks* out of Curiosity, and called by them *Cadid*. Here likewise are seen the ruins of a large Palace, built by *John Cantacuzenus*, concerning which see *Nicephorus Gregoras*, Tom. II.

(21) *Eski Serai*] The *Old Palace* A vast Building surrounded with high Walls, and separated into several Apartments. It is the usual Residence as well of the Mistresses of the deceas'd Sultan, whom the Eyes of a Successor (if a Son or Brother of the deceas'd) cannot behold without impiety, as of the Sultanesses who have had Children, with their Courtiers and little ones, and likewise of old Virgins who have no longer any Charms, and are maintain'd rather out of the Sultan's Clemency, than for any Merit of their own. The Walls built in a Square, are in compass about an *Italian* Mile. Of four Gates, two are always shut, the other two are guarded Night and Day by five hundred *Baltaji*. The Doors of the inner Palace are kept by white Eunuchs, to whom the black ones, as the more noble, commit the Care and Attendance of the Women. Their head Officer is called *Eski serai Agasi*, or *the Governor of the Old Palace*.

a great

a great army against the King of *Hungary* (22), defeats and puts the *Christians* to rout. In the battle, the King himself receives a wound, of which he is said to die shortly after.

XII. Having obtain'd this Victory, by which his enemies were more easily restrain'd, he besieges *Belgrade*, the great Bulwark of *Hungary*. But he meets with no better success than his Father. For the Siege being prolong'd beyond expectation, he is obliged to raise it by the approach of winter, and the loss of his men. The same year he circumcises his Sons *Bajazet* and *Murad*, and makes sumptuous feasts on that occasion.

Belgrade is besieg'd in vain

XIII. In the year 861 he subdues the rest of the *Morea*, and the next spring attacks and routs the *Greeks*, who were endeavouring to recover what they had lost, and repair *Altymil*, whose Walls he demolishes, and least they should make any future disturbances, he places strong garrisons in *Akkerne* and *Beldez*, and lays waste the Island *Korfes* (23)

The *Morea* is entirely subdu'd

XIV. In the year 863 he assaults and takes *Semendre*, of which the *Christians* had some years before made themselves master. In a word, within two years after the Conquest of *Constantinople*, he reduces by arms or capitulations above forty Cities (24) to his obedience.

Mahomet subdues above forty Cities in two years

XV. In the year 864, in *Asia* he seizes the dominions of *Kyzil Ahmed* (25), by means of his brother and betrayer *Ismael beg*. *Ahmed* being thus dispossess'd, flies to *Uzunhasan* (26); but instead of finding there an end to his miseries, he proves the cause of many mischiefs to his defender. For *Mahomet* hearing his enemy was received and protected by *Uzunhasan*, passes into *Asia* with a great army, and routing *Uzunhasan*'s forces, takes *Synope*, a town on the *Pontus Euxinus*. From hence leading his victorious army towards *Trapezond*, he receives in the way *Coiumlubisar* by surrender from *Husein beg*, who had married the King of *Trapezond*'s daughter. Then closely besieging *Trapezond*, *David Comnenus* the King, by the perswasions of his Mother-in-law *Sarechan*, delivers up himself and whole Kingdom to *Mahomet*, by whom he is honorably receiv'd, and sent with all his family to

Kyzil Ahmed is depriv'd of his dominions

H. 864
A. C. 1459.

Trapezond is taken by the *Turks*.

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(22) King of *Hungary*] This was *Ladislaus Posthumus*, Son of *Albert* Emperor of *Germany*, whose death *Christian* Writers place the 21st of *November* 1458, of the *Hejira* 863.

(23) *Korfes*] The name of the *Adriatic* Sea, commonly called *Golfo di Venetia*, in appearance the Isle of *Corfu*, the *Corcyra* of the Ancients.

(24) forty Cities] This is only to be understood of the two years after the taking of *Constantinople*. For that *Mahomet* in his whole Life subdu'd twelve Kingdoms and two hundred Cities, is confessed by the *Christian* Writers themselves.

(25) *Kyzil Ahmed*] *Ahmed Rufus*, who first gave occasion to the War between *Uzunhasan* and *Mahomet*. He seems to have been a *Persian* Satrapas.

(26) *Uzunhasan*] i. e. *Hasan the Tall*, King of *Cappadocia*, and famous in the *Turkish* Wars. The Series of this History will more amply describe him.

Constantinople.

Conſtantinople. Soon after the victorious Sultan himſelf returns into *Europe*.

Mitylene is taken, and the Walachians defeated.

XVI. The countries which had been ſubject to the *Greeks*, having all ſince the conqueſt of the Imperial City ſubmitted to, or been ſubdued by *Mahomet*, the Iſlands alone, which thought themſelves ſufficiently defended by nature from the *Othman* power, ſeem'd to aſſert their liberty. Wherefore to conquer their obſtinacy, the Sultan in the year 865 prepares a great fleet, and for the firſt tryal of his fortune by ſea, attacks *Mitylene*, and tho' bravely defended by the Iſlanders, takes it by the valour of his Men, and annexes it to his Empire. The reſt of the Iſlands of the *Archipelago* would have ſhar'd the ſame fate, if about this time *Cazyklu Voda* (27) Prince of *Walachia* had not attempted to ſhake off the *Turkiſh* yoke, and denied the tribute he had been uſed to pay every year. *Mahomet* thinking the neareſt danger firſt to be averted, inſtantly turns his arms againſt *Walachia*, and expelling the rebellious Prince, makes his younger brother Governor of the Province.

H 865.
A C 1460.

Mahomet reſtrains the rebellious Greeks

H 867
A C 1462.

XVII. In the year 867 the Sultan orders *Catirga Ilimani* (28) or *the three-oar'd Port*, to be made towards the South within the walls of the City, that a magazine for naval expeditions, and a ſafe harbour for his Ships againſt all events, might not be wanting. Whilſt he was employ'd in this work, the *Greeks*, in conjunction with the *Venetians*, raiſe commotions in the *Morea*, take *Gingerjinlik*, *Sada*, *Giuzelje hiſar*, *Duraj* (29) and *Ezornik*, and try to expel the *Turks* out of all *Peloponeſus*. *Mahomet* being inform'd of theſe things, immediately ſends *Mehemmed Paſha* with a good army to chaſtiſe the rebels, who not expecting his coming, deſert their Camp, by which means they give *Mehemmed* an opportunity not only to recover the loſt Cities, but to ſubdue the country of *Koje berſek* (30).

builds a Jami at Conſtantinople.

XVIII. *Mahomet*, to return God thanks for the great Victories he had hitherto obtain'd, and to leave a Monument of his piety to poſterity, orders this year in the month *Jemaziul Achyr*, the Church of the

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(27) *Cazyklu Voda*] He was Prince of *Walachia*, and a bloody Tyrant. He empal'd ſix thouſand Men for a trifling occaſion, and from thence procured amongſt his *Walachians* the nick-name of *Capaluſh*, or *Pale-Maker*. From whence the *Turks* interpreting the Etymology, ſeem to have taken their *Cazyklu*, or *rich in Pales*. By the *Chriſtians* he is called *Dracula*, but why I know not, becauſe that name is plainly foreign to the *Moldavian* Language. *Dragoſh* indeed is ſaid to be the firſt Prince of *Moldavia*, but *Dracula* was long before him; but of theſe things elſewhere.

(28) *Catirga Ilimani*] *The three-oar'd Port*, ſituate between the Gates *Chatladi** and *Cumcapu*, in the Southern Quarter towards the *Propontis*. It is now filled up with Earth, and made a Kitchen-Garden called *Vlanga*, in which grow the choiceſt Cucumbers.

(29) *Duraj*] Formerly *Dyrrachium*, the moſt celebrated Mart of all *Rumelia*, ſituated on the Shore of the *Adriatic* Sea, and in the Confines of *Dalmatia* and *Albania*.

(30) *Koje berſek*] The ancient *Illyria*, for *Koje* is *Old*, and *berſek Illyria*

holy

holy Apostles (31) to be demolish'd, and a large *Jami* to be built in its room, which called after his own name, *Muhamedie*, he adorns with eight schools, and as many hospitals. This work, scarce to be parallel'd by the wonders of Antiquity, was finish'd in the month *Rejeb* of the year 876.

H 876 / A C 1471

XIX In the year 868, assembling a great army, he moves towards the East, to reduce the Provinces of those parts which refus'd to submit. His design was crown'd with success. For having vanquish'd and slain the Prince of *Bosnia* (32), he places strong garrisons in the castles, and in his return from this expedition, strengthens the borders between *Bosnia* and *Albania*, by erecting fortresses in the narrow passages of the Mountains.

Subdues *Bosnia*
H 868 / A C 146·

XX. The next year, *Caraman ogli Ibrahim beg*, inveterate enemy of the *Othman* race, dies, and leaves behind him six Sons: Of these *Ishak beg*, having expell'd his brothers by force and policy, seizes alone his Father's dominions; which the rest not enduring, fly to *Mahomet*, beseeching him to forget the injuries done him by their Father, take pity on Princes oppressed and expelled by a tyrannical brother, and declare another Prince whom he pleased, for to his pleasure they commit themselves and their fortunes *Mahomet* readily grants their re-

Makes *Caraman ogli's* Son King

ANNOTATIONS.

(31) of the holy Apostles] It was a Church built by the Empress of *Justinian the Great* It is now a Place or Mount lying in the middle of the City, but nearer to the inner Haven than to the Continent. It is higher than the six others, where a *Jami* built by *Mahomet Fatih* of 120 Cubits square, is thought to be the largest Temple next to *Sancta Sophia* The Architect was, they say, a *Greek Christian* named *Christodulus*, who in reward of this vast and wonderful Work, was presented with a whole Street, and other Imperial Gifts. They add, that being asked, whether he could build another *Jami* larger and more elegant, he answered, he could if Materials were plentifully supplied. This being told to the Emperor, he ordered him to be impal'd, that his Successors might want an Architect capable to raise a nobler *Jami* than his own That to this purpose an Iron Pale was fix'd to the Gate of the outer Hall of the *Jami* which looks to the North, and by a little Tower thrown round it, not to be seen by those without, excepting the Point of it, which to this day appears. However, that the *Muhamedie* is the Work of *Christodulus*, and that he receiv'd in recompence the Street before mentioned, I am induc'd to believe from the Writing given by *Mahomet* to *Christodulus* on this occasion, which I my self read, and afterwards lodged in the Treasury of the Church of the blessed Virgin *Mary* at *Muglotissa*. For when under the present Emperor *Ahmed* III. the *Turks* commenc'd a Suit against the *Christians* of that Street, with intention to take away from them both the Street and the Church, I undertook their defense, and amongst other *Hujet*, or Testimonials which they had of their being legal Proprietors of their Houses, I shew'd this Writing to the Prime Vizir *Choruly* Ali Pasha*, which after he had carefully read, three times kissed, and as often rubb'd his Face with, he gave it back into my Hands, and ordered the *Turks* to give the *Christians* no farther Molestation.

(32) Prince of *Bosnia*] From *Christian* Writers I gather, it must have been *Stephanus*, whose Seat was *Yazyga*.

quest, names *Ahmed beg*, one of the brothers (with the consent of the others) for Prince of *Caramania*, and sends him with a good army to take possession of his father's inheritance. The rest of the brothers he keeps with him, promotes them to great honours, and orders them noble salaries to be paid yearly out of the Treasury. Mean while, *Ahmed beg* marches with his army into *Caramania*, vanquishes his brother *Ishak beg*, and forces him to fly to *Uzunhasan*. Being thus possessed of the *Caramanian* Kingdom, and having appeas'd the intestine dissentions, he honourably sends back to *Mahomet* the imperial forces laden with presents.

Takes some towns of *Albania* | H. 870 | A. C. 1465

XXI. In the year 870, *Albania* gave fresh occasion to warlike expeditions. His father *Murad* had before vanquish'd *Scander beg* the rebellious Prince of this country, and subdued most of the fortresses. But as *Murad* by death, and *Mahomet* by other expeditions, had been prevented from conquering the whole, the garrisons of the rebels had infested the neighbouring countries with frequent inroads. Whereupon the Sultan invades *Arnaud*, takes all the towns of the rebels, some of which he demolishes, and to prevent any future commotions, commands a new and strong City to be built at the entrance into the Province.

Makes his Son *Mustapha* King of *Caramania*

XXII. The Sultan having now subdued almost all his intestine enemies in *Europe*, turn'd his thoughts towards his *Asiatic* affairs. *Caramania* had frequently obstructed the attempts of the *Othman* Empire, and more than once stopp'd the victorious progress of the *Turkish* forces. *Mahomet*, mindful of this treachery, resolves to extirpate that race, that the Kingdom might be more peaceably deliver'd to a Successor. Wherefore in the year 872 he invades *Caramania* with a great army, subdues the whole Kingdom, and expelling the Prince with his brothers, makes his eldest son *Mustapha* King of *Caramania* The next year he again marches into that Kingdom, and conquering the towns which refus'd to submit, or tried to shake off their yoke, places strong garrisons in *Akserai* (33) and *Giulluk* (34), and returns to *Constantinople*.

H. 872 | A. C. 1467

Takes *Egriboz*. | H. 874 | A. C. 1469

XXIII. *Caramania* being subdued, the only place in *Europe* that seemed formidable to him was *Egriboz* (35). To draw this thorn out of his side, *Mahomet* in the year 874 goes in person with a strong army and fleet into *Greece*, and takes in the space of a month the strongest City of that age. The *Venetians* indeed came with a considerable fleet, and promis'd to assist the besieged, but as if they had sail'd so far, not for the sake of fighting, but only to be spectators of the Sultan's Vic-

ANNOTATIONS.

(33) *Akserai*] i. e. *White Palace*, a Town of *Caramania*.

(34) *Giulluk*] *Rosetum* a Town of the same Province.

(35) *Egriboz*] The Isle *Negropont* in the *Archipelago*, anciently *Eubœa*, whose Metropolis *Chalcis* is by the *Turks* likewise called *Egriboz*.

tory

tory, they retir'd, to their great diſhonour, without firing a gun. *Mahomet* after taking the City ſtays a few days to repair the ruins, and then leads back his victorious army to *Conſtantinople*.

Kyzul Arſlan beg ſurrenders his territories to *Mahomet* H 876 A. C 1471

XXIV. By theſe conqueſts *Mahomet* caus'd not only the hoſtile Cities which had not yet felt his ſword, to ſubmit themſelves to his mercy, but alſo in the year 876 the Lord of *Alaè* (36), *Kyzul Arſlan beg* voluntarily ſurrenders his dominions to the Sultan; who admiring his faithfulneſs and obedience, gives him a very honourable reception, with the Province of *Giumulſina* (37) for ever.

Uzunbaſun's General is defeated and taken

XXV. About the ſame time, *Uzunbaſan*'s General *Yuſufche** *beg*, in conjunction with a great army of *Tartars*, enters the *Othman* dominions, burns *Tokad*, and threatens deſtruction to the adjacent Country Attempting the ſame things in *Caramania*, he is met by *Muſtapha*, *Mahomet*'s ſon, with what forces he could aſſemble, and by him, after a long and bloody battle, defeated, taken and ſent in chains to the Sultan his father in token of Victory.

Uzunbaſan is himſelf outed by *Mahomet*, H 875 A C 1470

XXVI To revenge this blow, *Uzunbaſan* himſelf the next year with a powerful army invades *Mahomet*'s *Europæan* dominions. The Sultan had foreſeen this, and for that reaſon, leaſt he ſhould be ſurprized unprepar'd, had ſo placed his army in winter-quarters, that they could eaſily be aſſembled by ſound of trumpet. Being therefore inform'd of *Uzunbaſan*'s proceedings, he immediately paſſes into *Aſia*, and meeting the *Perſians* at *Payàs* (38), orders them to be attack'd. The battle is fought with various and doubtful fortune, both ſides contending for Glory and Empire, and incourag'd by the examples of their Generals. At length *Muſtapha*, the Sultan's eldeſt Son, in the left wing, which he commanded, meets *Zeinuldin*, *Uzunbaſan*'s ſon (who led the enemy's right wing) Immediately the two Princes fiercely engage, and at laſt *Zeinuldin* is by *Muſtapha* thrown off his horſe, and before he can recover himſelf, or be reſcu'd by his men, run thro' the body (39). His fall ſeem'd to draw after it the deſtruction of the whole army. For when the *Othmans* ſaw the right wing of the *Perſians* flying in diſorder, they all furiouſly attack the left, which ſtill bravely reſiſted the charges of the Muſulmans, compel them firſt to give ground, and at laſt take to open flight. Many are ſlain, and not fewer made priſoners. Thus *Mahomet* with the ſpoil of the Camp obtains a glorious Victory. *Uzunbaſan*, when he ſaw the battle was loſt, eſcapes with a few attendants by often changing his horſes.

ANNOTATIONS.

(36) *Alae*] A Province of a petty Prince, called *Kyzul Arſlan beg* (*red Lion*,) its ancient Name unknown, but of ſome part of *Aſia Minor*, as may be ſeen from the tenour of the Hiſtory. Perhaps the *Philadelphia* of the Ancients.

(37) *Giumulſina*] The *Turkiſh* Name of a Province and Town in *Rumelia*, near *Lariſſa*.

(38) *Payàs*] A City and noble Mart of *Paphlagonia*.

(39) the body] The *Chriſtian* Writers ſay that he was killed by a Muſket-ball. Which are we to believe?

XXVII. The

and several Cities taken from him

XXVII. The difficulty of the Country would not suffer the flying enemy to be pursued, and it did not seem to be for the *Othman* interest to waste the time idly; so giving his Troops but two days to breath, he besieges on the third *Karà bisàr Sharky* (40), takes it in a short space, and destroys the neighbouring Country with fire and sword. After this he returns in triumph with part of the army to *Constantinople*, leaving the rest under the command of his Vizir *Giedyk Ahmed Pasha* (41), by whom not only *Ermenak* and *Zilifke* are taken, but the whole Province of *Varsak* (42) is subjected to the *Othman* Empire.

Kieffe and *Crimea* are taken
H 876
A C 1471

XXVIII. The next year, under the conduct of the same *Giedyk Ahmed Pasha* he wrests *Kieffe*, the strongest place of *Crimea* from the *Genoese*, and by that means reduces to his obedience all *Taurica-Chersonesus*. Here he found *Mengily Gierai*, descended from the race of the *Copchak** Princes (43), who after a long war with his brother was vanquish'd and forc'd to fly to the *Genoese*. This Prince the Sultan not only appoints *Chan* of *Crimea* on certain conditions, but sends with an army to recover his Country. *Mengili Gierai* (44) entering his Kingdom

ANNOTATIONS

(40) *Carà bisàr Sharky*] A noted City of *Paphlagonia* near *Payas*, perhaps the *Arsenga* of the Ancients.

(41) *Giedyk Ahmed Pasha*] A famous General, and afterwards Prime Vizir to Sultan *Mahomet*. He was called *Giedyk*, because he had lost a fore Tooth, which whoever wants, or has a Hair-Lip, is always by the *Turks* called *Giedyk* But properly *Giedyk* signifies a *Chink* or *Cleft*, and metaphorically any Military Order, as *Giedyk Sahibi*, inroll'd in some Military Order, and *Giedyk lerinden airilmadiler*, *They have not deserted their Ranks*, or have left no void in them. There is likewise in *Constantinople* a certain quarter called *Giedyk Pasha*, which took its Name from this Basha, either from his building a Market-Place, or having a Palace there.

(42) *Varsak*] It seems to be *Paphlagonia*.

(43) *Copchak**] A *Scythian* Nation near *Usbek* in the Confines of the *Chagatæan** *Tartars*, beyond the *Caspian* Sea Eastward, from whence the *Turks* and *Tartars* deduce their Origin. It is perhaps that Country which in the present Map is called the Kingdom of *Thibet*, or *Turchestan*.

(44) *Mengily Gieray*] The first who committed *Crim Tartary*, under certain stipulations, to the Protection of the *Alhotbman* Empire, which he had before wrested out of the hands of his Brother According to both *Turkish* and *Christian* Historians, he was descended from the Race of the *Aliengbizians* But the latter intermix so many Fables, that a Man who has the least Tincture of the History of that People, cannot forbear laughing at their Accounts, which nevertheless are pretended by them to be given after the strictest Enquiry and Examination Above all the rest *Michalo Lithuanus* deserves my notice and censure, who when in his *Tartary*, p. 296, he owns the first Prince of the *Crim* to have descended from the *Aliengbizian* (or as he corruptly calls it the *Cyngisan*) Race, yet, from what Authority no Man knows, names him *Lotberius*, and p. 193, removes his Descendents into *Lithuania*, and deduces a long Succession of *Lithuanian Cæsars* or *Chans*, from the same Race. The last of these, according to that Historian, was *Acikieras** (perhaps *Haji Gierai*) who was born at *Troki*, and sent by St *Wilbcrode* to seize *Taurica Chersonesus*. To him, after he was in possession of that Principality, was born *Menglikierai* (*Mengli Gierai*). This last was father to *Mehemed Kierai*, *Sadet Kierai* (*Seadet Gierai*) *Chas Kierai* (perhaps *Shah Gierai*)

dom of *Copcback** by the help of the *Turks* easily overcomes and kills his brother, and then takes possession of his dominions. This was the first *Chan* of *Tartary* appointed by the *Turks*, and the first who in *Crimea* order'd the *Chutbè* in the name of the *Othman* Emperor to be used in the prayers.

XXIX. Whilst these things passed in *Chersonesus*, *Soliman Pasha* leads a considerable army into *Moldavia*. *Stephanus*, *Tekkiur* of *Mol-*

Turks defeated by the Moldavians.

ANNOTATIONS.

rai) and to *Sapkierai* (perhaps *Sefai-gierai*) the youngest of all, who succeeded in the Kingdom, and at the same time was Prince of the *Tartars*. For thus all the following race, being Princes, also enjoy now the noble appellation receiv'd from their Ancestor, namely *Achkierai** The Falsity of this Narration requires, I think, no long deduction to prove it, since it contains such evident Contradictions, that it is at first sight obvious that it has no support from any Monuments or Testimonies of the *Tartars*, but merely from the Conjecture of the Historian For to say nothing that the united consent of the *Turkish* Historians makes not *Lothonus*, but *Giera* first Conqueror of *Crim Tartary*, and that he transmitted his Name to the Princes descended from him, it is certain that the *Lithuanian Tartars* were neither *Crimæans* nor *Oguzians* (the Root of the *Alijenghizian* Family) but *Cheremissi**, from whence our Countrymen at this day call them *Chirimush**, though with the *Turks* they are known by the Name of *Lipka Tatars*, the first Word being corrupted from *Litva*. Moreover the Race of the present *Chans* of the *Crim* did not begin to reign there, or assume the Name of *Gierai* under *Murad* II, where this Historian places *Achkierai**, but, as is inferr'd from *Turkish* Histories, and the constant Tradition of the *Tartars*, was prior to the *Othman* Empire, as is largely prov'd in the Preface. But it may not be foreign to our purpose to take notice here that amongst the *Tartars* themselves there is a dispute who are the genuine and who the spurious Offspring of *Gierai*. For besides the Race which at this day rules the *Crim-Tartars*, and by way of eminence is called *Gierai*, there is another commonly known by the Name of *Choban** *Gierai*, or *Gierai the Shepherds*. For they relate, that the Wife of a certain *Chan*, whose Name I have forgot, had an unlawful Commerce with a Shepherd, that from thence a Son was born (the Mother after the Birth being convicted of Adultery and put to death) who was delivered to one of the King's Servants, with orders to kill him, that the Servant put a Trick upon his Master, convey'd the Child into *Cherkassia**, and there had him privately educated. From him they derive the latter Family, and make his Posterity falsely assume to themselves the Glory of so illustrious an Ancestor. The *Choban** *Gierai* retort the same Calumnies upon the other *Gierai*, and then leave it very difficult to determine which side is genuine or legitimate, and which not, since neither have any thing to appeal to besides Tradition. The *Turks*, altho' they think the present Race of the *Chans* to be legitimate, yet deny not the Appellation of *Gierai* to the other, and allow them to live at *Jamboli* (formerly *Janopoli*) the destin'd Seat of the *Tartarian* Princes. One of these, by the Name of *Kiergierai*, was after the Battle of *Vienna*, advanc'd to the Dignity of *Chan* by the *Turks*, distrusting the Faith of *Selim Gierai*, but after a few Months depos'd, and the ancient Race of *Gierai* replac'd on the Throne. Nor is it thought that the *Choban** *Gierai* will ever again rise to the same Honour, tho' they may enjoy the Offices of *Galga Sultan*, *Nurradin* and the like, which are in the Power of their Relations.

davia (45), meets him near *Falcby** (46), on the banks of the *Prut*. They long fight with great courage and doubtful fortune. At last, by the negligence of their General, the Musulmans are overthrown, the General himself falls in the battle, many are slain, some are made Captives, and the rest escape by flight over the *Danube*.

Moldavia laid waste by the Turks. H 877. A C 1472

XXX. At the news of this defeat, *Mahomet* full of indignation, marches in person the next year into *Moldavia* with all his forces, and when the enemy, unable to withstand such an army, did not appear, he lays waste all but the mountainous parts, and carries away an infinite number of Cattle and Captives.

Mahomet's expeditions in Asia H. 882. A. C 1477 H. 884 A C 1479

XXXI. In the year 882 he takes *Skanderun*, and the next builds a new Palace, which is now the Emperor's Court. In 884 *Aladin beg* who had implor'd his assistance against his father *Baddak beg* (47), prepares an army, by whose help he vanquishes his father, and compels him to fly to *Cherkassus** King of *Mysr*.

He defeats the Venetians, and lays waste Apulia

XXXII. The following year having vanquish'd the *Venetians* (48) at the River *Sontium*, he equips a great fleet under *Giedyk Ahmed Pasha*, to lay waste *Apulia*, and if possible all *Italy*. This General having ravag'd *Apulia*, and taken some fortresses, is in the midst of his progress recalled on account of the motions of the *Persians*, and new attempts of *Uzunhasan*, which seem'd to require the presence both of the General and Army. He is soon followed by a *Venetian* Ambassador (49) humbly suing for peace, which the Sultan, incumbred with other affairs, readily grants.

ANNOTATIONS.

(45) *Tekkiur* of *Moldavia*] i. e. King of *Moldavia*. This is *Stephanus* sirnam'd the *Great*, of whom I have spoken in a former Note. *Moldavia* it self is frequently called *Bogdan* by the *Turks*, from *Bogdan* Son of this *Stephanus*, of whom more largely in another Place.

(46) *Falcby**] A City and Country of *Moldavia*, upon the River *Prut*, distant from *Hussi* (where *Peter* Emperor of *Russia* after four days Engagement made Peace with the *Turks* in the year 1711) ten Miles Southward from the Banks of the *Ister*. Upon recollection that I had some years ago read in *Herodotus* of the warlike Nation, and large City, of the *Taiphali* beyond the *Danube*, I out of Curiosity dispatch'd some Persons thither to search whether they could discover beyond the River any remains of Buildings. At their return they brought me word, they had discovered near this Town of *Falcby**, in the thick Woods, the ruins of Walls, and Foundations of Houses, in a right Line From hence I doubt not but the Town *Falcby**, was built in room of the ancient City of the *Taiphali*, on which I shall more enlarge in my particular account of the ancient and present *Moldavia*.

(47) *Baddak beg*] It seems to be the Province of *Sina*, or the name or sirname of some King of those times, unknown to us.

(48) *Venetians*] The *Christian* Historians mention a defeat received by the *Venetians* at the River *Sontium*, but, in the room of *Giedik Ahmed Pasha*, they substitute one *Alabecchus* or *Marbecchus*; by what Authority I know not, for the Names have nothing of a *Turkish* Sound in them.

(49) *Venetian* Ambassador] This was *Benedict Trevisano*, a Man of great Wisdom and Authority amongst the *Venetians*.

XXXIII. But

XXXIII. But it was neither firm nor lasting. For in the year 886 *Mesib Pasha* (50) is sent by *Mahomet* with a great fleet to take *Rhodes*. The General having landed his forces, closely besieges the City, but by the vigilance and bravery of the enemies he is repuls'd, and at last forc'd to raise the siege with great loss, dishonour, and danger of his life.

He is repuls'd at *Rhodes*, H 886 A C 1481

XXXIV. That summer he assembles all the forces of the *Othman* Empire, not only to curb the insolence of *Uzunhasan*, but also to acquire the dominion of all *Asia*. Wherefore passing the *Bosphorus* near *Yuskinder*, he pitches his tents under *Maltepe* (51), and already thought himself master of the furthermost bounds of *India*. Perhaps this immoderate transport of mind threw him into a fit of the Gout (52), which being attended with other symptoms, after short, but sharp pains, carried him off the fifth day of *Jemazıul evvel*. He left the Empire to his son *Bajazet* †.

dies at *Maltepe*

XXXV. *Mahomet* liv'd fifty-one years (53), and reign'd thirty, and three months, exclusive of the time he rul'd in his father's life. Besides his warlike virtues, of which he gave great proofs, he was famous for learning, languages, desire of knowing things curious, wisdom, and patience in labours. He was also very religious, in short, an accomplish'd Prince, if he had made a conscience of breaking his word for the good of the State.

His Character.

ANNOTATIONS.

(50) *Mesib Pasha*] The *Christians* make him a *Græcian*, and descended from the Race of the *Palæolgi*: The *Turks* are silent as to his Race, but *Mesib* seems to come from the *Hebrew Messiah*, from whence *Jesus Christ* is called *Issa Mesib*.

(51) *Maltepe*] A rich Mountain, or Mountain of Riches. It is a very high Mountain not far from *Nicæa*, at whose Root a Treasure once found gave it the Name. Ships in the *Euxine* Sea when they come within eighty Miles of the *Bosphorus*, first discover and direct their Course by this Mountain, tho' it is nearer the *Propontis* than the *Euxine* Sea

(52) the Gout] *Christian* Writers say, he was seized with the Cholick three days after he had begun his Expedition, which agrees with the *Turks*, who allow more causes of his death than the Gout.

(53) fifty-one years] This must be understood of Lunar years, which reduc'd to a solar Computation, make about forty-nine years, seven months, and seven days. Here the *Turks* and *Christians* disagree. The latter ascribing to him fifty-one years of Life, and thirty of Reign, the former make him live fifty-three years, and reign thirty-two. The disagreement I think may proceed from this, that the *Christians* include the three years of his Reign during his Father's Life.

† *Mustapha* his eldest is said to have been strangled by his Father's command for ravishing *Ahmed Pasha*'s Wife

Cotemporary with *MAHOMET* II. reign'd,

At *Constantinople*,	CONSTANTINUS PALÆOLOGUS, last *Christian* Emperor of *Constantinople*. 1444-53.
In the *West*,	FREDERIC III. 1440-93.
In *England*,	HENRY VI. 1422-60. EDWARD IV. 1460-83.
In *France*,	CHARLES VII. 1423-61. LEWIS XI. 1461-83.

The End of the Reign of MAHOMET II.

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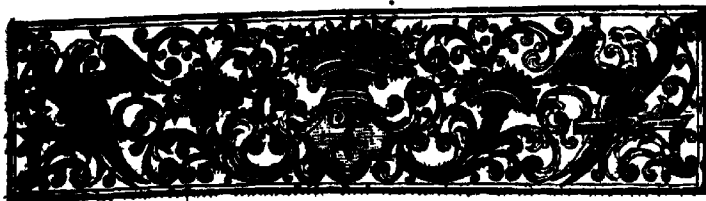
The REIGN of

BAJAZET II.

Eighth Emperor of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. II.

Bajazet thinks of a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*

I. AS the *Othman* affairs about this time were in a flourishing condition, *Mahomet* had set his sons *Bajazet* and *Jem* over Provinces, the former being made *Sanjak* (1) of *Amasia*, the latter of *Iconium*, that they might not only have wherewithal to maintain a Court, but also give instances of their prudence, and art of governing in their younger years. *Bajazet* was now at *Amasia*, and was thinking of *Haj* (2) or a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, when an unexpected message came to him from the Vizir, that his father was dead, and had appointed him his successor. He receiv'd also a letter sign'd by the Vizir, and the rest of the great men, exhorting him to come and take possession of the throne, and leave his intended Pilgrimage to men of lower birth and more leisure, it being much more for the advantage of the *Mahometan*

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Sanjak*] Before *Pashas* and *Beglerbegs* were instituted, all Governours of Provinces went by this Name, which is at present peculiar to those who are set over Provinces without the Distinction of *Tug* or Horses Tails. So a *Sanjak* is under a *Beg*, a *Beg* under a *Pasha*, a *Pasha* under a *Beglerbeg*.

(2) *Haj*] Is a Pilgrimage to the Holy Places *Mecca*, *Medina* and *Jerusalem*; he who performs this Pilgrimage is called *Haji*, or Pilgrim. Every *Turk* once in his Life, is oblig'd by his Law to undertake this Journey, and that at a time when his Substance is such, that half of it will suffice for the expences of the Pilgrimage; the other half is to be left behind for an honest Subsistence at his return. But for a safe and commodious passage to the Pilgrims thro' those desert and dry Places, the Sultan commonly orders the *Basha* of *Damascus* to attend them with Soldiers and Water-bearers, and to take care that their Numbers never fall short of fourteen thousand.

religion,

BAJAZET II.
Eighth Emperor of the Turks
in the Year 1581
From an Original in the Seraglio

religion, to prevent, by his valour and counsels, his enemies from recovering their courage and strength.

II. Doubtful and surpris'd at this message, *Bajazet* remains uncertain what he should first do in this case. Piety called upon him to perform his Vow; and it seem'd dangerous to leave the throne so long vacant. At last Religion gets the better of the care of the Commonwealth, and fortune affords an opportunity to preserve both. He had a Son nam'd *Corcud*, of such sweetness and modesty, that he not only excell'd all of his own age, but also his seniors. His Grandfather *Mahomet* had two years since sent for him to celebrate the *Sunnèt* (3), and from that time, allur'd by his good qualities, never suffered him to depart. At the time of the Sultan's death he was in the army. This Son, *Bajazet* purposes should supply his place, hoping the prudence of Counsellors would make up the defects of his youth. Wherefore he answers the Vizir, "It is not in his power to lay aside his more than blessed Pilgri-"mage, and had rather forfeit the Empire of the whole world than "leave his Vow unperform'd; but least the *Othman* State might suffer "any detriment, it is his advice, that they reverence as Sovereign his "son *Corcud* till his return." Presently after, without staying for an answer, he sets out for *Mecca*, to seek from God an auspicious beginning of his reign. Whereupon the Great Men invest his son *Corcud* with the Government, which for nine months he happily administers, causing his name to be mention'd in the prayers, and stamp'd on the Coin.

delivers the Empire to his son *Corcud*

III At the end of which space, *Bajazet* returns from his Pilgrimage, and sends letters to his Son and the Great Men, desiring him to keep the Empire, and them to obey, and suffer him to live privately at *Nicæa*. It can hardly be determin'd, whether *Bajazet* was led to this contempt of a Crown by a stretch of religion, and a zeal for the divine worship

The Vizir calls the Sultan at his return to the Empire

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(3) *Sunnèt*] The *Turks* make the Precepts of their Law of two kinds, *Sunnet*, where observance may on some occasions be dispens'd with, and *Fars*, which are absolutely necessary to Salvation. To *Fars* belong, say they, *Salavat*, i. e. Confession of Faith, which is never neglected or omitted by a Man who has the use of Speech, without forfeiting Salvation it self; *Zekkiat*, or bestowing yearly the fiftieth part of their Goods upon the Poor, and the like. But *Sunnèt* they call Circumcision, and the *Sunnèt Dugunt*, the Solemnities of Circumcision, and other Ecclesiastical Rites, which to omit is a Sin indeed, but venial. The omission of these upon any pressing Necessity they think to be no Sin at all. They therefore never circumcise till the seventh year, and think a Child dying uncircumcised before that time, may nevertheless be receiv'd into Paradise. Thus if for the five Prostrations in the Noon Prayers, three only are perform'd, which are the *Fars*, or immediate Command of God, and the other two, which are only Institutions of the Prophet, and authoriz'd by Ecclesiastical Practice, are omitted, the omission is a Sin indeed, but not mortal. But he that does neither of these is to expiate his Crime in suffering for many years the Torments of Purgatory.

kindled at *Mecca*, or fearing his son's power, ambition, and popularity, chose by hidden arts to undermine his son at *Nicæa*, rather than by an unseasonable demand of the Kingdom, hazard both his Empire and Life. But the prime Vizir reading the letter, assembles the rest of the Great Men, asks their opinion, and after some debate, decrees, with their consent, that *Mahomet's* appointment should be firmly adher'd to, and *Bajazet* alone acknowledg'd and proclaim'd Emperor.

Corcud agrees to it.

IV. But to effect this openly, the same obstacles occurr'd to them as to the father, violent counsels not seeming safer than decrees. Wherefore they resolve, first to sound *Corcud*; and the prime Vizir *Ali Pasha* having obtain'd an audience, says to him, "Your Majesty's resplendent "father, by the divine aid, is return'd in safety from *Mecca*, and we "hear, is arriv'd at *Aleppo*, which we thought it our duty to tell your "Majesty, in order to know your pleasure concerning him, and his ar-"rival." *Corcud* upon this information replies, "The services you "have done the Empire ought justly to be so many testimonies of your "fidelity; but whilst by so artful a speech you endeavour to shake "mine, I can scarce refrain from taxing you with treachery. For you "know my father did not absolutely, and for ever resign the Crown to "me, but only commanded me to rule in his stead, till his return "from a Pilgrimage undertaken for his own and the publick advan-"tage. This have I done because I would not disobey a father's com-"mands: Let him, being return'd, receive his own Empire, and I re-"signing the Scepter, will eternally profess my self both his Son and "Vassal."

and resigns the throne to his father.

V. A few days after, hearing of his father's approach, he passes the *Bosphorus*, attended with all his Vizirs, and the rest of the civil and military officers, and meets him near *Nicæa*. He immediately pays him obeysance, and commands the rest to follow his example, and the *Mimber* (4) to be raised. Which done, *Corcud* himself taking his father by the hand, leads him to the throne, and turning to the spectators says: "This is indeed my Father and Lord, but the Governor and Emperor "of the *Othmans*. I have hitherto been his shadow, now the light is "come, the shadow vanishes. To him alone therefore pay obedience "and reverence." Having said these words, he waits on his father to *Constantinople*, where arriving on the 29th day of *Jemaziul Achyr* in the year 886, *Bajazet* is invested with the Imperial Crown. Next day *Corcud*, with an allowance fit for an Emperor, departs to *Magnesia*.

H 886
A C 881

Jem rebels,

VI. But this seem'd very hard to *Jem* (5), who from *Corcud's* age, had entertain'd great hopes of seizing the Empire, but upon *Bajazet's* mounting

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(4) *Mimber*] A Chair, much like a Bishop's Throne, on which raised with three Steps, both the Imperial Throne, and in great Churches *Vaidz*, the Preacher's Pulpit is erected.

(5) to *Jem*] *Jem* in common Language signifies a kind of Grapes more delicious than all others, but with the *Arabic Tesdid* added, *Jemm* magically signifies the fabulous name of

mounting the throne, thought his expectations entirely frustrated. He pretended the Crown belonged to him, because *Bajazet* was born to *Mahomet* before he was Sultan, and declared it a dishonour that the Empire should be given to the Son of a private man, in prejudice of the imperial Offspring. He charged his Father's Will with falshood, as not being written, but only coming from the mouth of a treacherous Vizir. By these discourses he perswaded not only several Cities, but also most of the *Asiatic* forces, that he was the true Heir, and caused himself to be proclaim'd Emperor at *Prusa*. Presently after, assisted with money by the Citizens of *Prusa*, and others who were in his interest, he raised a considerable army.

VII. But his dominion was neither firm nor lasting. For *Bajazet* hearing of his brother's proceedings, instantly passes into *Asia* with a great army, and meeting him near *Prusa*, after a fierce and bloody battle, puts him and his followers to rout. *Jem* escaping with a few attendants, flies first to *Aleppo*, then to Sultan *Caitebai* (6) King of *Misr* †, sets forth his brother's tyranny, in not only seizing the Empire due to him, but in taking and unjustly putting his children to death, and earnestly implores his assistance. *Caitebai* on the contrary gives him more wholsome advice, bids him lay aside all enmity to his brother, because civil wars can never be wag'd without detriment to their holy Religion, which will be wonderfully promoted by brotherly love and agreement. So, that the heat of his indignation might in that time be allay'd, he perswades *Jem* to go in pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and by such a blessed journey, convert the image of his misfortune into a a true happiness For the present state of affairs would not admit of any attempt against *Bajazet*, who had great armies at command: but if at his return, the face of things were alter'd, he would to the utmost of his power endeavour to restore him to his right.

and being vanquish'd, flies to *Caitebai*:

† Egypt

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of *Solomon*, or *Alexander the Great*, as *Chatemi Jemm*, the Seal or signal Ring of *Solomon*, *Jami Jemm*, the Looking-Glass of *Solomon*, or *Alexander*, which in another *Greekish* Fable is attributed to *Leo the Wise*, Son of *Basilius* the *Macedonian*, and Emperor of *Greece*. From which of these Significations this Sultan drew his Name I cannot say. However, I have neither read nor heard of any other *Turk* distinguish'd by it. The *Christian* Writers without doubt drew from it their *Zemes* and *Zimm* Words, which etymologically have no meaning

(6) *Caitebai*] Not *Caithebas*, or *Caitbbeg*, as the Western Writers give it. For it is no *Turkish* Name, nor to be derived from *Caith* and *Beg*, a Prince but merely *Tartarian*, compounded of *Cait* and *Bai* added to avoid the ill sound of *Iishun*, which commonly has the power of our vowel *e* *Cait* in the *Tartarian* Language signifies *Conversion*, and *bai* rich. The more honorable *Tartars* are accustom'd to add this monosyllable to their Names, as *Tumanbai*, *Mambetbai*, (for *Muhamed bai*, *Muhammed* in the *Tartarian* Language being pronounc'd *Mambet*) as the chief Pashas of the *Turkish* Militia, the Agas, and all of noble Race have the Appellation of *Ghelebi**. But our *Caitebai* was a *Chercassian** by Nation, and came to the Sovereignty by Election; he was the *Hannibal* of the *Turkish* Empire.

VIII. With

From thence to *Varsak.*

VIII. With such speeches as these *Caitebai* strove to appease *Jem*, but he had other designs. *Jem* had long since contracted a strict friendship with some of the great men of *Varsak* (7) and *Turgad*, which had been confirm'd by so many proofs, that he did not question they would do what they could for him. To these he writes from *Mysr*, complaining of *Bajazet*'s injuries to him and his children, and intreating their aid. In answer, they detest *Bajazet*'s impiety, and unanimously promise to stand by their Lord and *Shehzade* (8) with their lives and fortunes. Flush'd with these promises, and eas'd of his care, whilst he sees *Caitebai*'s assistance doubtful and remote, *Jem* feigns to approve his advice, and desires him to supply him with necessaries for his pilgrimage. *Caitebai* gladly and plentifully furnishes him with every thing, and at his departure gives him an attendance suitable to his quality. But it was not devotion, but a kingdom *Jem* was seeking. Wherefore he desists the first opportunity from his pilgrimage, and leaving his attendants, flies with a few followers to his friends. There assembling the forces of those Countries, with some *Gionulli* (9) tumultuously raised, he tries a second time the fortune of war.

Being again defeated, he flies to the *Christians*

IX. But he meets with no better success. For *Bajazet* being informed of his brother's fresh Motions, sends an army against him, which easily vanquishes and routs his undisciplin'd troops. *Jem* after his defeat, for some time wanders in disguise without servant or companion about the maritime places, and at length gets a ship bound for *Italy*. He first sails to *Rhodes* (10), and afterwards in company with some *Rhodians* visits the Pope (11), by whose recommendation he is very honourably

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(7) *Varsak* and *Turgad*] I have before said, in the last Chapter, that *Varsak* is thought to be *Paphlagonia*, *Turgad* seems to have been a neighbouring Province to it.

(8) *Shehzade*] Son of the Emperor from the *Persian Sheh* by *Syncope* from *Shâh*, Emperor, and *Zade*, Son. But the Sons of the Emperor are so called, when out of respect their proper Names are supposed.

(9) *Gioniulli*] They were formerly Volunteers, and followed the Camp at their own expence. At this day, they are an Order of Horse under the Vizirs, who in publick Solemnities precede the *Agavat*, or Military Officers of the Court, and wear the *Hungarian* or *Bosnian* Habit. Their Colonel is called *Gioniulli Agasi*. Something like these is another Cohort of Horse called *Deliler*, i. e. the *Fools* or *Madmen*. These formerly were under no Discipline, but blindly rush'd on, and fell upon the Enemy from every quarter. Afterwards they were reduc'd to order, and by that lost their ancient Valour, with reserve of only the Name Nor have I heard of any thing memorable perform'd by them of late times, or seen in any Battle where I was present

(10) to *Rhodes*] The *Christian* Writers tell us, that he was there well receiv'd by the Great Master, who, furnishing him with a good Retinue, sent him to Pope *Innocent* VIII, and that he was afterwards surrendered to *Charles* VIII King of *France*, then preparing for the *Neapolitan* Expedition. Whereupon *Alexander* VI, (say the same Writers) poison'd him in the fear that *Charles* delivering him to *Bajazet* might merit too highly of him.

(11) the Pope] This was *Innocent* VIII, mentioned in the last Note. His

nourably received by the King of *Naples* (12). Here in an elegant and polite ſpeech, he declares the cauſes of his flight, imploring the aſſiſtance of the *Chriſtian* Princes to recover his paternal inheritance, and promiſing with an oath, that in caſe he obtained the Empire by their help, the *Othmans* ſhould never ſet foot in any *Chriſtian* dominions, and that he would religiouſly obſerve the treaty of peace between them and his deceaſed father. The *Chriſtian* Princes (13) who had been ſtruck with great terror at the *Othman* arms, bid him be of good courage, aſſuring him they would exert their utmoſt, and omit no opportunity to reſtore him. The King of *Naples* alſo, as a farther inſtance of his good-will, gives him an honorable penſion.

X. But neither here did *Bajazet* ſuffer him to remain in ſafety, for fear he ſhould give the *Chriſtians* counſels deſtructive of his dominion and the *Othman* affairs. One day as he was familiarly talking of theſe things, there happen'd to be preſent a certain *Italian* Captive who had been initiated into the *Mahometan* religion by the name of *Muſtapha*, and for his notable skill in ſhaving, promoted to the office of *Berber baſhi* (14). This man being full of craft, hearing what the Emperor ſaid, falls at his feet, and ſays, "If your Majeſty will vouchſafe to commit ſo weighty an affair to my management, I will free your mind from all care, and diſpatch your brother, tho' he lurk'd in the moſt ſecret corners of *Italy*." *Bajazet* not only readily gives him power to commit this deed, but ſwears by the holy Souls of his Anceſtors (15) to advance *Muſtapha* to the dignity of Prime Vizir, if he accompliſh'd an undertaking ſo divine (16) and advantagious to the whole *Othman* Empire.

where he is treacherouſly killed by *Perber baſhi*.

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His Succeſſor was *Alexander* VI, innocent of the Crime with which the *Chriſtians* impeach him.

(12) King of *Naples*] Here the *Turks* are miſtaken. For he was not delivered to the King of *Naples*, but to the *French* King *Charles* VIII, then preparing for the *Neapolitan* Expedition

(13) *Chriſtian* Princes] All *Chriſtian* Princes in general are uſually ſtil'd by the *Turks*, *Umerai Milletull Meſihu*, *Princes of the Nation of the* Meſſiah, *Kiubetai Taifetul Iſſevie*, *Sovereigns of the People of* Jeſus.

(24) *Berber baſhi*] Chief Barber, the ſixth great domeſtic Officer, of whom the Reader will find an account in another Place

(25) Anceſtors] The Emperors never bind themſelves by any other Oath than this, *Ejdadum eruah ſherifleri ichun**, *by the bleſſed or holy Souls of my Parents*, or in the ſingular, *Jedum ruhi ichun**, *by the Soul of my Grandfather* But in all their Covenants with the *Chriſtians* they uſe to add, *By the Name of the moſt high God*, *Koran baki ichun**, *by the Truth of the* Koran, *Peigamberin Pak ruhi ichun**, *By the pure Spirit of the Prophet*, &c.

(16) divine] The Emperor's Orders, of whatever kind, are received by the *Turks* as coming from the Hand of God, and to diſobey them is reckon'd the higheſt Impiety. Wherefore, if ever the prime Vizir is to be put to death, the Emperor commits the Execution of his Sentence to none but the Vizir himſelf, which he does in a Writing to this effect. "Whereas for ſuch or ſuch Facts thou deſerveſt to die, it is our Pleaſure that, after having perform'd the *Abdeſt*, i. e. the waſhing of Head, Hands, and Feet, and made the accuſtom'd *Namaz*, ("or

pire. *Mustapha* incourag'd by these promises, throws off his *Turkish* habit, and as a fugitive goes to the *Franks* (17) dwelling at *Peru*, where with feign'd tears he laments his having abjur'd his religion, and conjures them to protect and assist him to make his escape into his own country. He adds, he had rather live in the utmost misery among *Christians*, than enjoy, with the hazard of his Soul, the highest honours of the *Turkish* Court. The *Franks* readily believe him, and pitying his condition, get him on board a ship bound to *Italy*, in which he arrives in a few days at *Naples*. *Jem*, who happen'd to be there, hearing an excellent Barber was come from *Turky*, and curious perhaps of knowing what passed at *Constantinople*, orders the man to be sent for. When he comes, being ask'd about the present state of the *Turkish* affairs, he answers, he had followed for some years at *Constantinople* the business of a Barber in the publick shops, and never troubled himself about any thing but the improvement of his art, and how to procure his liberty, which after long waiting he had obtain'd by the help of some good men, so that now he could freely enjoy his country, and profess the *Christian* religion. To this *Jem* replies, concerning your way of worship and religious profession, I am not sollicitous. For God has given every man a free-will (18). But as I live in a land where Barbers

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"(or Prayers,) thou deliver thy "Head to this our Messenger *Capuchi** *Bashi*." And tho' the Vizir might have it in his Power to resist, yet he pays a ready obedience for fear of being accounted (as a transgressor of the Imperial Mandate) an Infidel, and cut off from the *Jemaat*, or *Ummeti Muhammed*, in *Christian* Language, the Church. This happen'd in my time to some great Men who refus'd their Obedience to the Emperor's Mandate, and tho' by flight or arms they rescu'd themselves from the danger, had ever afterwards the nickname of *Firari*, or *Fugitives*, as, *firari Hasan Pasha*, and *firari Ismail Pasha* Nay, the Infamy is derived upon their Sons, who for an eternal Ignominy, as it were, are called *Firari Ogullari*, *Sons of Fugitives*

(17) *Franks*] It is customary with the *Turks* to call almost all *Christian* Nations (the *Poles*, *Hungarians*, and others excepted, who wear long Habits) and especially the *Italians*, by the name of *Ifrenj*, vulgarly *Fireng* But to each Nation they likewise appropriate particular Names, as to the *Germans*, *Nemche**, to the *French*, *Franssiz*, to the *Spaniards*, *Ispaniol*, to the *English*, *Inglis*, to the *Dutch* or *Flemings*, *Nidirlandu*, or *Filemeng*, to the *Saxons*, *Saks*, to the *Swedes*, *Ishved*, to the *Polanders*, *Leh*, or *Lech*, to the *Hungarians*, *Majar*, to the *Russians*, *Moscov*, to the *Cossaks*, *Cazak*, and so to the rest.

(18) free will] *Iradeti Juzy*, or *Juzy Ikhtiar* Altho' the *Turks* from the *Koran* believe, that nothing either good or evil can happen contrary to the divine Decree, according to that saying, *Chairu sherru min allah*, *Good and Evil are from God* Yet they allow a free-will in Man for this reason, that *Kiuffar* (Infidels, namely, *Christian* and all *Mahometans*, not Musulmans may not at the last Judgment excuse their not embracing the *Mahometan* Doctrine from a Plea of their wanting free-will I asked some of the most learned Expounders of the *Koran*, called by the *Turks*, *Teffsiri Koran*, whether a Man could speak or act any thing contrary to the Divine Will, or not? But I could never obtain a direct answer from them, they used to say, *Jennet hac*, *Jihennem hac*, *Paradise is certain*, *and Hell is certain*,

Barbers seem to me very unskilful, I only wish you to be my Barber. For since you have sojourned some time among my countrymen, who, you know, shave with so light and pleasant a hand, that a man can scarce forbear sleeping under the operation, I hope you have acquir'd some share of their art. *Mustapha*, the better to deceive *Jem*, at first declines the office, but being ask'd again, consents at last, pretending he could not in conscience refuse the honour of serving so great a Prince, and shaving the head of one whose face all good men desired to see at *Constantinople*. Whereupon he is receiv'd among his Chamberlains to shave him on the usual days, according to the custom of the *Turks*. When he had discharg'd this office some time with great appearance of fidelity, *Jem* happens one day to fall asleep as he is shaving, and thereby gives *Mustapha* an opportunity of executing his premeditated design. For perceiving none of the servants in the room, he cuts the Prince's Wind-pipe with a sharp Razor (19), and to prevent the wound from bleeding, binds it very hard with a handkerchief. Then he goes out of the chamber, and tells the servants in waiting, that their Lord was asleep, bidding them to be quiet and not disturb him. This done, he posts to a ship, which lay ready to receive him, and sails first to *Crete*, and from thence to *Constantinople*

XI. At his arrival, he instantly repairs to *Bajazet*, and acquaints him with his brother's death and the manner of it. The incredulous Sultan is convinc'd by a report spread shortly after, that *Jem* by the treachery of some *Christians* was murder'd (20). Whereupon *Bajazet* mindful of his promise, promotes Barber *Mustapha* to the dignity of Prime Vizir. After this, he sends to *Naples* for his brother's body. The Ambassadors are honorably receiv'd, and the body is deliver'd to them, which by *Bajazet*'s order is buried at *Prusa*, near the Tomb of *Murad*, among the sons of the royal *Othman* race.

who is made Prime Vizir

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tim, neither was the latter made by God in vain, but to some use, if to some end, that end could be no other than the punishment of those who are destin'd to it If again they are asked, how their Opinion of free-will is reconcileable with this Reason, they beg the Question, by saying, that all may be saved who will, but that no Man is saved whom God has not destin'd to Salvation They conclude with this Axiom, *Tacdir Tedbiri bozár*, i e *Divine Providence destroys human Appointments or Purposes* From this Contrariety of Sentiments it is that free-will is highly valued by some, and as little esteem'd by others.

(19) Razor] The *Turks* here acquit Pope *Alexander* VI from the execrable Crime charg'd upon him by *Christian*, and even Catholick Writers, and believed for so many Ages. I leave the Reader to embrace which Side he pleases.

(20) murder'd] This contrary Report helps to confirm the *Turkish* account of *Jem*'s death. The Place is disputed. *Christians* say he was poison'd in his march to *Naples* with *Charles* VIII at *Teracina*; the *Turks* that he died at *Naples* by the Razor of *Berber Ibrahim*. Which is true, the Reader is left to judge

Jem's Character.

XII. This was the end of *Jem*, a Prince of great hopes and good dispositions. Nothing was wanting in him that could be called virtue, prudence, magnanimity, fortitude and wisdom. He had no equal of the same age. He is chiefly praised for eloquence (21) and rhetorick, because he gain'd men to his interest more by his speeches, than by money or pensions. To say all in a word, he would have been (according to the *Turks*) a most accomplish'd Prince, and worthy of so illustrious a birth, if he had not eclips'd the light of his virtues by his shameful flight to the *Christians*. But even there he was most observant of the *Mahometan* rites, and not only said the due prayers five times a day, but finish'd *Telaveti Koran* (22) every week.

Bajazet strengthens Greece with Castles.

XIII. The rival of his Empire being thus removed by fratricide, and the State settled, *Bajazet*'s martial spirit, which had hitherto laid dormant, excites him to enlarge his dominions with the spoils of the *Christian* Princes. But to strengthen, before he increased the Commonwealth, he goes into the *Morea* in the year 887, and fortifies the Isthmus with two strong Castles towards the *Corinthian* Bay, built with materials design'd for other uses by the *Christians*. These he provides with good garrisons and all manner of warlike stores, that the enemies when from that side they invaded, as they frequently did, the *Othman* dominions, might be restrained, and time given him to come to their assistance.

H 887
A C 1482

Takes two Cities in Moldavia.

XIV. The next Spring he orders to be built in a pleasant situation on the river *Tunje* at *Adrianople*, a *Jami*, *Medrese*, *Darulshya*, *Imaret*, and publick Bath. Then he moves with all his forces towards *Moldavia* (23), govern'd at that time by *Stephanus*, and takes the Bulwarks of the

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(21) eloquence] *Ilmkieliam*, the Science of Speech, or the Art of speaking well, as *Ilmi Mantyk*, the Art of Reasoning, *Ilmi Sarf*, the Science of Grammar, as *Ilmi Nahum*, the Knowledge of *Syntax*, *Ilmi Hikmet*, the Knowledge of secret Things, or of Philosophy, *Ilmi Illahi*, Divine Knowledge or Theology, *Ilmi Fikyh*, Knowledge of the Law, the noblest of all others with them, as turning to another's Advantage, *Ilmi Nujum*, the Knowledge of the Stars, or Astronomy, *Ilmibendese*, the Knowledge of Measuring, or Mathematics, *Ilmi Jografie*, Geography, *Ilmi Recam*, Arithmetic, *Ilmi Shir*, Poetry, &c

(22) *Telaveti Koran*] The reading of the whole *Koran*. This is perform'd at the Funeral, and the Tomb for forty Days, as in so many Days with us the Psalter is reading over the dead. The *Turks* believe that the Soul of the deceas'd hovers about the Grave for forty Days, and that the reading of the *Koran* is very assisting to the Archangel *Gabriel*, that he may guard it from the Devils, and quickly convey it to Paradise They moreover assert, that the sinful Soul is much advantag'd by the Prayers of the Living But they invoke no Saints or Prophets besides *Mahomet* To all others they deny any Compassion for human Miseries, as thinking it would be a hindrance to the perfect Felicity to which they are arrived

(23) *Moldavia*] I could never sufficiently admire, as often as I look'd into Maps of *Hungary*, whence it was that the Limits of *Walachia* and *Moldavia* are so absurdly and erroneously mark'd in them Nor have I seen one ancient or modern Map which does not abound with gross Mistakes. So the Towns *Kili* and *Akkierman*, vulgarly

the whole country, the strong cities of *Kili* (24) on the *Danube* and *Akkierman* (25) near it on the *Euxine* sea. By this means he not only prevents the *Moldavians* from exercising pyracy on that sea, but gets an opportunity of annoying, with frequent incursions, a Province often attempted in vain.

XV. The same year, under the conduct of the *Beglerbeg* of *Asia*, are taken the famous cities of *Tarsus* (26), *Kurshunly* (27), and *Kosunly*. At *Adrianople* the great General *Giedyk Ahmed Pasha* is accused of treason, and put to death (28). About the same time, are sown between *Bajazet* and *Caitebai* King of *Mysr* the seeds of war, which after numberless battles, ended at last in the Subversion of *Caitebai*'s Kingdom. They had long beheld one another with a jealous eye, but neither had dar'd to attack the other, believing both Empires so firmly establish'd as to be hardly conquerable by human counsels or strength. The *Othman* was superior in extent and number of armies, the *Egyptian* was strengthen'd by the yearly accession of *Chercassian** Troops, the most warlike of all Nations. *Bajazet* indeed had a plausible pretence for a war, because *Caitebai* had not only receiv'd his brother *Jem*, but also supplied him privately with money (29) to enable him to raise new commotions But as this did not seem a sufficient reason to ingage his Empire in a war, he thought proper to hide his intentions,

Some Cities of *Asia* are taken by *Bajazet*
His Enmity to *Caitebai*.

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garly plac'd in *Walachia*, are distant more than three hundred miles from the *Walachian* Borders, nor ever belonged to *Walachia*, but to *Moldavia*. I shall explain this more at large in another Place

(24) *Kili*] *Cilia* by the *Moldavians*, the ancient *Lycostomos*, a City situate at the Northern Mouth of the *Danube*, larger and deeper than the other four It is distant from *Galacz**, a considerable Mart of *Moldavia*, on the banks of the *Danube*, thirty eight leagues, or hours.

(25) *Akkierman*] Formerly *Moncaster*, the Οξία of *Herodotus*, now call'd by the *Moldavians*, *Czetate** *alba* or *White Town*, which is likewise the meaning of its *Turkish* Name. It is a most antient City, and famous for the Exile of *Ovid*, from whom also a Lake near it, call'd *Ovid*'s Lake, seems to have receiv'd its name from the later *Moldavians*. But of this I shall discourse more largely in another place.

(26) *Tarsus*] *Tarsus* of *Cilicia*, the Country as is believ'd of St. *Paul*.

(27) *Kurshunly*] Or *leaden*, but the following name *Kosunly* neither has any Etymological meaning, nor know I any thing either of the Town or its Situation. But there is another *Curshunly* in the *Crim*, called Γρίμνη by *Herodotus*, or, as others will have it, *Chersonesus*, from which the whole Peninsula derives its name.

(28) death] *Giedyk Ahmed Pasha* was accus'd as is reported of a design to dethrone the Emperor, to make great alterations in the State, and of sollicitng *Bajazet*'s eldest Son *Ahmed* to rebel against his Father; but that his Innocence appear'd clear to the Sultan after his death, who often lamented that he had so rashly put to death, an innocent Man, an able Counsellor, and a famous General. Thus the Crocodile sheds his tears over the Victim slain by him.

(29) money] This seems to signifie that Money which the Sultan of *Egypt* furnish'd him with for his Expences to *Mecca*.

till a more favorable opportunity preſented itſelf. This was ſhortly after offered him by fortune, and in a manner beyond his expectation. *Alaideulet* (30), a petty Prince of ſome Provinces in *Aſia*, led by an unſeaſonable deſire of increaſing his dominion, endeavours to wreſt certain Cities in *Aſia* from the *Chercaſſians** (31). By theſe being ſhamefully

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(30) *Alaideulet*] One perhaps of the *Perſian* Princes of whom the *Turkiſh* Annals ſay nothing farther, though he left his name to his Territory, which ſome Maps corruptly aſcribe to *Aladuli*. It is a Country ſhut in with the *Taurus* and *Antitaurus*, or *Cappadocia*.

(31) *Chercaſſians**] The moſt noble of all the *Scythian* People, inhabiting a mountainous and rugged Country between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* Seas. They are by the *Ruſſians* call'd *Czerkieſſi Pætigorici*, and by that name diſtinguiſh'd from the *Cozac Chercaſſians**. For all the *Ukrain Cozacs* are in the *Ruſſian* Tongue call'd *Chercaſſians**, but chiefly thoſe who dwell upon the Banks of the River *Donetz*, and live in Slobods or Colonies. But of theſe *Chercaſſians** thus diſtributed into Colonies there are five Provinces, whoſe chief Cities are *Izium*, *Charcowia*, *Ochtirca*, *Ribinska*, and *Sumy*. To theſe is added the moſt antient *Ruſſian* City call'd *Czuhuiow*, once the Fortreſs of the *Ruſſian* Empire againſt the *Tartars*, when that Empire was contain'd within narrower Bounds. It ſtands upon the *Donetz*. The *Petigoric Chercaſſians** acknowledge no Deity, have no Worſhip, no Religion. They have a thick Grove lying in a Plain ſurrounded with high Mountains. It is well water'd, and has a large Ditch thrown round it. Hither the whole Nation repairs about the End of *Auguſt*, as if to the *Olympic* Games, and inſtitute a Traffic amongſt themſelves, by an exchange of their reſpective Commodities. Thus aſſembled, in compliance with a Tradition of uncertain Origin even amongſt themſelves, they conſecrate and hang upon ſome Tree of that Grove the beſt of their arms. Theſe they cleanſe at their return the next year, and kiſſing them, reſtore them to their former place. Here without any guard theſe Arms remain 'till they are eaten up by Ruſt or Time. Many Hiſtorians of theſe Nations have left it upon record that they were once converted to the *Chriſtian* faith by the *Genoeſe*, then Lords of *Caffa*, but that after the taking of the *Crim* by the *Turks*, being depriv'd of their Prieſts, they relaps'd to their former Ignorance. In proof of this opinion it is alledg'd, that before the *Cabartians* were infeſted with *Mahometaniſm*, the Name of one *Peter* was highly reverenc'd amongſt them, and that it was permitted to them to eat Swine's Fleſh, from which ſome at this day abſtain. They are under obedience to no Laws, have no Judges, aſſur'd that the Conſcience of the guilty Perſon is a full and adequate Puniſhment. Formerly they were without all Learning, but not long ago ſome of them embracing *Mahometiſm*, were initiated in the *Arabian* Literature. The reſt continuing in their old Gentiliſm, retain to this day their former Savage Manners. The whole Region is diſtributed into three Principalities, of which *Cabarta* is the head. They yearly remit to the *Chan* of *Crim-Tartary* two hundred young Men and a hundred Virgins by way of Tribute. Theſe are not choſen at pleaſure, but by Lot. Thoſe of them who are even born amongſt the *Tartars* have neither the face nor make of that People, and ſhould a Man call them the moſt beautiful of all the Oriental People, he would not much tranſgreſs the truth. They are always deviſing ſomething new in their Habits and Arms, in which they are ſo paſſionately follow'd by the *Tartars*, that they may well be call'd the *French* of the *Tartars*. Their Country is the School of Education for the *Tartars*, every Man of whom, who has not learn'd War and Behaviour, in this School, is reputed for

fully repuls'd and seeing himself unable to withstand them, sues to *Bajazet* for assistance, promises to stam phis name on his coin, and have him

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for a *Tentek*, a worthless insignificant Fellow. The Sons of the *Chans* of the *Crim*, the moment they see the light, are sent to the *Chercassians** for their Nourishment and Education. The Infant being brought into *Chercassia**, he who finds a Nurse for it, is call'd *A'a*, or the Sultan's Tutor, and ever afterwards he with his whole Race has an exemption from Taxes, because he has a sort of Fraternity with the Sultan. Wherefore it is earnestly sought by all the *Chercassians**, that a Wife or a Sister may once at least give the breast to the *Chan*'s Son, and thereby purchase a freedom from Tribute. This is often attended with violence. A Man who is stronger privately or forcibly entring the house where the young Sultan is nurs'd, and having seiz'd his Person immediately carries him to his own House, and delivers him to a Wife or a Sister to suckle him. The two years in which he is at Nurse affords more than one instance of this kind. The Prince when he is grown up is carefully taught to ride, shoot with arrows, to bear arms, together with the whole Science and Equipage of War, and then sent home. Women are here esteem'd noble from their having small Fingers and short Feet. But a Virgin who is so corpulent, and has unsizeable Feet or Fingers, be her Birth ever so illustrious, is reputed ignoble, nor without a very large Fortune, has any chance for a Husband. Wherefore a Girl of seven years of age is brac'd in with an Iron Girdle of four or five Fingers breadth, her feet are cramp'd with wooden Shoes, both which Engines she is oblig'd to wear till she is full grown. So that what is effected by the *French* Women with Whalebone and other Arts with no small pain, is here acquir'd without any trouble in a tender age, and enjoy'd with ease the rest of their Lives. Neither the Boys nor Girls ever lie on a bed, but on Planks or Pavements cover'd with Hay or Straw, to prevent their growing fat, or effeminate, which they not imprudently conclude, is attended with sloth and cowardice. The People are so valiant and strong, that by the confession of the *Tartars* themselves, as ten *Crims* are more than a match for fifteen *Bujakians*, so five *Chercassians** are more than equal to ten *Crims*. Of this Fortitude I shall give my Reader only one instance which happen'd about six years ago, and is not much unlike those exploits for which the old *Grecians* were so renown'd. When the annual Tribute due to *Selim Gierai* then *Chan* of the *Crim* (a Person of great wisdom and valour, an old Soldier,) was not paid, he the following year sent his Son *Shabbaz Gierai Sultan* to demand the Captives for both the years. He was honourably receiv'd, as coming with no formidable Retinue, and had the Tribute immediately put into his hands by the Seniors, as due. But he had by chance seen a most beautiful Daughter of a *Chercassian**, whom, not appearing in the List of the Captives, he forcibly seizes contrary to custom, and carries off to his own House. Her Brothers, two very brave Youths, dissembling at first the sorrow occasioned by this accident, comfort their Father, and asswage his grief with the flattering Prospect of her one day rising to the honour of the Sultan's bed. But waiting their opportunity, they at last unexpectedly break in upon the Prince, secure and alone with the ravish'd Virgin, his Guards being partly dismiss'd and partly drunk, stab both him and their Sister, and kill the Guards to a Man. The Sultan's Father hearing of the Fact, suppresses his resentment, and declares that the *Chercassians** had done well in punishing a Man, who had thus attempted a rape upon a Virgin seiz'd contrary to custom. To him being dead succeeded his eldest Son *Deulet Gierai*, a little after dethron'd by the Grand Seignior, and sent into Banishment. But *Caplan Gierai*

him mention'd in the publick prayers, and thus subjects his territories to him as a fief. On these conditions, *Alaideulet* obtaining some auxiliary

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Gierai his successor and younger Brother, by leave from the *Othman* Court, marches against the *Chercassians** at the head of eighty thousand *Tartars*, threatning them with entire destruction. Having cross'd the *Tanais* he was joyn'd by fifteen thousand *Cubanensians*. Prince *Cabarta* receiving the news of this expedition, retires with seven thousand foot and three hundred horse to the top of a high Mountain adorn'd with the Ruins of a very large and ancient City, and fortifies the Clefts of the Walls with trees and ramparts of Earth. *Caplan Gierai*, sensible of the difficult attack of this Mountain (which had but one avenue) sends a trusty Messenger to the Prince to tell him that the Sultan had undertaken an expedition against the *Usbeks*, and desir'd three thousand of his *Chercassians**, that besides, himself wanted a personal Conference with him, and therefore desir'd him to come down from the Mountain. *Cabarta* perceiving the deceit of the Enemy, answers the Messenger, that he was now confin'd with a severe Fit of the Gout, but that within three days he would either on horseback or in a Litter (they have those with two Wheels) attend the Sultan. The Messenger being gone, *Cabartai* calls the *Chercassians** together, and thus addresses them.—" What is your opinion, Country-men, concerning the " present posture of our affairs? Do " you think it best for us to deliver " our selves in chains to the Sultan, to " be slaughter'd by him, our Wives " and Children to be carried into perpetual Slavery, or like our selves, " to conquer or die? If we die, we " shall prevent the detestable sight of " a Tyrant raging over us, if we overcome, the consequence will be " the delivery of our selves by one " stroke from the insupportable cruelty of the *Tartars*."—Their Answer was unanimous, that it was better to die than to put themselves into the hands of the Enemy; upon this he obliges them to their Resolution by the accustom'd oath taken by their Swords and Arms. Things being thus settled, *Cabarta* in the evening sends one of his Men to the *Chan* to tell him that his Gout was now easier, and that the next day he would attend him as a suppliant with the Seniors of his army. *Caplan Gierai*, transported with this Message, order'd his Horses to be turn'd to pasture, and resolves to dedicate the whole Night to Rest. The *Chercassians**, acquainted with what pass'd in the Hords of the *Tartars*, bind the Bark of Trees into little Bundles well pitch'd, and tying them to the Tails of their Horses drive them down with great silence to the *Kosh* or Tents of the *Tartars*, and there put fire to the Bundles. The Horses, terrified at once with the flame and the pain, run with the utmost precipitation, and in a very dark night, throw themselves like Lightning among infinite numbers of *Tartarian* Horses, who likewise terrify'd, break their fetters, and with great noise disperse themselves every where. The *Tartars* awak'd by this noise, neither see nor hear any thing but the Flames flying over the Plain, (for either the darkness or their fears prevented them from seeing the Horses) and thinking fire was come from Heaven, the Foot like men out of their senses run about in disorder. The *Chercassians** seeing this, quit all Arms besides their Swords, and kill every Man they meet, so that 'till the morning appear'd it was rather a Butchery than an Engagement. When it was day the *Chercassians*, gathering together almost a 100000 Horses of the Enemy, with the Loss of scarce five Men, return back in triumph. The *Cubanensian Tartars* fall on the other dispers'd *Tartars*, and put them to the Sword the two following days. For they had follow'd the Sultan by compulsion, having always before liv'd in strict friendship with the *Chercassians**. *Caplan Gierai* escapes with a handful of his

liary forces re-attacks the *Chercassians**, and after several battles fought with various succes, takes from them *Giullek* (32), *Sues*, *Adana*, *Kaisarie*, and *Antab*. *Caitebai* perceiving *Bajazet*'s policy in designing to weaken his forces by the sword of another without hazard to himself, thinks he should use the same method, and opposes *Kiorshab* his neighbour to *Alaideulet*. These two petty Princes, supported by the aid of both Sultans, contend for some time with such doubtful fortune, that it was hard to determine which had the advantage. Whence it happen'd that these Countries were subject sometimes to the *Chercassians**, sometimes to the *Othmans*.

XIII. Taught by these events, *Bajazet* finds the dominion of the *Chercassians** in *Egypt* could not be subverted by arms, nor so flourishing an Empire weaken'd, unless their Country was destroy'd, and the way shut up by which they were wont to convey into *Egypt* so many forces every year. Wherefore pretending to make peace with the Sultan of *Egypt*, he recalls his troops, and in the year 889, in the month of *Jemazıul achyr*, unexpectedly invades *Chercassia**, overruns the Country, and carrying off a great number of Captives, shuts up the

His Expedition into *Chercassia**

H 889
A C. 1484

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his Men into the *Crim*, leaving behind him forty thousand slain, and the rest all dispers'd. Accus'd to the Court of *Constantinople* of Rashness and Imprudence, he is depos'd from his dignity, and sent in banishment to *Yanopolis* a Town of *Mysia*. *Deulet Gierai*, an exile in *Chios*, who commanded the *Tartarian* Cohorts in the last engagement with the *Russians*, was appointed his Successor. But of what esteem the *Chercassians** are with the *Turks*, may be guess'd from the Price which the Sellers put upon their Captives They value them in the first place, because their Virgins are more beautiful than all others, better proportion'd in their Bodies, capable of Instruction, and of great modesty, and their young Men, as they think, more sharp in their Wit, and capable of making the best artificers The next in their esteem are the *Polanders*, then the *Abaza*, then the *Russians* for the hardness of their Bodies and their enduring of Labour, which considerations often send them to row in the Grand Signior's Gallies, then the *Cossacks*, then the *Georgians*, and last of all the *Mengrelians* The *Germans*, *Venetians*, and *Hungarians* (whom they are wont to call by the same name of *Ifrenk*) are by them thought incapable of all drudgery, by reason of the softness of their Bodies, and the Women of giving pleasure proper to their Sex from the hardness of theirs. So that were Slaves produc'd in the Market out of all these Nations of the same age, strength, or beauty, a *Chercassian**, Man or Woman, would be sold for 1000 Imperial Crowns, a *Polander* for 600, an *Abazà* for 500, a *Russ* or a *Cozac* for 400 a *Georgian* for 300, a *Mengrelian* for 250, a *German* or *Ifrenk* for still less. But in *Egypt*, *Chercassians** and the *Abazæ* are sold at double value, because there they alone succeed to the Rights and Properties of their Masters, even in prejudice of the legitimate Sons. This indeed is against the precepts of the *Koran*, but is nevertheless allow'd from a singular and superstitious belief of *Joseph*'s praying to God whilst he was a slave in *Egypt*, that that Nation might be in perpetual subjection to Slaves, which by the secret judgment of God afterwards came to pass.

(32) *Giullek*] This and the rest that follow, are Cities of *Syria*, unknown to no *European* Travellers into the East, except *Giullek*.

entrances of the Mountains (33), by which it is surrounded, with Castles, and entirely hinders the Inhabitants from coming out. The nursery of soldiers being thus obstructed, *Caitebai* seeing his own daily diminish, and his Enemy's forces increase, is said to fall sick with grief, and shortly after he dies.

Other Expeditions
H. 890
A. C 1485.

XVII. The same year, *Abdullah*, *Bajazet*'s son, Prince of *Iconium*, departed this life. In 890 he sends an army into *Moldavia* to the great slaughter of the Inhabitants, and the next year subdues again the rebellious country of *Varsak*.

He assists the *Moors* in *Spain*.

XVIII. Whilst the *Othman* affairs thus flourish'd in the East, the *Mahometan* Religion receives a grievous check in the Kingdom of *Endelos* (34). After several defeats, the Musulmans are every where expell'd, put to the torture, and compell'd to abjure their religion. In this distress they send ambassadors to *Bajazet* to set forth the rage and cruelty of the *Spaniards*, and from him, as head of the *Mahometan* commonwealth, to desire assistance. *Bajazet* readily grants their request; and to perform his promise, sends the next summer a great fleet into the *Mediterranean* under *Kiemal Ali Pasha*, who defeats the fleet of the *Christians*, lays waste the Island of *Malta*, and plundering the maritime countries of *Spain* and *Italy*, returns laden with spoil.

H 891
A. C 1486

Subdues *Bosnia* and *Croatia*
H. 894
A C 1489

XIX. Flush'd with this success, he resolves to try his fortune again with the *Christians*. Wherefore in the year 894, he sends General *Yacub* with an army into *Croatia* and *Bosnia*, to subdue there what still oppos'd the *Othman* dominion. After he had taken several castles and march'd triumphantly over the whole region, he meets the *Christians* in arms, and defeating them with a memorable slaughter, sends many noble prisoners with their leader *Jeneral yami* (35) to the Emperor. The same year *Bajazet* marries his daughter to *Ahmed Myrza* (36) *Ogyrogli* (37).

XX. In

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(33) of the Mountains] At this day the Mountains of *Arzirum*, *Demurcapu*, and *Derbent*, that is, the *Iron Gate* or *Guard* in which *Tomyris* Queen of *Scythia* intangled *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, and, as it is said, cut him off with his whole army.

(34) *Endelos*] *Andalusia*. By this name is all *Spain* call'd by the ancient *Turks* which fell under the dominion of the *Moors*, probably from the first Province, they seiz'd. But at this day the *Turks*, as well as we, distinguish *Spain* into two parts, *Spain* and *Lusitania*, call'd by them also *Portugal*.

(35) *Jeneral yami*] This is the most famous Count *John Torquatus*, whose fate is so differently related by *Christian* and *Turkish* Writers. The first say that he dy'd in this engagement amongst the thickest of the Enemy, not vanquish'd but tir'd with victory; the latter make him to be taken alive, nor know we which to believe

(36) *Ahmed Myrza*] That he was either a Relation of the King of *Tibris*, or illustriously descended, is plain from the Sirname *Myrza*. For although the Etymology of this word is unknown (unless you should derive it from *Myr* a Prince, and *Zad* to denote a Race, born as it were of the Essence of the Forefathers, or *Zade* a Son) it is nevertheless certain and confess'd, that this name never is, or can

XX. In the year 895, the King of *Azerbejan* Sultan *Yacub* dies, whose death proves the destruction of many others, by being the occasion of terrible

Expeditions into *Asia*
H 895.
A C. 1490.

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can be, given by the *Tartars* to any Person who has not receiv'd an immemorial Nobility and some Hord from his Ancestors by hereditary Right. The Reader will perhaps wonder how the memory of a Nobility can be preserv'd among a People so barbarous, and strangers equally to politeness and learning, especially since it is confess'd that no part of History lies in greater confusion and disorder than Genealogy. But it is a thing clear and beyond all controversy, that no Nation in the World more accurately enumerates their Nobility and the Series of their Ancestors than the *Scythians*. For it is a Law with them sacred and inviolable, that no *Tartar*, who is not descended from the first races of the Nobility, can obtain the appellation of *Myrza* or *Noble*, though he should alone retrieve the whole Nation from destruction, or recover a lost battle, or perform any the like actions exceeding human power; nor can a *Cazan* or *Cosh* (so they call ignoble families) by gift or purchase acquire a Title. So that the Races which have stood from the beginning distinguish'd with nobility, enjoy it singly and for ever. Of these you will hardly find a hundred in all *Scythia* *Crimly*, *Orakogly*, and *Orumbetogly*, are the three great Branches Of the two last I shall speak hereafter The *Crims* are subdivided into two Branches, the *Skirini* and *Myrza*. The first, though they are of the same stock with the latter, are accounted more noble, because to their suffrage the Election of a *Chan* is committed, as that of the Emperor of *Germany* to the Electoral Princes. As their Race is widely dispers'd over the *Crim*, the *Chan* deputes four Seniors with authority over the rest. These only have power of electing and confirming the *Chan*, of deciding Causes, and governing the Commonwealth, and this power is so great, that without their Voices neither can the *Chan* when he is elected be received, or do any act of Royalty His only power in such case is to depose the disagreeing and obstinate *Skirini*, and substitute others in their room, who nevertheless seldom contradict the Acts of their Predecessors, as they are of the same Race and Family. Formerly, while they retain'd their freedom, upon the death or expulsion of a *Chan*, they elected at pleasure one of his Sons or Brothers (but still with regard to the *Jengizian* race) and confirm'd him with peculiar ceremonies. But being now subjected to the *Turks*, they are oblig'd either to obtain a confirmation of the *Chan* elected by them from the *Othman* Court, or receive one sent from thence. The Ceremonies of their confirmation are very singular. They have an ancient and square piece of Tapestry, destin'd, they believe, to this use by *Jengischan*, and now almost eaten up with time and rottenness. In the middle of it they order the new elected *Chan* to sit down, whilst all bare-headed cry as loud as they can, *Cop yasha*, or, in our way of speaking, *long live the Chan*. After this, the four senior *Skirini* take the Tapestry by the four corners, and raising the *Chan* upon it, proclaim him *Chan* of all the *Tartars*. The other *Myrzæ* likewise had formerly large Possessions, but are now, except a few, all extinct For in the Reign of *Selim* II. Emperor of the *Turks*, all the *Myrzæ* (the *Skirini* excepted) rebell'd against their *Chan*, *Mengly Gierai*, and dethron'd him; but at the intercession of the *Skirini* they again receiv'd, and saluted him *Chan*. He, to revenge this injury and prevent any future rebellion, at first suppress'd his resentment, and publish'd an Amnesty. Two years after he made a great entertainment, and invited all the *Myrzæ* to it. He regal'd them with great magnificence, and protracted the Banquet till Midnight, when all of them, made drunk with sweet Wine and *Boza* (a kind of liquor amongst the *Tartars* made of Millet-seed,) were by his orders put into

terrible dissentions in that Kingdom. *Bajazet*, as well as the King of *Egypt*, *Caitebai*'s Successor, are concern'd, every one striving to seize the Provinces destitute of a Governour. So the Armies, though the Trumpet silently sounds to battle, ingage, and the victorious *Turk* for six years roams into almost every corner of *Asia*. At last, after many conflicts in the year 901, all those countries, for which *Bajazet* and the *Chercassians** had hitherto contended, are annex'd to the *Othman* Empire. In the year 902 the *Rhodians* are defeated with great slaughter by the *Turkish* General *Nasubeg*. At the same time *Ahmed Myrza*, whose fidelity *Bajazet* had purchas'd seven years before with

H. 901 / A. C. 1496.

H. 902. / A. C. 1497.

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into Waggons to convey them home, but in the way they were murder'd by Soldiers plac'd for the purpose, whilst they lay wallowing in their intemperance. This Tragedy has quite destroy'd the Race of the *Mirzæ* within the *Crim*, and reduc'd it to a few who were then abroad. But the other Nations of *Scythia* have their *Myrzæ* still, chiefly in *Bujak*, the *Bessarabia*, of the Ancients. The Daughters of these *Myrzæ* marry to none but a *Myrza*, but the Sons have the privilege of marrying Slaves, and their Children are as legitimate as if they were born of a female *Myrza*. The Betrothing and Nuptials are attended with peculiar rites When both Parents are agreed upon the marriage of their Children, the Bride's Father orders a little house to be built, with the door opening into his own bed-chamber, and with a window so small that it will scarcely receive the head of a Man. Through this it is permitted to the Bridegroom to kiss his Bride in the night, and to concert measures with her concerning her escape. The Parents and Brothers are careful spies upon the Bride, whilst the Bridegroom endeavours to convey her off either by stealth or force. It often comes to a skirmish, but only with Fists and Whips call'd *Camchi**, and the Bridegroom, if taken, is not dismiss'd without a ransom. But if in the scuffle the Bridegroom can come at the Bride, he boldly enters, carries her off, strips her little Lodging, and retains whatever he finds in it for a Dowry. Her Brothers pursue her thus taken away attended by their Relations, and if they can lay hold of her before she arrives at the Bridegroom's Pavilion, he is either to redeem, or accept, her without a Portion. But the moment she reaches his Tent, the War ends in a Marriage. Things are told of the Daughters of these *Myrzæ* equally memorable and worthy of admiration. When they become Women, and have their monthly fluxes, let them have been ever so strong and healthful before, they are immediately seiz'd with a sort of Lunacy. This gives great joy to the Parents, who congratulate each other upon it as an evident token of Nobility, and an acquittance of the Mother from Adultery, of which she would stand accus'd should her Daughter miss of this indisposition. An entertainment is immediately provided, to which all the Daughters of the *Myrzæ* are invited. This Ceremony being over, the Lunatic Virgin, is oblig'd to dance three days and so many nights to the sound of a Monochord (taken notice of by *Pliny*) without any refreshment from eating, drinking, or sleeping, till she falls down as one dead. The third day they set before her Meat and unseason'd Broth made of Horse flesh, with which when she is refresh'd she is again call'd to the Dance. This exercise being thrice repeated, her Malady immediately goes off, and troubles her no more during her life.

(37) *Ogyrogli*] *i. e.* Son of a happy Omen, from *Ogyr*, happy Omen, and *Ogul* Son. It signifies also, Son of a Thief.

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the marriage of his daughter, on pretence of hunting, goes out of *Constantinople* and flies to *Tybris* (38), where he is chosen King.

XXI. The next year *Bajazet* lays at *Constantinople* near *Eski Serai* the foundations of a *Jami*, Hospital, *Taalimchane*, and School, which are finish'd in eight years. In 905 he moves with great forces into *Greece*, and in the first assault takes *Ainebacht*, and the next summer on the 4th day of *Muharrem* becomes master of *Mothone* by storm, and *Coroni* by surrender. In 907, the *Ifrenji* with a great fleet besiege *Mitilin* (39), but fifty Gallies coming to the relief of the besieged, they retire. About the same time, *Bajazet* having made peace with all his neighbours (40), orders the soldiers, tir'd with so many expeditions, to rest and exchange their martial toils for the pleasures of the city.

War with the *Venetians* in *Greece*, and makes peace with his Neighbours.

H 907
A C 1501

XXII. But how dangerous to this Empire is repose, the transactions about this time in *Asia* plainly demonstrate. *Sheitan Culy* (41), a Magician

Sheitan Culy infects the *Persians* with his Heresy

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(38) *Tybris*] By the moderns call'd *Tauris*, once Metropolis of the *Persian* Empire, and now to be numbred amongst the chief Cities of *Persia*.

(39) *Mitilin*] *Christian* Writers relate that the *Mitylene* was besieg'd by a *French* fleet. This I easily believe, since the *Turks* call all the Western *Europeans Ifrenj*.

(40) with all his neighbours] The Peace made between the *Turks* and *Venetians* by the assistance of one *Andreas Grittus*, then a Slave in the Court of *Bajazet*, by which *Leucas* and *Neritus* were restor'd to the *Turks*, and *Cephalonia* to the *Venetians*.

(41) *Sheitan Culy*] *i. e.* Servant or Slave of Satan, the first Hæresiarch amongst the *Mahometans*. The *Turks* gave him this name from a belief that he was a Magician and Conjurer. The *Persians* on the contrary affirm him to be a most learned Man, and full of a divine Spirit, who not only corrected the *Koran*, but prov'd his Doctrine by Miracles, and from thence he has obtain'd from them the name of *Sofi* or *Sophus* (i. e. wise) The *Persians* and *Turks*, with no less disagreement, relate the story of the propagation of his doctrine. For the *Persians* say, that *Sofi* being expell'd the *Othman* Dominions by *Bajazet*, retir'd to *Ismail* King of *Persia*, and there whilst he exercis'd the function of Præceptor to his Children, especially in Mathematicks, finish'd the Correction and genuine Interpretation of the *Koran*, and drew the King and the Nobles to his Sentiments. But as neither his Preaching nor Exhortation could gain the common People, he obtain'd a Mandate from the King signifying, that whoever resisted his Doctrine, if rich, should forfeit his Wealth and Honour, if of inferior condition, his Life. *Persia*, mov'd with the terror of this Edict, saw her Sons in multitudes running into the neighbouring Kingdoms, with the loss of their Riches and Estates, as in the last Century the *Huguenots* fled out of *France*. The King, struck with this flight of his Subjects, call'd the *Sofi* to him, and told him, that as for himself he was perswaded of the truth of his Doctrine, but could not on its account suffer his Kingdom to be depriv'd of its Inhabitants. The *Sofi*'s answer was, that in this necessity where the Truth of Doctrine clash'd with the safety of the Publick, the proper recourse was to Miracles: that he had such confidence in God and the Prophet, that a Miracle would be granted to confirm and establish his Doctrine in the minds of the ignorant. Upon this the most learned Interpreters of the *Koran* were conven'd out of the whole Kingdom, when the *Sofi* deliver'd to them a Book, fair and unwritten, and said—" If " ye have yet any doubt of my Doc-" trine, God will confirm the truth " by a Miracle, such as was never " seen

gician, and a man full of diabolical arts, had now lurk'd ſome time near the Town of *Beg Baſar*; and finding the people after a ten year's peace greedy

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"ſeen or heard of before." He then lodg'd in an old hollow Tree the Blank Book, and another of the *Koran* as formerly receiv'd. The Mouth of the Hole, through which the Books were convey'd, was ſecur'd with Iron hoops, which had three Seals put to them, of which the King kept one, and the adverſe party the two others. He offer'd under the Tree publick prayers every day, and on the fortieth order'd the Seals to be broke open, and the Books to be drawn out The unwritten Book was found fill'd up from beginning to end, and entirely agreeing with the copy revis'd by himſelf: the old Copy was every where defac'd in the Writing, and only the Margin left untouch'd. On ſight of this all the whole Company cry'd out, *Allah*, *Allah*, *God*, *God*, and immediately embracing the Doctrine deliver'd by the *Sofi* as true and free from all ſuſpicion, ſought every where for the ancient Copies of the *Koran* and committing them to the Flames, tranſcrib'd new ones from this miraculous Book. They moreover chang'd the Character; for whereas the older Copies of the *Koran* were written in *Niſchi* (retain'd by the *Turks* to this day) it was his order that all the *Korans* from that day ſhould be tranſcrib'd in *Taalik*, to diſtinguiſh the genuine from the ſpurious copies. Thus the *Perſians* tell the ſtory, whilſt the *Turks* give it quite another turn. For they ſay, that *Sheitan Culy*, whilſt he was Præceptor to the Sons of *Iſmail* King of *Perſia*, led the youngeſt Son (whoſe name I have forgot, for I am oblig'd to rely on my memory for ſeveral things tranſcrib'd from the mouths of the learned *Turks* and other Monuments, now ſacrific'd to the Malice of Fortune) frequently into a Wood, and ſhew'd him an old Plane Tree, with command, that if at any time his Father ſhould bid him name a *Tree* to him it ſhould be that. In this Tree he had lodg'd a year before the Book of the *Koran*, as reform'd by himſelf, writ in an unknown but elegant Character, and another tranſcrib'd from the receiv'd copies, but all foully blotted. The Hole of the Tree was ſo ſtop'd up by Nature and magical Arts, that no traces of it appear'd. The *Sofi* being afterwards ſeverely chid by *Iſmail* for the ſedition rais'd by him, had recourſe to his premeditated fraud, and offer'd to confirm his Doctrine by a Miracle The King upon this offer call'd Multitudes together to witneſs the Miracle. The Conditions were, that if the Truth had the confirmation of a Miracle, all without exception ſhould be oblig'd to receive it, if not, Death ſhould be the portion of *Sheitan Culy* as an Impoſtor. All, as ignorant of the Fraud, conſenting, the King went out to the Grove attended by numbers of learned Men and of the common People. The Impoſtor addreſſing himſelf to the King, that all ſuſpicion of fraud, ſays he, may be remov'd, order your little Son to ſhow you any Tree he ſhall pleaſe. This being approv'd by both King and People, ſhow me, ſaid the King to his Son, ſome Tree in this Grove. The Boy, as he had been inſtructed, pointed to the old Plane Tree, and immediately the ſtoppage being remov'd from the cavity of the Tree, *Sheitan* convey'd the unwritten Book and the old *Koran*, as is before ſaid, into the Tree, and after the mockery of hypocritical Prayers, left them both there, the Hole being ſecur'd by Iron Plates and Seals. On the fortieth day, the People again came to the Tree, when the Impoſtor (with bare hands and previous Prayers to remove all ſuſpicion) went to the Hole, and taking out, not the Books laſt put in, but two others plac'd below them He then held them up to the People, and ask'd whether they were not the ſame put in by him in their ſight. The Binding and Shape being exactly correſpondent, the People anſwer'd, they were the ſame, and upon the delivery of them into their hands, found the Impoſtor's unwritten Book fill'd with

greedy of novelties, in the year 916 vends his long meditated heresy in the *Koran*, supports it with miracles, and therewith so bewitches the credulous vulgar, that in a short time he is able to bring an army of followers into the field. Whereupon *Bajazet* instantly sends *Ali Pasha* with forces to disperse these riotous assemblies; who vanquishing the Impostor in battle, forces him to fly to *Ismail Shah* (42), where

H 916
A. C 1510

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with fair Characters, and comparing it with the new *Koran*, discover'd every where a perfect agreement *Aziz allah*, or *glorious God*, was now the Cry, and when the old *Koran* was found foully stain'd with Ink, they again cry'd out, *Hak allah*, *Subhan allah*, *just God*, *merciful God* To suppress for ever all suspicion of his fraud, the *Turks* say the *Sofi* so bewitch'd *Ismail* by his Incantations, that he order'd the Tree to be immediately burnt, on pretence of hindring any superstitious Adoration of it by the People Thus, say the *Turks*, the Impostor propagated his Religion amongst the *Persians*. From that time the *Turks* and *Persians* have fiercely disputed about Religion. The Summ of the Controversy lies in this, that the *Persians* pursue with the most direful imprecations three of *Mahomet's* Successors, *Ebubekir*, *Omer*, and *Othman*, and call them Impostors, Falsifiers, and Robbers, and acknowledge only *Ali* as true Successor of the Prophet, who they pretend was murder'd in a *Jami* by the treachery of his Collegues. The *Turks* acknowledge all four as the Prophet's true Successors, and pay an equal respect and reverence to their Memories Another Cause of quarrel between the two Nations is, that the *Turks* as soon as they rise out of their Bed, before they perform their *Sabah Namaz*, are oblig'd by their Law to wash their Feet with water, and after they have put on their *Mest* or Shoes, to rub them with their hands. The *Persians* on the contrary think it sufficient only to rub the foot with the bare hand, at their rising, and that any other washing is needless. This Controversy, trifling as it may seem, is thought of consequence enough to set the two Nations at enmity, and engage them in the blackest reproaches and injuries against each other The *Turks* call the *Persians*, Blasphemers, Impious, Infidels, *Kyzil bash*, or *Redheads*, and say they are worse than the *Christians*. The *Persians* in their turn retort the same opprobious names upon the *Turks*. And to such height is this enmity carried between the two Nations, that whereas the *Turks* firmly believe that for every Enemy of a different Religion (Subjects being put upon another foot) slain by them, God will amply reward the Service. in this computation they make one *Persian* slain equal to seventy *Christians*. Hither we are to refer the manner us'd by both Nations in sending Ambassadors. The King of *Persia*, when he sends one to the *Turk*, amongst other Presents, first offers him the *Koran*, as well to boast the Truth of his Law, as to engage the *Turk* to the reception of it by this, as it were, silent Preaching. The Sultan after he has receiv'd the Ambassador, and heard a Recital of the Presents read to him by the *Reisul Kiutab* (vulgarly the *Reis Efendi* or first Chancellor) when the name of the *Koran* is mention'd he kisses his own, plac'd by him on a Cushion, then reverently returns it to its former place, by this ceremony silently asserting the Truth of his own *Koran*, and the Falsity of the *Persian*.

(42) *Ismail Shah*] King of *Persia*, Cotemporary with *Bajazet*, the fierce and everlasting Enemy of the *Othman* Race. His superior Knowledge has plac'd him amongst the most learned Princes, and probably procur'd him the Sirname of *Sofi*, or *the wise*. †

† He was Founder of the present Royal Family of *Persia*, and from him they have retain'd the name of the *Great Sophy* to this day But of this, and other the like observations, more largely in the additional Notes

meeting

meeting with more liberty to spread his poison, he turns the King with the whole Nation from the true paths of the *Koran*.

Bajazet designs to deliver up the Empire to his Son *Ahmed*

XXIII. About the same time, whilst *Bajazet* in the midst of peace, was rolling in pleasures, the inconveniences of approaching old age, and the sharp pains of the Gout in his hands (43), contracted by luxury, inspir'd him with a resolution of imitating the example of his Grandfather, and voluntarily resigning the Empire. To this end, he sends for his eldest Son *Ahmed*, whom he had set over *Cony*, declares him Heir of the Empire, and chuses to lead a private life at *Magnesia*, the place of his Grandfather's retirement.

Selim resenting it, is defeated by his Father

XXIV. But having discover'd his intention before he had gain'd the great men to *Ahmed's* interest, it does not succeed to his wish, and what he designs to be for his advantage, turns to his detriment. For *Selim*, who was Governor of *Trapezond*, hearing of these transactions, with the forces of his Province, crosses the *Pontus*, marches to *Adrianople*, and that he might not alienate the Minds of his People by the name of rebellion, pretends he is come to pay his duty to his Father (44). From hence with twenty thousand men he goes directly to *Constantinople*, hoping the Janizaries, whom he knew to be in his interest, would join with him. *Bajazet* perceiving his Son's designs, assembles what forces happen'd to be at *Constantinople*, and bravely meets *Selim*, in the month *Jemaziul evvel* of the year 917, near *Chorlo** at a Village call'd *Ogrisi*. The battle is long doubtful, but at last *Selim* is vanquish'd and forc'd to fly. *Bajazet* forbids all pursuit, hoping, as he said, his son would lay aside his fierceness, return to a sound mind, and be convinc'd by this fatherly correction, that God approves not the rebellion of children against their Parents. But if he would not even now repent, he should be left to the divine wrath, which never suffers rebellious Sons to go unpunish'd. Thus *Selim*, escaping by the goodness of a father, comes to *Varna* (45), and from thence sails to *Kaffa*, a maritime Town of *Crim-Tartary*.

H 917
A C 1511

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(43) Gout in his hands] The *Christians* say it was in the feet that *Bajazet* was troubled with the Gout. Both perhaps right, since this distemper generally visits both hands and feet.

(44) To his Father] The *Turks* are enjoyn'd by their Law to visit their Country and Parents, if in their power, after a long absence from them. And to neglect this is with them acting against a divine precept. From hence the Proverb, "To visit "Country and Parents in due time, "is not of less moment than a religious Pilgrimage to *Mecca*." For this reason, if any Servant asks leave from his Master to visit his Country, the Master cannot deny him; or if he does, is chargeable with the Sin, and not the Servant. This was *Selim's* pretence when he had only in view the dethroning of his Father. For since *Bajazet* had ascended the Throne, *Selim* had not once seen him.

(45) *Varna*] A City of *Pontus*, memorable by the defeat and slaughter of *Uladislaus*, King of *Hungary* and *Poland*.

XXV. Freed from this danger, *Bajazet*, who reflected not that Crowns are given by God and not by man (46), thinks of meeting of no farther obstacles to his conferring the Empire on whom he had intended. Wherefore he again sends to *Ahmed*, telling him, his Enemy and Rival, was conquer'd and expell'd the bounds of the Kingdom, and therefore he should come, and with universal consent take the crown with his father's benediction. *Ahmed*, more cautiously considering the offer, answers, that his father in vain attempted to confer this favour on him, since he knew not only the Janizaries, but all the great Men were inclin'd to *Selim*, and wish'd him alone Emperor, and therefore it was not a rival brother, but his adherents the soldiers, that he fear'd.

Who again offers the crown to his Son *Ahmed*

XXVI. *Bajazet* seeing *Ahmed* dislik'd his intention, and desiring to debar *Selim* from the Throne for his insolence and immoderate thirst of dominion, thinks of taking another course, and of deferring his purpose at present, in hopes of easily finding an opportunity to effect it. But it seem'd difficult to revoke his declar'd resolution of resigning, because whatever is said or done by the Sultans, is believed to be so firm (47), as not to be retracted on any human account. Wherefore he

Bajazet is not suffer'd by the Janizaries to retain the Empire.

ANNOTATIONS.

(46) not by man] Although the *Turks* affirm, that nothing, either of good or evil can happen without the will of God, yet it is their belief, that God can refuse nothing to a *Musliman*, seriously petitioning him according to the Oracle of the *Koran*, "O ye Angels, my Servant has "touch'd me with Shame," or, "I am "asham'd that I have not fulfill'd his "Petition. Two things however are, according to them, never to be obtain'd by Prayers, Prophecy, and Empire. For these God will never grant to any other, since they are already limited by his Decree, Prophecy to *Mahomet*, and to none after him, and Empire to the *Othman* Race alone, which seems to be insinuated by many expounders of the *Koran*. Thus the subtle Impostor pronounc'd himself the last of all the Prophets, and destroy'd in all others the ambition of Empire. So that should a Man only hypothetically say, If God would grant me Empire or Prophecy, I would do this or that, he would be immediately thought to have deny'd God, and communicated with Infidels, which Sin is only to be abolish'd by the *Tedid Iman*, or the renewal of his faith, by which, as a new Convert, he is to appear before the *Imam* or Priest, and in the presence of two or three Witnesses declare the Profession of his Faith.

(47) to be so firm] Amongst the Sultan's most haughty Titles, that of *Zillullah*, or *Shadow of God*, holds the first Place, as it commands an obedience to his Edicts, as if they were divine, and never to be resisted. In proof of this opinion, I shall produce a particular which happen'd in my Father's time. As *Mahomet* IV. was marching his Army in *May* thro' *Moldavia* to the Siege of *Caminiec*, recollecting that it was the Season for ripe Cherries at *Constantinople*, he ask'd the prime Vizir, why Cherries were not brought to his Table. The Vizir immediately dispatch'd a *Capuji basha* to the Prince of *Moldavia*, with command that he should instantly provide Cherries for the Emperor's Table. The Prince excusing himself, by saying, that no Cherries could then be had, nor hardly in *June*, the *Capuji basha* reply'd, "O Prince, "when the Emperor commands, "there is no saying a thing is not, "or cannot be done" Wherefore the Prince, to make himself believ'd, sent

he privately endeavours to induce the Great Men to petition him to alter his mind. But these, on the contrary, encourage the Janizaries, (to whom quiet, and a ten years pacific (48) Emperor, was ungrateful) to favour *Selim*, and easily lead, where they please, the soldiers thirsting, after so long a peace, for nothing but intestine wars and commotions.

Who call home *Selim*, and bring him to *Constantinople*

XXVII. The Great Men privately send Letters to *Selim*, acquainting him that they have all unanimously resolv'd, to salute him Emperor, and not suffer *Bajazet* to depart from his declaration of resigning the Crown. Terrified perhaps by his former danger, *Selim* at first refuses his consent, and tells the Conspirators, that indeed he is so far from despising the Throne offer'd by them, that he is ready to shed his blood for any, even the meanest soldier, but is unwilling to do any, the least thing contrary to his father's pleasure, especially since he had been taught by late experience, that the hand of God is against him. The Janizaries receiving this answer, repeat their instances to *Selim* by *Zemberekchi* Pashi* (49), affirming they would all bind themselves by oath, not to desist, till they see him rais'd to the Throne, even against his father's will. Perswaded at last by these promises, *Selim* departs from *Kaffa* with a few attendants, and under the former pretense, goes to *Constantinople*. On news of his arrival, the Janizaries flock together in Companies in the streets, and joyfully meet him at the Gate *Top Kapu* (50). *Selim* surrounded with a band of these, enters the City, and goes into

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sent by the *Capuji basha* some Branches of Cherry Trees yet in the blossom; on sight of which, *Mahomet* is said to have cry'd out, *Gaur vilaieti soub imysh*, "the Regions of "the Infidels are cold," which admits of two interpretations, either of the natural coldness, or of any thing execrable and contrary to the *Mahometan* Religion.

(48) ten years pacific] That Peace and Quiet are not for the Interest of this Nation, has been prov'd by constant experience. Wherefore if they have no foreign Enemy upon their hands, they turn their rage against the Emperor, and like Crabs devour one another. To this purpose, they have a saying, *alberekitul berekiet*, Motion is Happiness, that is, every Alteration brings with it some Happiness. For besides their natural propension to commotions, which prevents their having almost any peace amongst themselves, they are by their Law commanded to keep no long peace with the *Christians*, or any other Nation not believing in *Mahomet*. This would at once hinder the propagation of their Religion, and give occasion for everlasting civil dissensions. The *Turks* here say only *Halizeman*, i. e. some time, but I compute it at ten years. *Christian* Writers agree with them, whilst they assert that *Bajazet* lay some time quiet under the confinement of the Gout.

(49) *Zemberekchi* Pashi*] He was formerly Superintendent of the Battering Rams, and other military Machines, from *Zemberek*, an Engine to throw Stones, and *Bashi*, one that presides. This Office is now grown into disuse.

(50) *Top Kapu*] Etymologically the Gate of the warlike Engines. It is in the western part of the City, in the high road between *Ederne Capusi*, the *Adrianople* Gate, and *Syllivri Capusi*, the *Syllebrian* Gate. In that Row are large Towers, where the *Turks* lodge their Gun-powder to be distributed out to necessary uses.

the

the Mead *Enibagche* (51), where the Janizaries had prepared Tents for him.

Selim's acut answer to h Father's ...bulador

XXVIII. *Bajazet* is troubled at the news of this unexpected affair, and perceiving nothing could be done by force, studies to soften his son by gentle expressions. Wherefore on the eighth day, when he thought the violence of his ardor abated, he sends for his Prime Vizir, *Coja Mustapha Pasha* (52), and bids him in his name tell his son: "If my son desires to visit me, and obtain my benediction, why does he delay? But "if under these proceedings he only conceals his impiety, why does "he vainly spend the time?" The Vizir executes his commission, and with due adoration delivers the Sultan's commands. *Selim* perceives *Bajazet's* policy, and returns a no less ambiguous and acute answer, "Tell "my Father, (says he to the Vizir) I will not in the least disobey his "orders, and am ready to go wherever he shall send me, if he will but "please to satisfy some doubts I have entertained concerning the present "administration of affairs *Sofi ogli* (53), a man of no account is risen "up in the East, and with a sudden and swift progress, has laid waste "the *Othman* Empire, carrying his arms as far as *Cæsarea*, whilst you "instead of defending the Provinces, are an idle spectator of his vic-"tories. On the other hand, a *Chercassian** (54), of obscure birth and "name, who ought to be prostrate under the sword of the *Othmans*, "has made himself master not only of *Egypt*, but of many other "countries in *Syria*, formerly subject to our dominion, and holds them "even to this day, as if they were his lawful inheritance. To such "contempt, the Majesty of the Empire, rever'd under our Ancestors, "is fallen, and they, who formerly under the name of *Bajazet*, were "fear'd as invincible Heroes by the neighbouring Nations, are now "under the same name, as men unactive and effeminate, scorn'd and "provok'd. Where is now the honour of the *Aliothman* Scepter! "Where the military Discipline! Where the zeal of propagating the "Law! Where the arts of Government! Is it thus, the Empire is in-"larg'd? Is it thus, we deal with our enemies? Is it thus, the ardor of "our hitherto invincible soldiery is preserv'd? Certainly by such me-"thods our glorious Ancestors neither establish'd the Throne, nor ex-"tended the bounds of the Empire. These things duly weigh'd, let "my father himself judge, whether they, who by their consent (55),

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(51) *Embagche**] Etymologically New Garden. It is a space of almost a mile in compass, but at present a Meadow where Horses go to pasture, and call'd by them *Chair*.

(52) *Coja Mustapha Pasha*] or Old *Mustapha*. A large Stone Exchange for the convenience of Merchants, built by him at *Constantinople*, and which still retains his name.

(53) *Sofi Ogli*] *Ismail* King of *Persia*.

(54) The *Chercassian**] The King of *Egypt*.

(55) By their consent] The perfidious Son is seeking excuses for dethroning his Father, and putting him to death.

" or

"or permission, or negligence, have been the cause of these misma-
"nagements, can escape punishment? For unless a timely remedy be
"applied to these corruptions, we shall be oblig'd to ascribe the ap-
"proaching and almost unavoidable ruin of our Empire to our sloth,
"and not to the bravery of our enemies."

yazet re-
gns to Selim,
d retires to
ymotica

XXIX. The Vizir returning to the Sultan, and reporting his son's answer, *Bajazet*, is said to reply: "I too plainly see, my son's business "is not to visit his father, but right or wrong to seize the Empire "However that it is design'd for him by heaven, I am convinc'd by my "dreaming (56) last night, that my Crown was by the soldiers plac'd "on *Selim*'s head. Wherefore since I deem it impious either to at- "tempt, or act any thing contrary to God's will, in an humble resigna- "tion to divine providence, I lay down the Ensigns of Government, "and will and command *Selim* to be by all saluted Emperor" Accordingly he instantly acquaints *Selim* with his resolution, and desires his permission to live privately at *Dymotica*. *Selim* intreats his father to remain in the new Palace, for that he will be contented with the Empire in the old one. *Bajazet* still urges his request, alledging, one scabbard can never hold two swords (57). So prevailing at last, and taking with him the most precious things out of the Treasury, he departs from *Constantinople*, in company with *Yunus Pasha* (58) and a few friends, the 18th day of the month *Sefer* in the year 918.

H 918
A. C 1512
Selim is
crown'd,

XXX. *Selim* with the Great Men attends his father to *Kucbuk* Chekmeje** (59) two hours distant from *Constantinople*, talks to him about establishing the State, and as if he had a mind to expiate by his present obsequiousness his past disobedience, desires his Blessing. After which, he bids his father farewell, and returning to the Palace, receives the imperial diadem with the usual solemnities.

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(56) dreaming] The *Turks* are very superstitious about Dreams, and think, that the pure Soul of a Musulman foresees, and is admonish'd of some things in a Dream. They have a Book call'd *Vakaà namè*, or the Interpreter of Dreams, to which they apply on these occasions. But they say, *Dusk gיorendè degil dur yoran dedur*, That is, the Event of the dream depends not on the Seer but the Interpreter. For this reason, as soon as any one says, I have had a Dream this Night, all the Company cry out, *Chair ola*, by which they think, that though the Interpretation of the Dream is of bad portent, yet it is now averted.

(57) Two Swords] He seems to have alluded to the saying of *Alexander the Great*, "That the World could "not be govern'd by two Suns, "nor with safety to its State be sub- "ject to two Emperors"

(58) *Yunus Pasha*] From the *Hebrew*, *Jochanan* or *John* So *John* the Prophet is by them call'd *Yunus Peigamber*

(59) *Kucbuk* Chekmeje**] A little Draw-Bridge, afterwards turn'd into one entire Bridge, but still retaining the name of *Little*, to distinguish it from a Greater. *Kucbuk* Chekmeje** is the Town formerly known by the name of *Athyra* in the high road which leads to *Adrianople*, distant from *Constantinople* two hours, and from *Bujuk Chekmeje** (Great Bridge) six.

XXXI. Mean while, *Bajazet* pursues his intended journey, but so slowly, that he halted, on pretence of indisposition, in almost every village, and thereby bred a suspicion in his son, that he hop'd to be recall'd to the Government, (which he had unwillingly resign'd) by some popular commotion. Perhaps this was the cause, that when he was scarce forty miles from the City, he ended his days by an unexpected Matyrdom (60). *Selim* having notice of his death, orders the Vizir and Great Men to remove his body to *Constantinople*. He himself in a mourning habit meets them on foot in their return without the City, and with great pomp, like a triumph, introducing the funeral into the town, commands the body to be buried in the *Jami* founded by *Bajazet*.

and crowns his Father with Martyrdom.

XXXII. *Bajazet* liv'd sixty two, and reign'd thirty two, years. He had five sons, *Ahmed*, *Selim*, *Shehinshah*, *Alemshah*, and *Corcud*, whose fortunes will be related hereafter. He was a Prince if the *Turkish* Historians are to be credited, valiant, active, of an invincible mind, even in adversity, and had by exercise acquir'd such strength, that few could equal, and none excell him. A punctual observer of the law, and a great patron of the learned, to each of whom he not only gave every year ten thousand *Akche** (61), but also bountifully supplied them with *Softa* † and provisions according to their respective conditions. He was himself so well vers'd in all parts of literature, that he was esteem'd by his people, as well the Prince of learning as of the Empire. By his conduct or good fortune, the *Othman* Empire, was not only not impair'd, but grievous wars wag'd with great honour, and large Kingdoms subdu'd. He expended great part of his revenue in buildings rais'd to the Glory of God (62). He repair'd the walls of the City demolish'd in many places by an Earthquake, and in the Brasier's Market (63) built a stately *Jami* of admirable workmanship, with another at *Amasia* not indeed so large, but equally beautiful and elegant. I say nothing of the many *Medrese*, and *Imaret* erected by him in several places. Besides these structures destin'd for the divine service, he built near *Osmanjyk*, over the river *Kyzyl irmak* (64) a marble bridge of nineteen arches, and

Bajazet's Issue and Character.

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(60) Martyrdom] From hence may be inferr'd that what *Philip Lonicer* relates of his death out of *Anthony Menevin*, is not a fiction. In Tom. I. Part v. c. 22. He tells us that *Bajazet* was murder'd on his journey by the hands of a *Jewish* Physician, tho' the *Turks* do not avowedly confess the deed

(61) *Akche**] *White*, interpreted from the *Greek* word ασπρον It is a piece of money less in weight and value than all others (the brass half-penny's called *Mangyr*, excepted) 120 of this Coin make a *Leonine*, 300 a *Venetian* Crown.

(62) Glory of God] Whatever is dedicated to God, is vulgarly said to be built to the Glory of God, *Hakk yoluna*, or in the *Arabic*, *filebil ullah*, or *fi tavyk ullah*, in the way of God.

(63) Brasier's Market] Not far from the old Palace, call'd anciently χαλκοπράτης.

(64) *Kyzyl Irmak*] Red Stream.

† Cloth, made of *Sof*. See Note p. 45

in the Province of *Saruhan* over the river *Giozsui* (65), another of square stone with the same number of arches.

A singular instance of piety

XXXIII. But before I proceed, I shall relate a singular instance of piety much praised by the *Turks*. He is said through the whole course of his life, to have carefully preserv'd the dust, which in his expeditions, stuck to his Cloaths, and in his last hours conjur'd the By-standers with direful imprecations to make a large brick of it, and place it in his monument under his right arm instead of a cushion, adding he had always regarded the *Hadis* (66), or saying: *Ighuretu Caddemahu sebilullah haram aleihi ennare*: that is, "If any man's feet have been "sprinkled with the dust in the path of the Lord, him will God "preserve from Hell-fire."

ANNOTATIONS.

(65) *Giozsui*] Water of the Eye or Eyes, metaphorically Tears, as *Gioz yashi*, the humour or spring of the Eyes.

(66) *Hadis*] Is properly the Oracle of a false Prophet, pronounc'd according to the opinion of the *Turks* with a prophetical Spirit. For they distinguish the Prophecies of the *Koran* into divine, or dictated by the Archangel to *Mahomet*, which they call *Hadisi Kudus*, and into Prophetical, which *Mahomet* pronounc'd by a divine Spirit, and these they call *Hadisunnebevi*.

Cotemporary with *BAJAZET* II. reign'd in *Europe*.

In *Germany*, { FREDERIC IV. of *Austria*. 1439-93.
MAXIMILIAN III. 1493-1518.

In *England*, { EDWARD V. 1483.
RICHARD III. 1483-5.
HENRY VII. 1485-1509.
HENRY VIII. 1509-46.

In *France*, { CHARLES VIII. 1483-98.
LEWIS XII. 1498-1515.

The End of the Reign of BAJAZET II.

The

SELIM I Ninth EMPEROR of the TURKS in the Year 1513

From an Original in the Seraglio

The REIGN of

SELIM I.

Ninth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK III. CHAP. III.

I. *SELIM*, firnam'd *Yavuz* (1), was born in the year 872, in his Grandfather's life-time, whilst *Bajazet* was Lord of *Amasia*, and in 918 on the 19th of the Month *Sefer* in the 46th year of his age,

Ahmed rebells.

H 918.
A C 1512

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Yavuz*] This word properly signifies *fierce* or *savage*, and from thence *passionate*. This name ('tis said) was apply'd to *Selim* for his rage and tyranny, with which he pursued not only the Criminals, but also the innocent, even his Father and Brothers, as if they were Enemies. They report of him, that once ordering his Prime Vizir to erect the Horse-Tails before his Gate as the signal of an expedition, and to pitch the Tents in a proper place, the Vizir only asking him to what quarter he would have the Tents pitch'd, he was, without any answer to his question, put to death by him: that a Successor met with the same fate the same day, but that the third, made wiser by the examples of the other two, pitch'd the Tents to the four quarters of the World, and took care to have every thing ready that was necessary to the expedition. He being afterwards ask'd by the Sultan, whether and to what quarter the expedition was prepar'd, answer'd him that every thing was in a readiness let him move which way he thought fit, to which the Sultan's reply was, "The death of the two first has "sav'd the life of the third, and "procur'd me a good Vizir" He alone of so many *Turkish* Emperors shav'd his Beard after he ascended the Throne, contrary to the Precepts of the *Koran* and the receiv'd custom. For the Sons of the Emperors are order'd by the Law to shave their Beards before they come to the Empire, but afterwards to let them grow. *Selim* being on this account one day gently and facetiously reprov'd by the Mufti, answer'd that he did it to prevent his Vizir's having any thing to lead him by The *Turks* relate of him, that he had always by him, or in his hands, a Club call'd *Topuz*, of which they say this was the occasion. In the time of his Father some Provinces bordering on *Persia* paid yearly to that Empire for peace sake by way of Tribute a certain number of Carpets call'd *Chul**. His Father being dead, the Governours of these Provinces, sent to *Selim*

age is appointed Emperor of the *Othmans*, after the expulsion of his father. His brothers, either because of his interest with the soldiery, or in order to appease his fierce temper, did not dare to contradict it. Only *Ahmed*, who was perfectly acquainted with his Brother's disposition, and certainly knew he should no where be safe whilst he was on the Throne, resolves through despair, either to remove his brother, or die in the attempt. Wherefore allur'd by a false expectation, that some Great Men, who favour'd *Selim* only in appearance, would espouse his cause, he raises all the forces of *Amasia*, and thinking it best to enter his brother's dominions, prepares to pass into *Europe*.

and is defeated and strangled

II. *Ahmed* had scarce taken this resolution, when it was discover'd to *Selim* by his spies, whom he every where incourag'd. In order therefore to extinguish this flame, and surprise his brother before his whole army was assembled, he leads his forces over the *Bosphorus* into *Asia*. *Ahmed*, though he perceiv'd his design was too early discover'd, yet when he saw he must either conquer or die, bravely meets his brother at *Enishebir* with what troops he had. Moreover, he valiantly fights in the foremost ranks, so that he more than once rallied the broken wings. At last his army, overpower'd with numbers, after a great slaughter is entirely routed. Most chuse to cover the place, where they stood, with their Bodies, few endeavouring to escape by flight. Among these, *Ahmed* being taken alive, is immediately strangled, and buried at *Prusa*.

Corcud is put to death without cause

III. Having refresh'd his men, a few days after this victory, he leads them against his brother *Corcud*, whom his father had set over *Magnesia*. *Corcud*, though he had hitherto chosen to reverence his brother, and see what fortune would allot him, rather than imbrue his hands with fratricide, yet when he finds his submission disregarded, and his blood thirsted after, meets *Selim* with what troops were under his command, that he might not at least die unreveng'd. But *Selim*, with his disciplin'd and more numerous army, easily vanquishes and disperses his brother's forces rais'd in haste. In this desperate state, *Corcud* escapes by flight, but deserted by his people, without servant or companion, he wanders alone in the night through by-ways and deserts,

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lim to know whether this light Tribute was to be continued or not. His answer was, "Tell the Infidel "Red-head, that the Father of the "Carpets is gone, and the Father "of the Clubs come in his room." This Phrase, *Father of the Clubs*, has by the *Turks* been borrow'd from *Hebrew* and *Arabic*, and signifies a Man abounding with any thing, as *Ebul Iman*, Father of Faith, or endu'd with Faith, *Ebul Sulch*, Father of Peace, or abounding with peace, quiet, *Altun babasi*, the Father of Gold, that is, abounding with money, *Deulet babasi*, Father of Happiness, or old in Honours. So *Selim* calls his Father *Bajazet*, *Chulsi** *babasi*, the Father of Carpets, because he gave Carpets to the *Persians*, and himself Father of Clubs, because instead of Carpets, he design'd them arms and clubs. The *Turks* are full of such stories of their *Selim*, which for brevity are omitted by us.

and

and by day conceals himself in dark and horrible caves. He was said to do this, that he might after the example of *Jem* (2), fly to the *Christians* and be protected by them from his brother's power. Whereupon *Selim*, fearing he might give them advices detrimental to the *Othman* affairs, commands him to be more diligently search'd after. At length, such was his fate, he is found by a soldier, drawn from his shelter, and brought to *Selim*, who without giving him an opportunity to speak for himself, though he earnestly desir'd it, delivers him to the executioner to be strangled.

Selim invades *Persia*, and consults with his Vizirs before the battle.

IV *Selim* having thus destroyed the Rivals of his Empire, as well as some domestick Enemies (3), turns his thoughts to foreign conquests. Amongst his enemies abroad, the chief was doubtless Sultan *Gauri*, King of *Egypt*, with whom, after many disputes, *Bajazet* had made a peace. But to attack him before *Kyzilbash shahi* (4) was vanquish'd, seem'd neither safe nor adviseable. This last had sufficiently discover'd his enmity, and therefore it was to be fear'd, the *Persians* would come upon the *Othmans* intent upon the *Egyptian* affairs. The breach was widen'd by the late heretical alterations of the *Koran* by *Sheitan Culy*, which with the King's approbation had infected all *Persia*, and render'd her an enemy to the true followers of the *Koran*. Upon these considerations, *Selim* resolves to humble the *Persians* before he proceeds to other undertakings. So in the year 920, he leads a numerous army into *Asia*, and at *Tybris* (5) one of the principal Cities of *Persia* on a plain call'd *Chaldiran** (6) he finds the enemy's army not inferior to his own. Whereupon he instantly assembles the Vizirs and the rest of his friends, to consult what was to be done. All agree, things were not to be hurried, least the soldiers fatigu'd with their march, might afford the enemy an easy victory, that the battle therefore was to be defer'd till next day, and time given the troops to recover themselves. This advice being unanimously approv'd of, *Selim* alone is against it, and says, " the counsel you have given is no less advanta-" gious to the enemies than to us, for are not they equally fatigu'd with

H. 920
A. C. 1514

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(2) of *Jem*] This I take to be rather ironically spoken by the *Turks*, who well know that *Jem* was murder'd amongst the *Christians*.

(3) domestick Enemies] Namely some great Courtiers, who privately favour'd *Bajazet*, and were all put to death by *Selim*.

(4) *Kyzilbash shahi*] King of the *Redheads*. This was *Ismael Sofi* the wisest and most learned of all the *Persian* Kings. He was deem'd a Saint by his Subjects, because in his time happen'd the Reformation of the *Koran*, as has been related in a former note.

(5) *Tybris*] This City was shortly after recover'd by the *Persians*, and is in their possession to this day.

(6) *Chaldiran**] According to the opinion of many it is a spacious Plain under the Walls of *Tybris*, and still retains this name. Others think it a small Town not far from *Tybris*. Etymologically it signifies a Man who exposes any thing to Theft, from the verb *Chalarum**, to steal, from whence *Chaldirirum* to cause to steal. And also causing him to knock.

" their march? Wherefore I do not see why we should allow them time " to resist and prepare the better for battle. And indeed I now per- " ceive our error in not attacking them at first sight, and in consulting " before, not after the battle, about refreshing our men."

He approves of *Piri Pasha's* advice

. V. Having said these words, he dismisses the Council with orders to prepare for battle, and immediately sending for his *Defterdar* (7), *Piri Pasha*,

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(7) *Defterdar*] A word deriv'd from the *Persian Defter*, Accompts or Book of Accompts, and *Dar*, *keeping*, or if you had rather from the *Greek*, Διφθέρα, the Skin or Vellum, on which they wrote. It is a very high Office in the *Othman* Court, and the Person invested with it, has the management of the whole external Revenue. But if a Secretary or *Effendi* enjoys this office, he can do nothing without the consent of the Vizir. But if manag'd by a *Pasha* with three *Tug*, he draws the *Tura* along with him, even without the privity of the Vizir, and in his own name publishes the *Ferman*. This seldom happens but when the Vizir being stupid or ignorant, the Emperor is pleas'd to commit this Trust to a Man of greater authority. The *Defterdar* has under him twelve Chancelleries call'd *Calem*, in which the whole Income, Tributes, and Customs of the Empire are collected, and the military stipends distributed, but under different superintendents The *Defterdar* holds the first, out of which are issued all Mandates, as well to the other Chancelleries, as through the whole Empire for levying the Tribute and Customs. Over the second is the *Reis Effendi*, High Chancellor of the Empire, the third is under the *Defter Emini*, who inspects the Books and Accompts of all the Revenues. The *Beglikchy** is over the fourth, who issues out Mandates to the *Pashas*, and the letters of the *Pashaliks*, Principalities, and other Offices. The *Rusnameji* has the fifth, and audits all the diurnal Stipends throughout the whole Empire The *Bash Mubasebeji* is over the sixth; he is Accomptant General, and in his Office all Accompts are made up The seventh is under the direction of the *Anadoli Mubasebeji*, who is at the head of the *Asiatic* Revenues. Over the eighth is the *Haraj Mubasebeji*, to whom is committed the care of levying the Tributes rais'd upon the *Jews* and *Christians* The ninth is held by the *Mevkufat*, who has under his direction the Moneys expended for pious uses The *Malie Deskiereji* holds the tenth, to whom belongs the Chamber of Possessions and other Revenues. Over the eleventh, is the *Mucabeleji*, as if you should say, the *Counter-scribe*, he manages the Lists of the Soldiery, shows who is dead or superannuated, so that the pay may not exceed or fall short of the number of soldiers and has two Deputies, the *Yaya Mucabeleji*, who takes account of the Infantry through the whole Empire, and the *Atly Mucabeleji*, who looks after the *Spahi* and the other Cavalry, or Stipendiaries dispers'd in the *Tymar Zamet* Over the last the *Teshrifatchi**, whom we should call Master of the Ceremonies In all these Chancelleries the Mandates indeed are writ in the *Turkish* Language, but all the Accompts in the *Persian*, and in the Character *Kyrma*, i. e. *broken*, (not legible by any Person who is not us'd to it) with such conciseness, that the Revenues and yearly expences of the Empire are laid before the Emperor in twenty four Pages The Director of every Chancellery has his *Kalfa* vulgarly *Chalife*, under him, or, as we should say, his Secretary. The chief of these are the *Maden Kalfa*, who has under his inspection all the Revenues from which any certain and limited Sum arises, as from Mines, Provinces with an annual settled Tribute &c. and the *Achir Kalfa*, who takes an account of the Emperor's Stable. Besides these Chancelleries there are other Offices, the *Emanet*, as if one should say the Concreditory, because their

Pasha, who was not at the Council, bids him give his opinion in the case. Though he did not know the Emperor's mind, yet his advice was agreeable to his will, " The reputation (says he) of the *Othman* arms " is not so to be expos'd, that the eyes of our enemies accustom'd to " the sight of us, may learn first to bear and then to contemn our va- " lour. It is a good Omen (8) to attack the enemies at first sight, " and fall upon them before they can open their eyes. Besides, if a " battle be not hasten'd, it is to be fear'd, a delay may breed a sedi- " dition in the army. For since many, who serve under the *Turkish* " Banners, have long contracted friendship and affinity with the *Per-* " *sians*, very possibly, if time be given for mutual discourse, they may " be corrupted, and the unstable vulgar be induc'd, if not openly to " revolt, yet certainly to fight with a double heart, and (as the Proverb " says) with the tips of their fingers only (9)." *Selim*, when he had

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their Accompts cannot be given in with accuracy, but must, for the most part, be left to the honesty of the Officers. The *Defterdar* can issue out no Mandates to these in his own name, though they are obliged to make up their Accompts in his Chancellery. These are, 1. The *Tersana Emini*, who has the care of building and repairing the Ships, and whatever relates to the Navy. 2. The *Giumruk Emini* or Master of the Customs 3. The *Zarbchane Emini*, or Master of the Mint. He does not like the rest give an account of the Receipts and Disbursements, but farms the Bullion at the rate of delivering so many purses daily into the Treasury, after which he has the power of coining as much Money as he can for his own advantage 4. The *Matpach Emini*, or chief of the Grand Seignor's Kitchen. 5. The *Topchana Nazyri*, Super intendent of the Ordnance and other warlike Engines. 6. The *Arpa Emini*, who lays in the Provision of Barley for the Royal Stables, and Officers belonging to them 7. The *Mubaeji* or general Purveyor. 8 The *Shehir Emini* whose business it is to see that the Walls and Fortresses be kept in sufficient repair. 9. The *Giumish Chane Emini*, who surveys the Metal Mines, and either collects the Profits arising from them, or lets them out to farm at a yearly Rent. To conclude, next to the Prime Vizir the only Officer in the outer Court superior to the *Defterdar*, is *Kietchuda beg*, or, *Kihaya*, Lieutenant of the Prime Vizir, who is next in rank to the Vizir Of all the money brought into the Imperial Treasury, the *Defterdar* has the twentieth part, from whence, I know for certain and by experience, there accrues to him at least two hundred thousand Imperials, of which he delivers fifty thousand to *Kietchuda beg*. But the Prime Vizir may justly get every year six hundred thousand Imperials, not to mention the Presents and other Arts us'd by the Vizirs to satiate their Avarice. This may seem incredible to such as have not seen the *Othman* Court, but those who know better, will think otherwise Of these things more largely elsewhere

(8) good Omen] *Ogur* The *Turks* are perswaded, if they make the first onset, the Victory will be theirs. Hence the Proverb, " He that " strikes first is a good and perfect " Archer" But in the last war with the *Germans*, the better and more prudent *Turkish* Generals were entirely of another opinion.

(9) tips of their fingers] It is a *Turkish* Phrase, " To take a thing " with the extremity of the Hand" instead of saying, " To go about an " affair unwillingly" Thus they say, *Harbe uji ile Virmek*, to give with the extremity or point of a Spear, speaking of Borderers relying on the assistance of another.

heard

heard this speech, cries out, "Lo! in my whole army with much diffi-
"culty have I found one prudent and well-advis'd Man, whose opinion
"shall be of more weight with me, than the Heads, Hands, and Arms
"of so many thousands. Assuredly to my own and the Empire's great
"detriment has this man, I think, been hitherto uninvested with the
"Prime Vizirship."

Defeats the *Persians* with great Slaughter

VI. *Selim* thus approving of his advice, instantly commands the Enemies and City, which was surrounded with their forces, to be invested, and the *Persian* army rather pompous than well array'd, to be attack'd. The battle begins with the great guns, which are discharg'd by the *European* Troops in the left wing, so unhappily station'd, that an opposite Hillock either receiv'd the Balls or sent them without execution over the *Persian* Camp. But the *Asiatick* forces, under the command of *Sinan Pasha* (10), move towards the *Persians* with close ranks, and draw their field pieces after them. *Sinan*, when he comes within Cannon-shot, orders the foremost ranks to open to the right and left, and give room for the great guns behind them, which being discharg'd make such a slaughter among the enemies, that the *Persian* troops, who before were like a wall, seem'd now to resemble streets and lanes (11). The enemies ranks being thus broken, the signal is given to charge them hand to hand with swords and javelins, by which means, one half of the enemies left wing is slain, and the rest forc'd to fly. *Shah*, when he sees the left wing of the *Persians* in danger, leaves the right, and with his best Regiments coming to their relief, bravely repulses the *Turks* now intent upon the utter destruction of the remains of it. *Selim*, on the other hand, perceiving his right wing to be press'd with multitudes, places thirteen thousand Janizaries on their flank, with orders, first to charge the enemies at distance with ball, then attack them sword in hand, and by bearing the brunt of the battle, give the others time to rally. His orders are diligently executed, and the *Persians* so fiercely attack'd that they slowly give ground, and at last take to open flight. The *Persian* right wing, which still bravely sustain'd the charges of the *Turks*, perceiving this, and despairing of victory, fly also for their lives. Thus every where vanquish'd, and shamefully put to flight, the *Persians* are by the *Turkish* soldiers slain, taken, and branded with eternal dishonour. *Shah* himself hardly escapes by the swiftness of his horse, which would not have snatch'd him

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(10) *Sinan Pasha*] A very famous General among the *Turks*. At *Constantinople* a stately building of his stands on fifty marble octangular Pillars, in the entrance of the inner Port over against *Pera*. In this edifice *Bostanji Basha* is wont to reside in the Spring. For near it, is a Gate leading to the Imperial Court, destin'd for the habitation of the *Bostanji*, where is also another Stove call'd *Yala Koshki*

(11) Streets and Lanes] *Socak be Socak*, Street by Street. It is a *Turkish* Phrase, signifying confus'd heaps here and there

from the danger, if the night coming on had not put an end to the pursuit. The *Persians* lost in the battle, besides many thousands of slain (12), the leaders of both wings, *Mehemed Chan* and *Tekielichan* the bravest and stoutest Generals at that time in *Persia*.

dismisses the Musulman Captives

VII. This victory would have been much greater and more compleat, had not *Selim* thought it dangerous to pursue in the night, through difficult and narrow places, the enemies not so broken but they might still venture to make a fresh attempt. Wherefore sounding a retreat, he plunders the Camp, where he finds the immense treasure and rich furniture of *Ismail Shah*. After which, he declares *Piri Pasha*, (the adviser of the battle) Vizir, and orders it to be proclaim'd, that no *Nisa* and *Sabian* Captive should be detain'd, but all dismiss'd, adding, " it is unjust to make Captives of men, who are *Sunni* (13), and " forc'd

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(12) Thousands of slain] Tho' this was a fierce and bloody Battle, the number of slain on either side is not mention'd by the *Turkish* Historians.

(13) *Sunni*] So the *Turks* call themselves and the rest of the Musulmans in respect of the *Persians* and other Hereticks. They think it unlawful to detain like Slaves the *Sunni*, tho' taken in war, but if they are Rebels, they are to be punish'd with death, if not, to be releas'd. This is indeed an inviolable Law with the *Turks*, but with the *Tartars*, though they are *Mahometans*, it is not observ'd. To this purpose, I shall relate a story, which plainly shows the disposition of the *Tartars* to the *Turks*, and of which I was my self an eye-witness. When my Father *Constantinus Cantemyrius* govern'd *Moldavia*, the *Seraskier* or General of the *Turkish* Army, *Aineji Solyman Pasha* (afterwards Prime Vizir) staid at *Babadagy* a Town of *Mysia* sixty miles beyond the *Danube*, whilst he was assembling the *European* forces and preparing to store *Camentec*, where a Famine rag'd, with Provisions In order to be inform'd of the condition of the Castle and the Camp of *John* III. King of *Poland*, he sends a Letter to my Father by *Ismail aga* (one of his Officers called *Agaler*,) in which he order'd the Bearer to be safely guarded to *Camentec* and convey'd to *Cahraman Pasha*, who commanded the Garrison of that Castle My Father giving him a Guard, he happily enters the Castle, and dismisses our Men, intending to return with some Soldiers of *Camentec*. Having inform'd himself of what he was order'd, he departs with ten *Turkish* Soldiers. When they come to *Stephanesti* a Town of *Moldavia* on the Banks of the *Hyerasus*, he meets a Hord of *Tartars* going to ravage *Poland* Having ask'd them, who was their Leader, he wishes them a prosperous expedition and proceeds in his journey. But presently after he sees himself pursued full speed by about fifty *Tartars*, as if they had forgot to make some inquiry. The *Turks* being under no fear of the *Tartars* their Allies, unfortunately halt and wait their coming. The moment the *Tartars* overtake them, they draw their Swords, and bid them dismount. In vain do the *Turks* ask them, what they meant, they are immediately bound with thongs, stript to their shirts, and threaten'd with death, unless they did what they were order'd. Terrified at this unexpected and present danger, they promise to do whatever is enjoin'd them. In the first place therefore, the *Tartars* unmercifully scourge their Captives, then shave their Beards and Mustachios, and teach them to answer in the *Russian* Language to the question what Countrymen are ye? *Neznaiu, ya Rusak*. " I know not, I am a " *Russian*." Having thus instructed them, they bring the *Turks* a few days after

" forc'd into arms; the victory is sufficient and the vanquish'd are ra-
" ther to be treated with clemency than cruelty. And as for Shah he
" may

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after, with their hands tied behind them, to *Ismail* a Town in *Bujak* on the *Danube*, and there cruelly use them all night, that they may not discover themselves to be *Turks*. Which when they had swore to conceal, they expose them next day to Sale. The Purchasers of Captives (for there are many in that place who transmit to their partners at *Constantinople* Slaves bought of the *Turks*) asking what Countrymen they are, the *Tartars* immediately shake their Whips at their Captives, that mindful of the Lashes they had receiv'd, they may speak *Russian*. So selling them for ten Imperials a Head (for they did not desire a great price for such vile wares) the *Tartars* instantly return home. The Captives within two or three hours speaking in the pure *Turkish* Language beg for God's sake some Victuals and Drink. The Merchants, surpris'd at hearing the pure *Turkish* Dialect, (which is extremely difficult to be pronounc'd by the *Russians*) ask how they that were born in *Russia* came to speak *Turkish* so elegantly? The *Turks* showing the marks of their stripes, these, say they, with the *Tartarian* cunning, converted us from *Turks* into *Russians*. At last, the Merchants finding they had bought *Turks* instead of *Russians*, and so lost their money, give them their liberty. But *Ismail aga* the Officer, a man of wit and humour, desires his Purchaser to carry him as a Slave to *Babadagy* (where the *Seraskier* waited his return) and expose him in the Market to sale, and that he would there pretend to run away. The Merchant being taught his lesson, leads the Officer disguis'd by his stripes and loss of beard, through the midst of the Camp, (for the army was in the field in Tents) mean while, the Officer takes to his heels, and runs directly to the General's Tent. The Merchant bawls out, stop him, stop him for God's sake, my Captive is fled, the Infidel *Russian* has escap'd out of my hands. Whereupon a great noise is made in the Market and Camp, all running up and down after the Fugitive. The Officer when he comes to the Entrance of the great Tent, which is call'd *Divanchane*, confesses (in broken *Turkish*, that he might seem by length of time to have forgot his native Tongue) that he was indeed the Merchant's Captive, but a *Turk* and Musulman lately escap'd from *Poland*, and therefore unjustly expos'd to sale. Adding he had many discoveries to make to the General, as he was come but fifteen days from *Leopoli*, and therefore perfectly acquainted with the state of the *Polish* affairs. When the *Seraskier* hears this, he orders the Captive to be brought into the *Oba* or inner Tent Being come there, he pays his obeysance to the General, and, *Cabraman* the *Camenec-Pasha*, says he, salutes you my Lord. The General knowing indeed the voice, but seeing a strange face, who art thou, says he, and how knowest thou these things? Don't you know (answers he) your Officer *Ismail aga*, whom you lately sent to *Cabraman Pasha*, *Neznaesh po rusku*, don't you understand *Russ*? The General says to him, " What " Rascal has thus maim'd thee?" He replies, Our *Tartars* made me a *Russian*, and at *Ismail* sold me to a Merchant, from whose hands I have escap'd to my Lord When he had afterwards related the Particulars of what he had suffer'd from that rapacious and treacherous race, the *Seraskier* could not sufficiently wonder at the Cunning of those Plunderers, especially when the same things are told him by *Ismail aga*'s Companions who arriv'd the next day. The General indeed order'd the *Tartars* to be diligently search'd after, but among so many Hords they could never be discover'd. He promoted however the Officer, after his Beard was grown, to the dignity of his Master of Horse, and loaded him with presents. In like manner the *Tartars*

"may learn by this Prelude of Victories, as by an experiment, what "success the Othman arms will hereafter be crown'd with."

VIII. The next day, the Inhabitants of *Tybris* finding themselves deserted by their King, and despairing of relief, try to purchase the Conqueror's mercy, by the offer of the Keys of their City. *Selim* grants their request, enters the Town, and refreshing his soldiers a few days, orders, according to custom, the divine service to be perform'd on *Friday* in the Temple, and Prayers to be said for himself and whole army. His farther progress is obstructed by the great scarcity of Corn, occasion'd by the enemies laying waste the neighbouring countries, in order to deprive the *Turkish* army of subsistence. Wherefore seeing he could not remain in that place without great inconvenience, the Conqueror leaves a strong Garrison at *Tybris* and returns to *Amasia*. The forces are sent into as narrow winter-quarters as possible, that they might be more ready for the ensuing expedition. From hence he sends to *Constantinople*, as a token of his Victory, *Husein* (14) Son of *Bicarar*, born of the noblest *Persian* family, with many other Captives famous above the rest for Birth, or Learning.

Tybris being taken, he winters at *Amasia*.

IX. *Selim*

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Tartars frequently steal *Turkish* Children, and afterwards sell them for *Russians*. For in point of Perfidiousness and Cunning, that Nation is not to be parallell'd in the World.

(14) *Husein*] The *Mæcenas* of the Oriental Musicians. He had the greatest regard for *Hoje Musicar*, the *Orpheus* of the *Persians*, and his Scholar *Gulam* the *Arabian*. All *Turky* and *Persia* were delighted with their Melody and Songs till the time of Sultan *Mahomet*, in whose Reign the Art of Musick almost forgot, not only reviv'd, but was also render'd more perfect by *Osman Effendi* a noble *Constantinopolitan*. He left many Scholars, among whom for the voice were famous, *Chafiz* firnam'd *Kiomar* (Coal,) *Bubiurji ogli*, *Memish Aga*, *Kiuchuk** *Muezin*, and *Desptchi** *Emir*, but for Instruments two *Greeks* excell'd, *Kiemani Ahmed*, a Renegade, and *Angeli* Orthodox, (both my Teachers for fifteen years,) and also *Chelebico** a *Jew*, with the *Turks*, *Dervish Othman*, *Curshunji ogli*, his Scholar, *Tashchi** *ogli Sinek Mehemmed*, and *Bardakchi** *Mehemmed Chelebi**, which two last, when they had been taught by one *Camboso Mehemmed Aga*, were afterwards with *Ralaki Eupragiote* a noble *Greek* of *Constantinople*, instructed by me in some parts of Musick, particularly in the Theory, and a new method of my own invention of expressing the Songs by Notes, unknown before to the *Turks* I had also for Scholars in the Theory and Practice of Musick, *Daul Ismail Effendi*, first Treasurer of the Empire, and *Latif Chelebi** his *Haznadar*. By their request, I compos'd a little Book of the Art of Musick in *Turkish*, and dedicated it to the present Emperor *Ahmed* II, the Precepts whereof are, they say, follow'd to this day by all the Students in Musick. It will perhaps seem strange to the *European* Reader to see the study of so noble an art prais'd by me in a Nation accounted barbarous by all *Christendom*. Such indeed it was in the Infancy of the *Othman* Empire, when the Sultans were wholly employ'd in extending the bounds of their dominion, but in process of time, when a cessation of war allow'd the Arts of Peace, to be cultivated, they so far departed from their former fierceness, and became so civiliz'd, that scarce any signs of their antient Barbarousness now appear. I may certainly venture to say, that the *Turkish* Musick for metre and proportion of words is more perfect than any *Europæan*, but withal so

hard

He takes some Cities with the Territories of *Alaudeulet.*

H 921
A. C 1515

IX. *Selim* had learnt by this year's experience, that nothing could be effected in those cold and mountainous regions, by which the *Persian* dominions were bounded, unless by early expeditions. Wherefore in the year 921, he leads his army in the beginning of the Spring out of *Amasia*, and suddenly takes *Giumab* and *Batburud* from the *Persians*, by whom the *Turks*, were not yet unexpected. When he finds no resistance, he thinks it fruitless to employ so great an army in such a vile Place, and therefore sends part of his forces, under *Ferhad Pasha*, against *Alaideulet* Son of *Zuulcadir*, because he was believ'd to favour the *Persians*. *Ferhad* surprises this Prince unawares, routs his forces, and cuts off his head. Whereupon *Selim* gives his dominions to *Ali beg* (15) Son of *Shah Suvar*, who had faithfully serv'd him at Court, on condition his name should be mention'd in the publick prayers. Thus *Selim* no less magnanimous than victorious, returns about the end of the year to *Constantinople*.

The *Diarbekerians* expel the *Persians*, and offer themselves to *Selim*

X. The next year, a fresh opportunity offers of inlarging his Empire. The Nation *Kare-Emid* (16), inhabiting the Province call'd at this day *Diarbekir* (17), and govern'd by *Karachan* Deputy of the King of *Persia*, were by reason of some civil dissentions male-content, and had long been endeavouring to throw off his yoke. What they perceive could not be effected by force, they resolve to attempt by stratagem. To this end, they so manage that a counterfeit Letter from the King of *Persia* is brought to him, by a Messenger, containing the following order. " Thou who art (18) *Karachan*, the moment our " Mandate shall reach thee, know, that we have resolv'd to send thee

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hard to be understood, that in the spacious City of *Constantinople*, where resides the greatest Court in the World, among so many Musicians and Lovers of Musick, you will scarce find above three or four, who thoroughly understand the grounds of this Art. The scarcity of complete Musicians is owing to the difficulty of comprehending all the parts of the sounds call'd by the *Arabians*, *Terkib*, which *Hoje Musicar*, after *Ptolemæus*, affirms to be infinite by this Axiom *Emma ki Terkibate nihayet yok*, i. e. " But because there " is no end of composing parts " To inlarge on these things is foreign to my present purpose, but if God grant me life and leisure, I will explain in a separate Treatise the whole Art according to the opinion of the Eastern World.

(15) *Alibeg*] One of the noble *Persian* Refugees to Sultan *Selim*, an instance of fidelity among the *Turks*.

(16) *Kare-Emid*] The *black Midi*, who inhabit the country between *Urpha* and *Van* in *Asia*.

(17) *Diarbekir*] Etymologically, *the Province of Bekir*. It is a country on the borders of *Kurdistan*, whose name appears in almost all the Geographical Maps. It contains at present all *Mesopotamia* to the Confines of *Musul*, the *Nineveh* of the Antients.

(18) Thou who art] This is the usual form of the *Turkish* and *Persian* Letters. For having premis'd the honorable Titles they give the Vizirs, they close the Letter, with the Phrase, *Thou who art*. As *Ahmed Pasha Lalam sen sinki*. i. e. *My Lala, Thou who art Ahmed Pasha*. So, *Sen ki Kirym chani olan caplan Gierai*. i. e. *Thou who art Chan of Crim, Caplan Gierai* &c.

" with

" with thy whole army against the enemies who are about to invade " these parts. Wherefore with as great preparations as possible, march " out of the City within five days, and pitch thy Tents in a place " call'd *Kavakilder*, in order to be ready on our second notice, to go " where occasion requires, or to come to us instantly." *Karachan*, ignorant of the treachery, thinking it unlawful to disobey his Prince's command, departs from the City with all his forces and whole family, and incamps at the place appointed. The Citizens, when they imagine their Jailor to be too far off to assist the few he had left behind, shut the Gates, and putting the Garrison to the Sword, send a letter to *Selim*, declaring what was done, and promising to surrender their City, with a request that he would appoint for their Prince *Mehemmed beg* Son of *Bykly ogli* (19) their Countryman, who was then in *Selim*'s Court.

XI. This proposal was very agreeable to *Selim*; but as he was acquainted with the deceitfulness of that Nation, he suspected some fraud. So chusing to lose them rather than hazard his troops by too great a credulity, he defers sending an answer a whole year. Mean while, there are daily and fierce skirmishes between *Karachan* and the Citizens, with which when they were tired, *Chemsid* beg*, a rich Nobleman of the country, possessor of above three hundred villages, after several messages to *Selim*, gains credit at last for his Nation, and obtains what was desir'd.

who suspects them

XII. The conditions of the treaty being ratified on both sides, *Selim* creates *Mehemmed beg* Son of *Bykly*, *Beglerbeg* of *Diarbekir*, with Sovereign authority, and gives him *Malikiane* (20) the whole Kingdom, allowing him moreover out of the imperial Treasury an annual pension of forty *Yuk* (21), on the sole condition of being faithful. After

But at last grants their request, and makes *Mehemmed beg* King

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(19) *Bykly ogli*] Of the Family of some Prince of the *Kurdi*. *Bykly* is a name given to such as have prominent Whiskers.

(20) *Malikiane*] This word properly signifies *possessively*, by which name are called those lands that are not *Vakuf*, i. e. dedicated to *Jami*. This manner of possessing Lands had now been disus'd for some ages, But, when about fifteen years since, the Revenues of the exhausted Treasury were to be increas'd, Sultan *Mustapha* II, who then reign'd, commanded the antient Tenure *Malikiane* to be reviv'd under certain conditions. There are however some free Regions or Cantons, which in the month of *March* are wont to pay an yearly Tribute call'd *Mukataa*. This Tribute by the name of a Possession was publickly sold in the Market-place call'd *Mezad*, so that the best Offerer held it for life, but on his death it return'd to the Treasury. It was moreover granted in favour of the Sons of the Purchaser, that the Tribute should not be sold to a Stranger after the Father's death, if they were willing to pay three fourths of the money offer'd by a Stranger. By this means there accrued to the Treasury above 1200 Purses every year.

(21) *Yuk*] Is a certain sum of money us'd in the Accounts of the publick

After which, *Mehemmed beg* goes with speed to *Diarbekir*, and with the consent of all orders and degrees annexes the City and Kingdom to the *Othman* Empire.

Karachan is defeated and kill'd.

H 922

A C 1516

XIII. But as the Emperor easily imagin'd that *Karachan*'s ardor would not be extinguish'd by *Mehemmed*'s presence alone, sends in the year 922 a good body of troops to his assistance, and that *Mehemmed* might be the more excited to behave valiantly, orders an expostulating letter to be deliver'd to him, upbraiding his backwardness in the following manner: "When I made thee Prince of *Diarbekir*, I expected "much greater matters from thee than have yet appear'd. Why stand-"est thou idle? Wherefore is *Karachan*'s insolence unchastis'd? Why "does thou not discover thy latent bravery by deeds worthy a generous "mind, to my joy, to thy enemies sorrow, and to thy own glory. If "thou exert thy self in this manner, thou wilt undoubtedly gain my "highest favour, confound thy enemies with fear, and be invested "with due honours" *Mehemmed* was stung with this reprimand, and thought it a grievous thing to be accus'd of indolence by him to whom he ow'd his life and fortune. Wherefore without staying for the Imperial forces, he joins his Courtiers to the army he had rais'd in that Province, and pitches his Tents against *Karachan*. Whilst he is thus employ'd, the enemies suddenly appear in sight; whereupon he orders his men to be drawn up, though he is yet uncertain whether he should instantly attack them, or stay till the morrow. On the other hand, the *Rafazi* (22), perhaps in the same uncertainty, remain, after the example

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lick Treasury, consisting generally of a hundred thousand *Aspers* †.

(22) *Rafazi*] This Appellation is commonly given by the *Turks* to the *Persians*, because (say the *Turks*) there are indeed among them Persons who in name are *Mahometans*, but in reality Professors of horrible Doctrines. Thus there are (say they) who deflower their own Daughters before marriage, pretending a divine Law for it, namely, The Planter ought to taste first the Fruit of his own Trees. To confirm this their opinion, they report that a certain Person deliver'd to *Ali* (*Mahomet*'s Successor) a *Fetvà* penn'd in this manner: "If a Man gathers the "Fruit of a Tree planted by himself, "and joyfully eats it with Thanks-"giving, is he to be accounted a "Transgressor of the Laws of God "and the *Koran*?" To which *Ali* replied, "By no means" Something of this Kind are the *Mum soi unduren*, who at a stated time meet together for forty days, and putting out the Candles, promiscuously lie with one another, neither do they think Incest a Sin at that time. But the forty days being past, they live in so chast a manner, that whoever is caught with a Woman, is punish'd with death This Heresy has many Followers in the Mountains *Kazdagy*. There are who worship Fire, *Atesh perest*, vulgarly call'd, *Ateshe tapan*, the Remains of the old *Persians*. There are also *Kelb perest*, Dog-worshippers, and *Giau perest*, Bull-worshippers,

† Four *Mangyrs* and as many *Ghediks* make an *Asper* Three *Aspers* make a *Para* Five, a *Beshik* Ten, an *Olik* Twenty four, a *Selota* (or *Florin*) Two hundred and sixty, a *Serif* of *Hungary*. A Purse is five hundred *Rixdolars*, which are receiv'd by the Port at eighty *Aspers* each, and paid away at one hundred and twenty But of this more largely in the Appendix

ple of the *Turkish* army, without motion in battle-array. Mean while, a great cloud of butterflies appear in the air, and flying over the space between the armies, divide themselves in two parties, the white going to the *Turks*, and the red to the *Persians*. Presently, the white charge the red, and after a fierce conflict vanquish and rout them. The sword could hardly have effected what these insects produc'd in the minds of both sides. The *Turks* inspir'd with courage by the good omen, bravely fall on the *Persians* fill'd with terror, and easily slay and rout an army entirely dispirited by superstition. Among the Captives is found *Karachan* himself, whose head is instantly struck off by *Mehemmed beg*'s order.

Mehemmed beg takes some Cities.

XIV. This great and unexpected Victory was to *Mehemmed beg* an argument of the divine aid and protection. Accordingly having by his speeches incourag'd his soldiers to greater undertakings, he closely besieges the strong City *Mardun* (23). This place would have been almost impregnable both by situation and the valour of the inhabitants, had they not been forc'd by pestilence and famine to purchase the Conqueror's mercy with a surrender of themselves and their City. A few days after, he besieges *Musul* (24), and taking it in the first assault, subdues it with fire and sword. These two Bulwarks of the whole country being conquer'd, the lesser towns easily follow'd, namely, *Anne*, *Hadise* (25), *Hegeti*, *Sujart*, *Hasinkesfi*, *Jemishgerg*, *Amadie*, *Sudek*, *Jeidjeen*, *Baldyr*, *Ham*, *Zerbak*, and *Chaizan*, and within a short space the whole Kingdom of *Kiurdi* (26) and *Jezire* (27) is annex'd to the *Othman* Empire.

He is prais'd by Selim

XV. *Mehemmed* thought the reproach cast on him by *Selim*, might be easily wip'd off by so many exploits, and liberty more readily given him to remain quiet. To this end he dispatches his brother *Uveis Pasha* with a letter to *Selim*, setting forth his performances. *Selim* rejoicing at the good news, highly extolls, in the presence of his Vizirs,

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shippers, and others, who by the *Turks* are call'd by the common name of *Rafazi*, *Giebr*, or *Tersa*, in the *Persian* Language But these Heresies are slanderously ascrib'd to the *Persians* by the *Turks*, on account that the Knowledge of them first came from *Persia*

(23) *Mardun*] Vulgarly *Mardin*. A very noted City of *Mesopotamia*

(24) *Musul*] A famous City in almost every Map, and suppos'd to be the *Nineveh* of the Antients

(25) *Anne* and *Hadise*] Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Musul*.

(26) *Kiurdi*] This Kingdom (if I rightly remember) extends from the Confines of *Syria* to the Cities *Shehrezul* and *Van* on the borders of *Persia*. The Inhabitants are call'd *Kiurdi*, and speak broken *Persian*.

(27) *Jezire*] Etymologically an Island, it is *Mesopotamia*, lying between the Rivers *Frat*, *Murad*, and *Shat*. *Frat* is the *Euphrates*, *Murad* a Branch of the *Euphrates*, and *Shat* the *Tigris*. Both the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* are by the Inhabitants commonly call'd *Firatat*, and the *Euphrates* also by another name, *Nehr Esselam*, the pacific river.

Mehemmed's

Mehemmed's bravery, and dismisses *Uveis Pasha* laden with honours and presents to his brother.

Selim moving towards the *Persians*, suddenly alters his mind and attacks the *Egyptians*: H 923 A C 1516.

XVI. The rapid course of his victories inspires *Selim* with the project of subverting the whole *Persian* Empire, or, if that could not be done, of entirely weakening it. Wherefore in the year 923 he departs from *Constantinople* to execute his designs with a more numerous army than before, and incamps near *Aleppo* (28). Not far from the same place, the *Chercassian** King of the *Egyptians*, Sultan *Gauri* (29) meets him with

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(28) *Aleppo*] The most noted Mart of *Syria* and almost all *Asia*, well peopled not only with Inhabitants, but also foreigners. Here reside the *French*, *Dutch*, and *English*, Consuls. Many *Europeans* purchase here Houses and Country Seats, and marrying Wives are in a manner accounted as Natives. Here is also the Seat of the Patriarch of *Antioch*. For at *Antioch*, whose Inhabitants were first call'd *Christians*, the name of *Christ* is not so much as heard.

(29) *Sultan Gauri*] Sprung from the *Chercassians**, the noblest race of the *Scythians*, among whom none are counted ignoble. Their Customs and Manners I have shown in a former Note (p. 126) *Palestine* being taken by the Crusade-expeditions, *Saladin*, Sultan of *Egypt*, much spoken of in the *Christian* Annals, about the year of the *Hejira* 583, and of Christ 1187, that he might have a better disciplin'd army than he found could be rais'd among the effeminate *Egyptians*, bought *Chercassian** Slaves, and instructing them in the Art of war, by their valour quickly subdued the *Holy Land*. But after his death, these very Soldiers rebell'd against his Successors, and in the year of the *Hejira* 642, dethroning *Elmutan* the lawful Heir of the Kingdom, not only seiz'd all *Egypt*, but in process of time greatly inlarg'd the bounds of their dominion, which by introducing every year Soldiers of their own Nation from the utmost corners of *Asia*, they defended with wonderful bravery till *Selim*'s Reign. An antient Superstition, though deriv'd from the fountain of Truth, possesses the *Egyptians*, that it is decreed by fate, that Captives shall reign, and the Natives be subject to them That this was caus'd by the benediction of the Patriarch *Joseph*, both *Turks* and *Arabians* understand, and though it be contrary to the Law of the *Koran*, strictly observe it to this day For although *Egypt* be subject to the *Othman* Empire, and a Basha given to it or remov'd at the pleasure of the Port, yet all the state-affairs are administred by twenty four *Begs* or Princes, none of whom, unless they have been Slaves, can inherit or come to the Empire. These publickly indeed profess to obey the *Othman* Mandate, but in reality are guided by their own Counsels Very often a Basha given them by the Sultan is depos'd by their Authority, shut up in a Tower call'd *Kioshki Yusuf*, *Joseph*'s Palace, stript of his Effects, and sent out poor and naked, however, that the Majesty of the *Othman* Empire may be preserv'd, they afterwards send to the Port for another Basha. Sometimes when depos'd, they call him to an account, and for the greater contempt, send to him the *Saraf Bashi* a Jew, Master of the Mint, who with a previous *Selam*, (salute) says, "The Lords "the Princes order you to refund so "much money, which you have un-"justly heap'd up contrary to law" The Basha refusing or making some excuse, the Jew formerly repeated his demand with more insolence, "You shall refund indeed, most "auspicious Basha." This was their way heretofore of dealing with the Basha, which they so constantly practis'd, that scarce one Basha in Ten escap'd out of their hands with honour. But now since in the memory of our Fathers, the *Egyptian* Princes were

with equal forces, and ſending him ambaſſadors, offers friendſhip with a promiſe of aſſiſtance againſt the *Perſians*. Whilſt both armies remain without motion in their Tents, it happens that ſome *Chercaſſians**, either with their Sovereign's connivance, or through the uſual inſolence of the Soldiers, intercepted ſome laden camels going to *Selim*'s camp and plunder'd them. *Selim* was provok'd at this, and conſtrued it as done in contempt of him. So he inſtantly reſolves to pour the indignation he had conceiv'd againſt the *Perſians*, on the heads of the *Egyptians*, and declaring war with the *Chercaſſians** for affronting him without cauſe, is bent to ſubdue all *Egypt*.

XVII. *Selim* thus relinquiſhing the *Perſian* invaſion for that of *Egypt*, receives letters from *Chaïrbeg* Governor of *Damaſcus* (30), and *Gazelibeg* of *Aleppo*, (between whom and Sultan *Gauri* there was mortal though private enmity,) wherein they ſet forth their ſervices to *Gauri* and his tyranny, ingratitude, avarice and jealouſy, which prompted him to a deſign againſt their lives. they promiſe to deſert the *Chercaſſians** in the heat of the battle, and be his Subjects for the future: they require no other reward than that one of them ſhould have for life the government of *Egypt*, the other of *Damaſcus* To allure theſe

whom he vanquiſhes by the treachery of their General,

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were humbled by the Management of *Ibrahim Paſha*, the Baſha's live there a little more ſafely, though not without fear. The manner of inheriting in *Egypt* is as follows. The dying Perſon excludes from the inheritance all his Sons, and makes ſome Slave or Captive of approv'd Virtue and Probity ſole Heir, who immediately after his Maſter's death, enjoys all his Effects, and makes the Deceaſed's Sons his *Seiz* or Grooms, with which condition they are forc'd to be content, and obey their father's Slave all their lives. This is vulgarly aſcrib'd to *Joſeph*'s Benediction on Slaves in force to this day, neither can it be alter'd without great detriment to the Commonwealth, becauſe the Native *Egyptians* are naturally ſo unapt for civil Government. Many *Egyptian* Princes have frequently tried to poliſh the unciviliz'd Manners of their Sons, but perceived their labour was in vain. Since the inheritance thus deſcends not to the Children but to the Slaves endued with Virtue, the *Turks* take care not to commit the Office of Baſha to a Captive, eſpecially to a *Chercaſſian**, but to ſome *Turk* or other free Perſon converted to *Mahometiſm*. For they think it is decreed by fate, that the Kingdom of *Egypt* cannot be wreſted from them, unleſs when rul'd by a Slave.

(30) Governor of *Damaſcus*] Or as he is now call'd *Sham Beglerbegi**, which name, though by flattery given to all Baſha's who have the privilege of three Horſe-tails, yet properly belongs only to four, *Sham Beglerbeg*, *Beglerbeg* of *Kutahia*, who preſides over *Natolia*, and *Beglerbeg* of *Sophia*, who governs the *European* Provinces, and *Budun Beglerbeg*, Governor of *Buda*, whom in our days the Emperor *Leopold* raz'd out of the liſt. The *Turks* reckon *Damaſcus* among their Holy Places, becauſe *Mahomet*, after his being ſnatch'd up into the ninth Heaven from *Jeruſalem*, and receiving the *Koran* from God, deſcended there. Moreover they believe the general Judgment will be at *Damaſcus*, and that City the Metropolis of the everlaſting Kingdom, which will there have its beginning. Theſe and the like particulars are more largely handled in a *Turkiſh* Book call'd *Muhammedië*.

* See Note 4 p 35

Generals to his side, was so much for *Selim*'s advantage, that he could not think of denying them any request Wherefore he not only confirms the conditions with an oath and the subscription of his name, but also instructs the traitors how they might best execute their purposes. They take his advice, and with various reasons, egg on Sultan *Gauri* to a battle. They expose the effeminacy of the *Turks*, magnify the valour of the *Chercassians**, and beg the *Chercassian** name may not be dishonour'd by suffering the *Turks* to dare to incamp long unpunish'd in their sight. *Gauri* ignorant of the treachery of his Generals, thinks what they say the dictates of their bravery, and therefore draws up his forces immediately in a place call'd *Burj Vaik* (31) and marches against the *Turks*. *Selim* hearing what had happen'd, so places his men near *Aleppo*, that they might bravely receive the enemies from what part soever they come. The *Chercassians** with a slow pace approach within bow-shot, then rushing with a great cry, on the *Turks*, furiously charge them, and notwithstanding their gallant resistance, force them to give ground. But whilst they are in the greatest hopes of obtaining the victory, *Chairbeg* in the right, and *Gazelibeg* in the left wing, unexpectedly revolt, and joining their forces with the *Turks*, strike the *Chercassians** with the utmost terror. However chusing rather to die than be vanquish'd, they renew the battle, and so fiercely press their enemies, that notwithstanding the numbers against them, victory seem'd inclin'd to their side. Whereupon *Selim* perceiving the *Chercassians** by their nimbleness and agility of body to avoid the strokes of swords, spears, and darts, orders the horse to halt, and placing the Janizaries in the front, commands them to fire on the enemies. His orders are so well executed, that the *Chercassians** astonish'd at the sudden slaughter of their men, fall back to close their ranks The *Turks* seeing this, give them no time to renew the fight, but rushing on them like a deluge, easily rout the broken troops Sultan *Gauri* finding all hopes of victory vanish'd, resolves to lose his life with his Empire. So running into the thickest of his enemies, he overthrows all he meets, and flies through their ranks, as if they were so many sheep. He looks and calls for *Selim*, challenges him to single combat, in order to give or receive Death and Empire. Fortune not throwing him in his way, he returns as he came, and imagining he slew *Selim* in every *Turk*, makes a horrible slaughter. At length, not wounded amidst so many swords, (which is wonderful,) but tir'd with wounding, and his breath failing through heat, he falls down dead among his slaughter'd foes.

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(31) *Burj Vaik*] A place near *Aleppo*, according to the Etymology, the Tower or Fortress of *Vaik*. For the *Turks* use to give the name of *Burj* or *Zodiack* metaphorically to the Turrets of their Fortresses, because as the *Zodiack* surrounds the Sphere, so do these the City, for instance, *Burji Calaa* the *Zodiacks* or Bulwarks surrounding the City.

XVIII. After

XVIII. After the victory, the inhabitants of *Aleppo* humbly meet *Selim* with their keys, who receives them very honorably, and presents a *Chylaat* (32) to each of the principal Citizens. The next *Friday*, going to the *Jami*, he hears his name mention'd in the Prayers, and commands the Reader, whilst yet in the Pulpit to be cloath'd with a vesture wrought in gold, and alms to be distributed liberally to not only the Ecclesiasticks but Persons of all conditions. This clemency caus'd not only the lesser Towns in that region to offer themselves to the Conqueror, but also the inhabitants of *Damascus* on *Selim*'s approach, to send their Elders to meet him and implore his mercy and goodness. These he receives not only with a pleasant countenance, but after twice reading their petition, promises to do every thing they desire.

He is possess'd of *Aleppo* and *Damascus*

XIX. After so many instances of clemency, *Selim* thought proper to gain the hearts of the superstitious people by some testimonies of his piety. Wherefore the first day of his entrance into *Damascus*, he orders divine service to be perform'd in the *Jami* call'd *Beni Umnie* (33), and prayers offer'd for his welfare. In the next place he religiously visits the Monument of the famous *Muhyddin* (34) without the walls of the

He discovers the Monument of *Sheikh Muhiddin*.

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(32) *Chylaat*] A Robe of various Colours, distinguish'd with a gold or silver border, and usually given by the Sultan, as a token of honour, to the Vizirs, Bashas, and Great Men or others at their entrance into their Office, or for some notable service or good news. There are three sorts of *Chylaat*, the first is *Chylaat fahire*, given only to Vizirs and Pashas of three *Tugs* However it is sometimes bestow'd on the *Roman* Emperor's Ambassador extraordinary, as to Count *Oetingen*, after the peace of *Carlovitz* After which, Monsieur *de Feriol* Ambassador extraordinary from the King of *France*, that his Master might not seem inferior to the Emperor, spar'd no pains or cost to be honourd with the *Chylaat*, but could never prevail. The *Czar*'s Ambassador *Peter Tolstoi*, though otherwise a great Favorite of the Prime Vizir *Chorluly* Ali Pasha*, met with the like repulse. This honour, though unsought, was for particular reasons not to be divulg'd, confer'd on me, when I was put in possession of the Principality of *Moldavia* by Sultan *Ahmed*. The second sort is the *Ala*, commonly given to Pashas, *Turkish* and *Christian* Princes, and Ambassadors extraordinary from *Christian* Potentates. The third sort, which is sometimes call'd *Evsath* (middle,) sometimes *Edna* (meaner,) is given to Persons of inferior rank. *Chylaat* is also commonly call'd *Caftan*.

(33) *Beni Umnie*] This is commonly said to be the name of the *Saracen* General, who first took *Damascus* from the *Christians*, and turn'd the famous Church there into a *Jami*, though the *Christians* ascribe that Expedition to *Omer*, *Mahomet*'s second Successor

(34) *Muhyddin*] *Chalife* of the *Saracens*, who first possess'd *Spain* and is undoubtedly the same whom the *Christian* Writers call *Musa* and say that by his General *Tarich* in the year of the *Hejira* 92, he first carried the arms of the *Saracens* into *Spain* For the Chronology agrees, since the *Arabic* Historians say *Muhyddin* yet reign'd in the year of the *Hejira* 99, (which coincides with the year of Christ 718,) in which year *Vasæus* relates that *Moses*, *Emir* of the *Saracens* suffer'd a great slaughter from *Pelagius* King of the *Asturias*. But where they had this name I cannot conjecture. It cannot be a firname, both because it is prophetical which the *Mahometans* use to add to the

the City. The old men could hardly remember to have heard their fathers mention the burial of this Hero, and the monument itself was not only laid in a vile place, but so cover'd with filth by such as were ignorant of the precious Relicts it contain'd, that it look'd more like a Dunghill than a religious place. *Selim* having express'd a due abhorrence of the impiety of the inhabitants, orders the place to be instantly cleans'd and finds a Marble-stone, with an inscription to this effect: *This is the Monument of* Sheikh Mohammed beni Arebi *Conqueror of* Spain. The Emperor being satisfied by this inscription that the Hero's body lay there, erects over the Monument a large *Kubbe*, and near it a *Jami* with an Hospital, where he orders the poor to be daily supplied with a sufficient quantity of meat and drink. He moreover exempts the charges from taxes, and confirms these constitutions with a *Chatisherif* (35). These pious works were, the *Turks* believe

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the first name, and because according to the nature of the language, *Muhyddin* is more like a sirname than *Musa* (*Moses*) And I can hardly believe it his proper name, since he is call'd in the Epitaph *Mohammed ben Arebi*. *Mohammed*, Successor of *Abdallah* Sultan of the *Saracens*, is also to be distinguish'd from him, in whose reign the *Saracens* defeated the fleet of the *Christians*, laid waste *Dalmatia*, burnt *Ancona*, but at last being about to take *Rome*, they were vanquish'd with great slaughter by the *Roman* Citizens at *Ostium* in the year of *Christ* 849.

(35) *Chatisherif*] *Holy Character*, under which appellation is properly compriz'd the Sultan's name, confirming any Mandate or Letter, and from thence the whole imperial Letter. Formerly such Mandates were wont to be penn'd by the Sultans themselves, and that in vulgar Schedules with the common Character, an instance whereof is the *Chatisherif* of Sultan *Mahomet* II, still extant in the Church of the *Virgin Mary*, *Maguliotissa*. But afterwards when the Luxury and Pride of the Emperors increas'd with the Bounds of the Empire, they deem'd it beneath the Imperial Majesty, that the Sultan should either write or sign a Mandate. Wherefore they appointed the *Nishanji Pasha*, who takes care of the Confirmation of the Imperial Mandates and inscribes the character of the Sultan's name artificially made, and commonly call'd *Turre*, not at the bottom as is customary to other Nations, but at the beginning over the first line of the Mandate. But if the Emperor intends a more than ordinary Confirmation over the *Turre* he uses to write with his own hand, *Mujibinje amel oluna*, that is, "According to the underwritten be it "done." Such a *Chatisherif* (usually call'd also *Chati humayun*, i e the sublime Character) is held in so great Veneration, not only during the Emperor's life, but even after his death, that no *Turk* dares to touch it before he has religiously kiss'd it with his Mouth and Forehead, and wip'd off the dust of it with both Cheeks, which I observ'd the Prime Vizir *Chorluly** *Ali Pasha* to do when I deliver'd him the *Chatisherif* of Sultan *Mahomet* II. It will not be improper to insert here for the sake of the curious the whole Mandate at large, which ran thus: "O thou who art allied to "Honour, *Subashi* of *Constantinople*, "since We out of our sublime clemency have granted to *Christodulus* the Architect, as a reward for "his perfect work, the Street call'd "*Kiuchuk** *Jafer*, Thou going to "the Temple *Maguliotissa*, describe "and mark it out with the adjacent "void places, and put the said "*Christodulus* in possession, giving "credit to this our sacred Mandate." From this writing, it may also be remark'd

believe (36) amply made up to *Selim*, since they ascribe to the virtues of this *Sheikh* and his favour with God the victories obtain'd in so large and powerful a Kingdom.

XX. When

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remark'd, that under Sultan *Mahomet Fatih* the manner us'd by the *Turks* in governing Cities was very different from what is now practis'd. For at that time one Imperial Mandate to the *Subashi* (an Officer now of the lowest order and little authority) was sufficient for what in our days cannot be effected without several Mandates, and the interposition of Persons of other orders. For if but a single House be granted to any man by the Sultan, it is notified by a *Chatisherif* to the Prime Vizir, who, if the House is in the middle of the City, sends a Mandate to the *Mimar Aga* or chief Architect, by which he is order'd to go and measure the House, and describe the Rooms and Court yard in a particular manner. But if the House be near the Walls of the City, the Mandate is directed to the *Shehremini* or Inspector of the Walls and Streets. And whether the *Mimar Aga* or the *Shehremini* execute the orders, he sends for the *Naib* or Deputy of the Judge of *Constantinople* or *Pera* (if the House be in that City) and by him sends the description and delineation of the House to *Istambol Effendisi* or supreme Judge of *Constantinople*. Lastly, A Copy of the Mandate and the Architect's description are laid up in the Archives, call'd by the *Turks*, *Sigyl*, and thus the possession of the House is confirm'd to the Person, to whom it was granted by the Sultan.

(36) *Turks* believe.] Though it is the common opinion of the *Turks* that the Souls of the Deceased can give no assistance to the Living, yet we read in the best *Mahometan* Divines, that the Dead appeas'd by the Prayers of the Living, interceed with God to grant their Petitions. They likewise own it to be meritorious and decent to reverence departed Saints, and religiously visit their Monuments. But they are chiefly commanded by their Law to invoke the names of *Mahomet* and his Successors, as *Ya* † *Muhammed! Ya Ebubekir! Ya Omer! Ya Othman! Ya Ali!* and write them on boards in very neat Characters, which they hang up in the *Jami* and other Buildings, and also describe them in large letters against the walls in the following manner. In the middle of the board they describe *Mahomet*, namely, that he had a ruddy Countenance, long Visage, straight Nose, blewish Eyes, black Beard eight inches long, broad Chest, slender Waste, round Hands, long Fingers, streight Legs, broad Feet, with longish Toes, *&c.* Though *Mahomet's* picture might easily be drawn by this description, it is unlawful to paint any thing but his hands and feet, to draw any other part is reckon'd a sin. But the *Persians* are not so superstitious, they paint whole Pictures, and commonly insert them in their Historical Writings. Of this I saw an instance in a *Persian* Book which I had at *Constantinople*, containing the History of the *Persians* from the Creation to *Shah Ismail*, wherein the Portraitures of all the Prophets and Emperors were drawn, though not with great symmetry, yet with great elegance. Among the *Turkish* Emperors, only *Murad* IV. who conquer'd *Babylon* and was given to wine, order'd the walls of his bed chambers in the Palace to be adorn'd with painted pictures, but even these were eras'd by his successors. There is a single house on the *Bosphorus* near the village call'd *Beicozi*, in which still remain some Pictures drawn by that Emperor's command, namely, of men hunting and shooting at wolves, stags, and also eating and drinking and the like. But the *Turks* firmly believe that Angels can enter no house where are dogs or portraitures of men. Wherefore they preserve no face-paintings, unless of the Emperors, whose Pictures for many ages have been carefully kept in the

† O

He beheads Huſan Paſha

XX. When he had thus ſpent ſome days in civil and ſacred affairs, he leads his forces big with the hopes of victory towards *Cairo.* In this march

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Sultanic Library, from whence with good preſents, by means of my friends at Court, I got them to be copied by the Sultan's *Muſevvir* or chief Painter *Levni Chelebi**, and have them ſtill by me†. Whilſt I am writing theſe things, a diſcourſe I once had with a learned *Turk* concerning Pictures occurs to my memory He objected to us that even at this day we worſhip Idols and Images and Pictures the works of men's hands. When I told him there was no difference between a *Muſulman* and a *Chriſtian* as to the worſhip of images, he wonder'd and declared his abhorrence of image worſhip To which I replied, I would prove my aſſertion if he would liſten to me "Don't you, (ſaid I) on your Tables deſcribe in gold Letters the "make and ſhape of your Prophet? "Don't you paint in lively colours his "hands and feet with the Roſe which "you ſay ſprung from *Mahomet*'s "ſweat as it was dropping to the "ground? Don't you inſcribe on Tables of wood or gold the names of "the *Asbabi* (that is of *Mahomet*'s four "ſucceſſors) and hang them up on "the walls of your *Jami* and Houſes "towards *Kible* (the region looking "towards *Mecca* between the Eaſt and "South) and when you riſe in the "morning, don't you, after ſaying "your prayers, devoutly kiſs them "and wipe off the duſt with your "face? Now when you do this in honour to them whoſe names are "mention'd in the Tables, do you "pay this reverence or worſhip to the "Colours, Lines, or Tables? Not at "all, ſays he" Whereupon I replied. "But if any *Turk* or *Chriſtian* ſhould "ſpit upon or otherwiſe ſhow his "contempt of theſe Tables, does "not your law pronounce ſuch a "perſon worthy of death? Without "doubt anſwered he." Then ſaid I, "It is the ſame with us *Chriſtians* in "reſpect of the worſhip of Images "For we worſhip neither the image "nor the wood nor any work of "man's hand, but reverence the perſon repreſented by the Image. If "ſo, replies he, it is certainly wrong "to call *Chriſtians Put pereſt* or Idol-"worſhippers. Admiring the candidneſs of the *Turk*, I ventur'd to add, "Is not your Prophet's Tooth "preſerv'd in the Royal Treaſury, "which you deem ineſtimable, and "the Sultan himſelf with great reverence, every year before the firſt "day of *Ramazan*, offers to be kiſs'd "by the Great men after publick "prayers on the occaſion? Do you "not religiouſly keep *Mahomet's Sanjak* or Standard and *Hircai Sherif* "or Holy Robe, the border of "which you dip every year at the "ſame time in water, and think that "water to be hallow'd and incorruptible, calling it *Abi hircai Sherif*, "the water of the Holy Robe, and "diſtributing it to the Great-men "that on faſt days at Sun-ſet, they "may infuſe one drop of it into a "large draught of water, with "which after thrice taſting they "quench their thirſt, by drinking it "at once? Don't you reverence, "preſerve, and worſhip the Tooth "of your Prophet though dead? "ſince theſe things are openly done "by you, tell me I pray, whether "you honour an inanimate thing, as "a Tooth, or Water for its own ſake, "or in reference to your Prophet's "immaculate Spirit (which you "talk off) and his Truſt in God?" "Certainly, ſays he, all theſe things "refer to him, for whoſe ſake they "are accounted Holy and ſanctifying." Wherefore I concluded with ſaying, "Much leſs can *Chriſtians* "be charg'd with idolatry, ſince "they refer the honour paid to the "Images and Relicts of Saints primarily to God himſelf, and but "ſecondarily

† The [illegible] that are publiſhed with [illegible] Tranſlation

march when he was come to a certain place call'd by the Inhabitants *Chani yunus* (37), and there talk'd familiarly with his officers, *Hiusan Pasha*, one of his Vizirs, with more boldness than prudence, asks him, " Most auspicious Emperor when shall we enter *Cutbutur Cats* (38)?" The Emperor perceiving his too great familiarity with his friends bred contempt, replies, " We shall enter indeed when God " pleases, but for thee it is my pleasure that thou stay here." And upon these words, orders his head to be instantly struck off.

He visits *Kudsherif* and takes some Cities † *Jerusalem*

XXI. From thence he marches to *Gaza*, where hearing *Kudsherif* † was not far off, he was extremely desirous to see a City, the fountain of so many Prophets, and the scene of so many miracles. Accordingly he goes thither with a few Attendants, and in three days performing what Religion requir'd, he returns to his army at *Gaza*. Then he pursues his march directly to *Elkair* (39), and by the way takes *Sifidulbahr* (40) and *Chanuljuni*. But he did not think it adviseable to place there any Garrisons, because these towns would not shake off his yoke if Conqueror, and if vanquish'd, would not be a safe retreat. Wherefore leaving only such as were disabled by wounds or the length of the march, he goes on. When the people of *Gaza* see this, and imagining the Emperor would never return but be cut off with his whole army by the sword of the *Chercassians**, they kill the sick and their Physicians committed to their trust.

Vanquishes the *Chercassians**

XXII. The fresh efforts of the *Chercassians** for the defense of the Kingdom had perhaps prompted the Inhabitants of *Gaza* to rebellion. For those who had escap'd out of the former battle when they come to *Cairo* call a Council, and creating *Tumanbai* King, sprung from their noblest family, style him in the inauguration *Muluk Eshref* (41), and swear either to defend the Empire from *Selim*'s unjust tyranny or die valiantly fighting, and sell their lives and extensive dominion as dear

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" secondarily to the Prototype or Person represented. For they do not " worship Saints, as Saints, or Holy " Men, but as God's Servants or as " they may be call'd, God's Saints." This plain and intelligible explication of our Doctrine pleas'd the *Turk* but could not reclaim him from his Error

(37) *Chani yunus*] *John*'s Inn. I can't say, whether they believe this to be the House of *John* the Prophet.

(38) *Cutbutur Cats*] A village or suburbs of *Cairo*, and seems to have been some narrow and difficult place, but in what quarter I can't find.

(39) *Elkair*] It is commonly by our Countrymen falsely writ *Alkair*, so *Alkoran* instead of *Elkuran*. This is the chief City of *Egypt*, and universally known, call'd also by the name of *Mysr*. I purposely omit the *Turkish* Fables concerning this City and *Joseph* πάγκαλος, since they are largely set forth in many books publish'd of the *Egyptian* affairs.

(40) *Sifidulbahr* &c.] Properly signifies *White Sea*. These are two Cities whose antient names are to me unknown. For I have not yet been able to discover all the old appellations of the eastern Cities, which for so many ages have been conceal'd under the modern barbarous names.

(41) *Muluk Eshref*] that is, Most Holy, or Most Auspicious.

as possible. Under this General, they assemble all the remains of the *Chercassians** with some auxiliary troops of wandering *Arabs*, prepare great guns and other warlike Engines, and with a select army of about forty thousand men incamp in a place call'd *Ridanie*, fortifying themselves with various stratagems, in expectation that *Selim*, flush'd with his former success, would instantly attack their camp, and by being taken in their toils afford them an easy victory. But *Selim*, inform'd of their snares by his spies, as he was superior in number, orders part of his forces to march round the enemies camp near Mount *Jebeli Maktab* (42) and at a given signal to fall on their rear. So in the first days (43) of the month *Jemaziul evvel* in the year 923 was fought such a bloody and obstinate battle, the *Chercassians** being surrounded on all sides, as can hardly be describ'd. The *Chercassians** are frequently overpower'd by numbers, sometimes repell'd, and as often renew the charge, the King himself fighting always in the front and animating his soldiers by his example. The battle is continued some time with broken ranks, when at last *Tumanbai* sees part of his men taken, part slain, and victory no way to be gain'd, with a select band as a body-guard, he opens a passage with his sword through the thickest of his enemies, and flies to *Sheikh Areb* Son of *Becaar* (44). Thus the *Turks*, though not with-

H 923
A C 1517.

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(42) *Jebeli Maktab*] I think it should be *Machtab*, not *Maktab*, which signifies a Hill or Mount, on which the Monuments of the Antients and the famous Pyramids are plac'd

(43) first days &c] The *Turks* are wont in letters and especially in imperial mandates to set down sometimes the days of the whole month, sometimes to divide the month into three decads, and if any thing is dated in the first ten days, they say *Evvailinde* (in the first days,) if in the second decad, *Evasitynde* (in the middle days,) if in the third decad, *Evachirinde* (in the last days) of the month Thus *Jemaziul evveli evvailinde*, in the first days of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, that is, on some day of that month between the first and the tenth And so of the rest.

(44) *Sheikh Areb* &c] He seems to have been one of the *Arabian Sheikhs* or Prelates, who are more concern'd in the ecclesiastical than civil form of Government, and pretend to be the lawful successors of *Mahomet* Of these there are seven races chiefly celebrated among the *Turks*, whose names I have forgot. For I live in a Climate destitute not only of *[illegible]*, but all polite learning, where the name of a compleat Library, much less the thing itself is not to be found But however it may from hence be inferr'd that these *Sheikhs* are highly reverenc'd by the Emperor himself, because their head, (who resides at *Mecca*, and though he is confirm'd by the Sultan, yet transmits his dignity to his Children) whenever he writes to the Sultan after the enumeration of his other proud Titles, calls him the Prophet's and his *Vekilimuz* (or Vicar) in the Empire of the World He is said to use the same form in his letters to the Emperor of *India*. I saw one of these *Sheikhs* when he came to Sultan *Mustapha* Brother of the present Emperor (who was then in a Tent in a village call'd *Akbunar* near *Adrianople*) sit all the while and familiarly converse with him He was lodg'd with *Cherkes* Mehemed Aga* Master of the imperial Stables, an intimate friend of mine, who told me that this *Sheikh* whenever he talk'd of the Sultan, us'd to call him his *Bizum vekil*, Vicegerent or Lieutenant.

out

out the slaughter of their men, obtain a complete victory. On the *Turkish* side fell the chief Hero of his age, the renowned General *Sinan Pasha*, whose death was so grievous to *Selim*, that he is said long after the taking of *Cairo* to lament in this manner: *Mysri aldyk emma yusufi aldyrdyk, Yusuf siz, Mysr-den ne olur!* "*Egypt* have I taken, but *Joseph* "have I lost, without *Joseph* what signifies *Egypt*?"

He first use, *Tumanbai* honorably, and afterwards hangs him

XXIII. Thus so fertile a Province seem'd to be subjected to the *Othman* Empire, but King *Tumanbai*, who was still alive and ready in the neighbourhood for any commotion, inspir'd a fear of losing it. He was known to be fled to the *Arabians*, and there to wait *Selim*'s departure out of *Egypt* in order to attempt a change. Wherefore to prevent the danger threaten'd from that quarter, he sends ambassadors with noble Presents to *Sheikh Areb* Son of *Becaar*, desiring him to deliver up his fugitive enemy, and advising him rather to gain his friendship by good offices than incur his indignation by fruitless obstinacy. *Sheikh* either fearing *Selim*'s power or gain'd by his Presents, shamefully delivers up *Tumanbai*, whom he had taken into protection, contrary to the law of Nations, and particularly against the *Arabic Rai* (45). But the bravery which could not affect the mind of a base friend, appeas'd the wrath of a generous enemy. For *Selim*, when the King was brought bound into his presence and his fortitude plainly seen, could not refrain

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(45) *Arabic Rai*] *Rai Arebi*, with the *Turks*, *Emam*, vulgarly *amam*, but the *Arabic* word is most us'd. With the *Italians* it is *Parola*, (with the *English* and *French*, *Parole*) the given word of security, peace, covenant, protection, as *Berai* of the *Arabians*, which with the *Turks* is, *El emam uzre*, Securely! Mercy! Quarter! But the *Arabians* boast themselves to be of all Mortals the strictest observers of their *Parole*, and perhaps, very justly. For if any one even in the heat of a battle kills a man to whom the *Rai* was given, he is by the Laws of the *Arabians* punishable with death. If they have taken an enemy (for they are continually at variance amongst themselves) they give him the *Rai*, and draw a circle round him, with a command not to stir out of it, which he dares not do, though he should perish with hunger or thirst. But the Conquerors acquaint the Enemies that such a one is taken and in such a place included within the *Rai* circle, wherefore if they will release him they must pay the ransom promis'd by him. Which being done, some one of the Tribe which had taken the Prisoner, goes to him and erazes the circle with his foot, whereupon he is free. But being once within the circle he cannot purchase his liberty but by paying the ransom. For though his Fellow-soldiers afterwards rout the enemies and have it in their power to free the Captive from the circle, yet if he dare go out of the circle without the consent of the person to whom he had given the *Rai*, he will be accounted all his life, both by friends and foes, a man of no honour, neither will he be able ever after to regain his credit by any action. But if he has dar'd to go out of the circle himself and run away, he is by his own countrymen sent back bound to his Enemies, to be sentenc'd either to death or perpetual slavery as they shall think fit, nor can he be redeem'd at any rate. For, say they, a man, who values life more than *Rai*, is unworthy of liberty, neither is he to be called a man, much less an *Arab*.

giving him liberty, and bidding him daily eat at his table. Thus *Tumanbai* having purchas'd his freedom with his virtue, convers'd publickly and privately with *Selim*, and inform'd him of the ſtate of the *Egyptian* affairs, with the laws, genius, and manners of the people. But the miſerable *Tumanbai* ſhortly after demonſtrated by his ſad example how fortune ſports in human affairs. *Selim* could not but admire his heroical virtues, ſingular fortitude, ſound counſels, and grave manners. He thought it baſe to put ſuch a man to death, and as he ſeem'd to free him from all danger, he had reſolv'd to take him into his friendſhip and ſet him over the Kingdom of *Egypt*. Whilſt he was thinking on theſe things, it was talk'd among the people that *Tumanbai* had found great favour with the Emperor and obtain'd the Government of *Egypt*, and therefore it was hop'd that with the remains of the *Chercaſſians** and *Arabians*, he would, ſoon after *Selim*'s departure, expell his garriſons and reſtore the *Chercaſſian** dominion. Theſe diſcourſes could not be conceal'd from *Selim*, a watchful obſerver not only of what was done, but of what was ſaid: he was unwilling however to give credit to the reports, as thinking them rais'd by enemies. At laſt, when by the continuance of the rumour he ſuſpected ſome treachery, he order'd the ſon of *Sheikh Suvar Alibeg*, whoſe father had been lately faſten'd to an iron hook by the *Chercaſſians**, to hang up the miſerable King in the gate of *Cairo*, call'd *Zavil*, with theſe words: " How great " my mercy was, is already declar'd, but what the malignant ſpeeches " of the vulgar though on his ſide can effect, let the wretch himſelf " experience." The order is gladly executed by *Alibeg* as it gave him an opportunity to revenge the murder of his father, and the unfortunate *Tumanbai* hang'd on the 10th of *Rebiul evvel* in the year before mentioned, in the Gate *Zavil*. The terror infus'd into the *Egyptians* by this unexpected death of their King, is inexpreſſible. They who before with conceal'd indignation bore his unjuſt dominion, now run all in a ſuppliant manner to *Selim*, intreat his clemency and promiſe perpetual and faithful ſervice to the *Othman* race. The Emperor pardons them on the condition that if they know of any lurking *Chercaſſian** they would inſtantly produce him in bonds. He had ſcarce made this declaration, when the common people, greedy of novelty, in expectation of obtaining pardon, ſearch every where for the *Chercaſſians** their former Lords, and drag them bound to *Selim* to be butcher'd. The next day, *Selim* orders a Theater with a Throne on it to be erected without the City on the bank of the *Nile*, and all the Priſoners to be beheaded in his preſence, and their bodies thrown into the river. Their number is ſaid to exceed thirty thouſand. The ſecond day after, in order to humble entirely the minds of the vanquiſh'd by a demonſtration of his power, he makes a triumphant entry into *Cairo*, but after a few hours ſtay departs the ſame day, and pitching his tents in a place near the *Nile* call'd *Ruza*, allows his forces ſome time for refreſhment. A

certain witty *Arabic* poet has mark'd the Epocha of this butchery in the following line:

Hui ſhevi Sultan Selim!
Alas! this is Sultan Selim!

XXIV. The ſame year, on the ſeventh day of *Jemaziul evvel*, he marches to attack *Iskenderie* (46), which avoiding the Conqueror's indignation by a ſurrender, he ſettles the affairs of that city, and returns to the inland parts of *Egypt*, from whence, having made *Chairbeg* Governor of the Kingdom, he begins his march in the month *Shaban* towards *Conſtantinople*. In his way, to revenge the perfidiouſneſs of the inhabitants of *Goza*, he put them all to the ſword without diſtinction of age or ſex, and raz'd their City to the ground. Afterwards going to *Damaſcus* he delivers that City with the other adjacent towns in *Paleſtine* and *Syria* to be govern'd by *Gazelibeg* according to agreement. In ſhort, within the ſpace of one year, and in the ſame expedition, *Selim* added more territories to his Empire than any of his Predeceſſors had been able to ſubdue in their whole reign. For he not only conquered all the dominions of the *Chercaſſians** in *Aſia* and *Egypt*, but alſo reduc'd to his obedience as it were by the by, other ſtrong and famous Cities of *Aſia*, *Malatye*, *Dierbegi*, *Derende*, *Behtiſi*, *Kierkieh*, *Kiachte*, *Berejik*, *Antab*, *Antakie* (47). Beſides theſe even the Sherif of *Mecca* (48) brought the Keys of his City to *Selim* whilſt he was about *Cairo*, and openly acknowledg'd his Sovereignty. Whereupon he was honorably receiv'd by *Selim*, who appointed his ſon, famous for virtue, piety, and learning, his ſucceſſor in the principality. By this man the tribes of the wild *Arabians*, (*Beni Ibrahim* (49), *Beni Sevalem*,

He takes *Alexandria*, and ſubjects the *Arabians*

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(46) *Iskenderie*] *Alexandria*, a moſt noted Mart of *Egypt*, much frequented by foreign Ships, built by *Alexander the Great*, and given for an Habitation to the *Greeks*.

(47) *Malatye*, &c.] Of theſe Cities *Malatye*, *Derende*, *Berejik*, *Antab*, and *Antakie* or *Antioch*, are indeed pretty large, but the reſt are rather Towns than Cities.

(48) Sherif of *Mecca*] He was before *Selim*, a Sovereign Prince, and govern'd *Mecca* and ſome other *Arabian* Cities with abſolute power. But from *Selim*'s time he has acknowledg'd the *Turkiſh* Emperors for Guardians and Protectors of the Muſulman affairs.

(49) *Beni Ibrahim*] There are above ſeventy Nations or Tribes ſprung from different Branches, which however all boaſt their extraction from *Abraham*, and range the ſpacious Deſarts of *Arabia* with unſettled habitations. All ſpeak *Arabic*, but in ſo different a dialect, that they can hardly underſtand one another. Hence the *Arabic* Tongue is juſtly call'd the moſt copious and almoſt boundleſs. For the ſame word ſignifies a hundred things of a very different Nature, and the ſame thing is expreſs'd by as many words which have not the leaſt analogy to each other. Moreover there is ſcarce any quality of a thing but what procures its ſubject a peculiar appellation. *Meninskius*'s *Theſaurus* of the oriental Languages affords numberleſs inſtances, which to copy is foreign to my purpoſe. Of the Flowers of all theſe Dialects the *Koran* is compos'd, and from thence it was believ'd by its followers

lem, *Beni Ata*, *Beni Assyie*, and *Beni Saad*, with many others (50), to whose very names I am a stranger, who inhabit the Desarts between *Mecca*

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followers to be penn'd in a divine not human Language. For neither can any of these Tribes understand the whole, nor will any the most learned of the *Arabians* pretend to explain all the words. They add a pleasant story on this subject, which is firmly believed by them. They say, that in *Mahomet*'s time the *Arabic* Tongue was arriv'd to the greatest perfection, and very elegant poets flourish'd, who, as in the *Olympic* Games, when any one produc'd a witty distich, af fix'd it to a Pillar in the Forum erected for that purpose. To answer this with an opposite distich *Nazyrè*, three months space was allow'd to some other Poet. On the appointed day all the Poets assembled and examining each performance, gave the preeminence to him whose distich was most approv'd of, and call'd him Prince of Poets, honoring him also with a new *Machlase* or firname. *Mahomet* taking the opportunity of this custom, fix'd up also on the Pillar one of the *Nazmi's* or Verses of the *Koran*, which all the Poets labour'd for nine months to answer, but the victory was unanimously assign'd to *Mahomet*, his verse declar'd divinely inspir'd, and his Doctrine from thenceforward embrac'd

(50) Many others] Among the rest were the Monks inhabiting Mount *Sinai*. Of these something very particular is related, which, since I don't think it mention'd any where but in a fabulous treatise of a *Sinaitish* Monk, I shall here insert. They say, though fabulously, that *Mahomet* being of mean birth, us'd to drive in his youth hir'd Camels from place to place. In these journies, as he one day approach'd Mount *Sinai*, the Abbot saw a cloud hovering over *Mahomet*'s head as he lay asleep in the open field, and defending it as it were from the Sun-beams. The Abbot thence conjecturing there was something more in the Youth than was promis'd by his outward appearance, because so singular an omen, in his opinion, could only happen to the future Lord of those Regions, and therefore he went and saluted him very civilly, inviting him into his room and bidding him take his rest quietly. When he thought he had gain'd his good-will by all kind of civilities, he ask'd him, if ever he should become Sovereign of those parts what his pleasure would be concerning the Monks? *Mahomet* answer'd, "He "would free them as *Rubban*, (*Keepers* "*of Life* or *Course*) dispers'd through "the World from all Tribute, and "hold them in great honour" He gave him this promise in an *Arabic* writing, and confirm'd it, for want of a Seal, with the Palm of his hand dipt in ink and impress'd on the Paper Long after, when Sultan *Selim* was in *Egypt*, the Abbot of Mount *Sinai* humbly came to him with *Mahomet*'s true or forged Instrument, which the Emperor purchased of the Monks for four thousand Gold Crowns, with a declaration of their being free from all Tribute, and a confirmation by his *Chatisherif* of this and their other privileges. *Selim*'s Charter as translated out of *Arabic* into *Turkish* I read at *Adrianople*, and remember it to be as follows "Since the Monks of Mount *Sinai* "are come to our sublime *Divan*, "and have humbly represented, that "*Muhammed el Mustapha*, God's "Holy Prophet, (on whom be "Peace and Health) being heretofore by their Monastery hospitably receiv'd in his travails, and according to their slender abilities "ador'd with all kind of honour "and reverence, graciously exempted this community of *Nazaræan* "Monks from their annual Tribute, "and in confirmation of it was "pleas'd to give an Holy writing "signed with his own hand, after "his Example We also out of our "great clemency do ordain that "the forementiond Monks be free "from the yearly Tribute paid by "the rest, and be suffer'd without "molestation

Mecca, Cairo, and *Damascus*) were induc'd to subject themselves voluntarily to *Selim*, and deliver him a writing for a testimony of their fidelity, with some of their principal countrymen in hostage.

XXV. Whilst he was returning from this expedition, and was now arriv'd at *Aleppo*, in the month *Ramazan* of the year 925, he is met by a *Persian* Ambassador sent under the pretence of friendship to deceive the Sultan, and by a feigned submission divert the storm which threaten'd the Kingdom of *Persia*. To gain his ends the more easily, besides noble presents worthy both Emperors, he tries to sooth the ambitious *Selim* with the addition of new titles, and flatteringly styles him, *Shehin Shahi Alem, ve Sahib Kyrani beni Adem* (51), that is, "The Emperor of Emperors, and sole Conqueror (or Autocrator) of "the sons of *Adam*."

Receives an Ambassador from the *Persian* King. H. 925. A. C. 1519.

XXVI. So many and great victories, such flattering congratulations, not only from the vanquish'd Nations, but also from the neighbouring Princes, swell'd *Selim* with such Pride, that as if he was now Sovereign of the whole World, he look'd with disdain on earthly Kingdoms, and even imagin'd that cœlestial ones, if they could be reach'd, were to yield to his sword. Wherefore, after his triumphant entrance into *Constantinople* amidst the people's acclamations, he publickly binds himself the next year (as if the unconstant fortune of war had been at his command) by an oath (52) not to recede till he had entirely subverted

Selim's Pride and Death

H. 926. A. C. 1520.

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"Molestation to enjoy their Churches "and Rites according to their obsolete Law. To this end, we have "graciously order'd them an authentick copy of the Instrument of "God's Holy Prophet, confirm'd "by our Inscription. We therefore "enjoin every Person exercising dominion or jurisdiction throughout "our whole Kingdom, not to burthen the said Monks of the Tribe "of *Jesus* with Tribute or other Political contributions. And whoever shall act contrary to our *Chatisherif* and Mandate, know that "he shall be certainly punish'd and "chastis'd. Given at *Cairo*, &c." 'Tis certain the exemption of these Monks from Tribute remain'd in force through all the *Turkish* dominions till the time of *Soliman* II. Great-Uncle of the present Emperor, when the *Turks* began to collect the *Haraj* upon them, and that by means of *Kiuprili ogli Mustafa Pasha*, who made no scruple to charge the whole *Diploma* with forgery. To prevent this, some of the Monks of Mount *Sinai* were sent to *Adrianople* with the instrument of Exemption, in whose hands I both read and transcrib'd it. They indeed preserv'd by their petitions to themselves and Society, a freedom from Tribute, but could not prevail for the rest of the Monasteries.

(51) *Shehin* &c.] Though all the *Turkish* Emperor's Titles are very lofty, yet *Zilullah*, *God's Shadow*, is accounted higher than the rest, because given, as I have observ'd, by the King of *Persia*. However at Court, when mention is made of the Sultan, these are never us'd, but the common appellations are, *Padishahi Alem penah*, Emperor, Refuge, or Protector of the World, and *Aliothman Padishahi*, Emperor of the Sons of *Othman*. For by this means they pretend to show, that the whole race of *Turks* acknowledge no other fountain of Nobility, than their first Emperor *Othman*.

(52) Oath.] The *Turks* believe, their Emperor can say or think nothing, unless by divine instinct, and therefore

verted the rival Empire of the *Persians*, and utterly extinguish'd a Nation perfidious to God and hateful to man, in a belief that he should afterwards subdue also, without obstacle, the *Christian* Princes. But how deceitful are man's designs without God, and how frail is a clod of Earth when swoln with pride, the supreme Governor of the universe demonstrated for a warning to others by the following Instance. Want of money, both the external and internal Treasuries (53) being exhausted in the *Egyptian* expedition, obliges *Selim* to defer the first year his intended war, and turn his thoughts to raising new supplies upon the conquer'd dominions. As this proceeded also the next year more slowly than he wish'd, and as by the approach of winter he sees the time for warlike expeditions to be over, he resolves to visit the monuments of his Ancestors at *Adrianople*. To this end, he sends all his Great men before, except *Ferhad Pasha* his sister's husband, who was *Caimecam Pasha* (54), and departs from *Constantinople*. In this journey,

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therefore what he confirms with an Oath, ought and may be done, but how false these notions are, experience has often demonstrated.

(53) External &c.] The *Turks* have two Treasuries and two Coffers, in which the publick Money is kept The *Defterdar* or High Treasurer (mention'd in a former note) presides over the external, call'd *Dishchazine*. This money is call'd *beitulmali Muslimin*, or the publick money of the Musulmans, of which the Emperor himself without the utmost necessity cannot expend any part at his pleasure, nor put to his private use without danger. For whenever he does so, the people always murmur, and sometimes openly rebel *Ich* chazine*, or the internal, is also call'd the Imperial Treasure, which the Sultan may use as he pleases without the least murmur or obstacle Over this presides the *Hasnadar bashi*, who in the women's Apartment is next in degree to *Kyzlar Agasi*. For he is also an Eunuch, and usually succeeds upon a vacancy to the Place of the *Kyzlar Aga*. In my time there were yearly brought into the two Treasuries twenty seven thousand Purses, each containing five hundred Rixdolars.

(54) *Caimecam Pasha*] He is the Prime Vizir's Lieutenant, and created by the Sultan out of the Vizirs enjoying the privilege of three Horse-tails. When the Emperor is at *Constantinople* or *Adrianople*, the *Caimecam* has no Authority, nor, like the rest of the Vizirs, has he any thing to do in publick affairs, except to advise. But if the Sultan be only eight hours absent from the City, his Authority is almost the same with the Prime Vizir's. Moreover when the Emperor undertakes any expedition, tho' the Vizir be present, a *Caimecam* is appointed, who, on the Vizir's departing from the Emperor eight hour's space, has full power to act, ordain, alter, any thing except that he can't derogate from the Vizir's Mandate, nor depose or behead the old Pasha's I observ'd there was never a good understanding between the Prime Vizir and the *Caimecam* For Agreement between Rivals in power is rare. Besides this, there is another *Caimecam*, to whom the Emperor, when he goes to *Adrianople* or on some expedition, commits the care of the Royal City He is indeed next to a Vizir in degree, but in authority on the same foot with a Pasha in his Government, except however, that in what relates to administring justice and civil affairs, he can do nothing without the Prime-Vizir's Mandate. He has for assistants, though of an inferior degree, *Bostanji bashi* or Superintendent of the Royal *Serai*† and Gardens, with the Suburbs without the walls, and *Segban bashi*

† *Palace*

journey, he had scarce reach'd the village *Suashtdy* (55), when he perceives his blood to be in a ferment, and himself seiz'd with a light fever. Next day there appears in his thigh a mortal imposthume, which so tormented and weaken'd him, that all the sinews of his body and feet (56) were contracted and dried. The Imposthume was indeed open'd by a skilful Surgeon, and remedies applied to remove the malignity of the distemper, but his death was perceiv'd to be inevitable; for the obstinate ulcer baffled the care of the Physicians, and so infected his whole body with a pestilential poison, that after forty days of torture rather than of sickness, the splendor of the *Othman* Empire expir'd on *Sunday* the ninth day of *Shevval* about Sun-set.

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bashi the next to *Yenguber** *Agasi*, or *Aga* of the Janizaries, and General of the Foot, to whom the custody of the City, and command of its Garrison is committed. By these three persons the whole civil government of the city is manag'd. But the ecclesiastical is under the care of *Istambol Effendisi*, Judge of the Clergy, and next in degree to the two *Cadileskers*, one of whom (as I have said) is universal Judge of ecclesiastical affairs in *Europe*, the other in *Asia*.

(55) *Suashtdy*] i. e. He has swam over the river. The name of a Village on the road (tho' not the great one) from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*. They say this name happen'd to the Village on the following occasion. A little river runs by the Village, which swells in such manner by the melted snows and Autumnal rains, that it overflows all the adjacent fields, and renders it very difficult for Travellers to pass. A certain inferior tho' very rich Pasha, to remedy this inconvenience, builds a very handsome stone-bridge over the River. When *Bajazet* II, *Selim*'s Father, came with his whole army to this place, he wonders to see a stately Bridge, and desires to know the Builder. When he was in his presence, *Bajazet* desires him to receive the money he had expended, and grants him the reward to be expected in the next world for so great a benefit to Mortals. (It must be observ'd according to the Law of the *Koran*, a man may either give or sell to another all his good Works, Charities, Buildings erected to the Glory of God or Benefit of Mankind, so as the reward which he merits of God in the life to come, passes to the Purchaser.) The Builder affirms he can't do it, because he had no other work to qualify him to appear before the divine Majesty. For, says he, I did not build this Bridge to gain the applause of Man, but for the publick advantage and the salvation of my Soul. The Sultan thrice renewing his intreaties, is as often denied by the Pasha. Inrag'd at this refusal, *Bajazet* puts the Pasha to death, rushes with his Guards on horseback into the rapid Torrent, and with great danger of his life swims over, ordering the rest of the army to stay till the Waters were abated, and at the same time pronouncing this *Beit* or Distich.

Minet ile Kokma giuli al Eline Susami
Giechme namerd Kioprisini Ko aparsun su seni*

That is,

It is better to carry Pepperwort than smell to a Rose got by intreaties. Pass not over the Bridge of a sordid discourteous man; it is better to be swallow'd up by the Waters.

(56) Feet] The *Turks* seem here to reflect on *Selim*'s oath, that he would not draw back his foot till he had subdued the whole *Persian* Empire. And that therefore the divine vengeance first punish'd his feet by the contraction of the Sinews, as well to humble the Pride of the Man as to demonstrate its Justice.

XXVII. When

Conceal'd by the Vizirs

XXVII. When *Selim* had thus render'd famous by his death a village before little known, *Ferhad Pasha*, who alone had staid with him, conceals the Emperor's decease from the people, but tells what had happen'd to the rest of the Vizirs, who were anxiously waiting his coming to *Adrianople*, intreating them to feign him alive, and transact affairs in his name, least any commotion should arise before the successor's arrival. Moreover he acquaints *Soliman*, *Selim*'s son, who then resided at *Trapezond*, with his father's death, and advises him to come with speed and assume the reins of the Government. *Soliman* upon the receit of the letter hastens to *Constantinople*: Which being known, the Vizirs openly declare the Emperor's death, dismiss the army, and all except *Mustapha Pasha*, who is left alone to guard the Treasury, go with the whole imperial Court to the royal City to adore their new Sovereign.

Soliman is saluted Emperor

H. 926

A. C. 1520

XXVIII. Thus all the Vizirs, cloath'd in mourning, salute *Soliman* Emperor at his arrival at *Constantinople* in the last days (57) of *Shevval* in the year 926, and express their grief for his father's untimely death. *Soliman* himself the same day in the afternoon goes out to meet his father's funeral with all his Courtiers, and conducts the body in great pomp to the *Jami* built by *Mahomet* Conqueror of the City, and there orders it to be interr'd. The following Epitaph is inscrib'd on his Tomb,

Beka Mulkine azm idup Sefer kyldy budir Tarich Koup Sultan Selim baky jihan Mulkin Sulimane. " This year Sultan *Selim* departed " to an everlasting Kingdom, leaving the Empire of the World to " *Soliman.*"

Selim's Character

XXIX. Thus fell *Selim*, the Defender of the *Othman* Empire, after he had reigned nine years and eight months, and liv'd fifty four The years of his Reign indeed were few, but such whose acts are hardly to be parallell'd. For by his diligence and valour, not only the *Asiatic* Provinces were freed from all incursions of the Enemies, but ample room given to his successors by the establishment of the East, to increase their dominion to the West. He had all the qualifications of a Hero, with an able head, strong arm, and great contrivance; he was indefatigable where the safety of the state was concern'd, very fit to manage affairs, and extremely quick-sighted in discovering hidden factions and other practices. He frequently walk'd in disguise about the forum, streets, camp, night and day, and whatever he perceiv'd contrary to the publick good or his laws, he punish'd severely. Where he could not go in person, he sent his spies, eminent for their cunning, who mixing with all companies, daily reported to the Sultan what they

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(57) last days] That is, some day between the 20th and 30th of the month *Sheval.* Concerning this way of computing the day of the month, See Note p. 64.

had heard or seen. By this means he was so fully acquainted with every thing that pass'd, that it became a common saying in his time: "The "Emperor will know to morrow what passes in the chamber between "man and wife." However this proceeding was of such service to the Empire, that in so remote expeditions, which in his time were undertaken, there was no rebellion but what was stifled in the very birth. By these things he would have merited everlasting praise, if he had not by his proness to anger and cruelty sullied the lustre of his virtues and caus'd himself to be distinguish'd from the Emperor's of the same name by the appellation of *Yavuz* (58). It will not be improper before I close this larger account of his actions, to relate a single instance to this purpose. Two years before *Selim*'s death, there appear'd in *Turcomania* a certain Free-booter who infested not only that and the neighbouring countries with his robberies, but having gathered together a considerable band of companions, he attempted to become master of those Provinces. To extinguish this flame *Selim* sent *Ferhad Pasha* with good part of his forces, who when he came to *Amasia*, hears the the whole band with their Ring-leader were routed by *Ilbistanbeg Mehmed*, Son of *Sheikh Savur*. So being unwilling to fatigue his army in vain with so long a march, and not daring to return without the Emperor's order, he incamps about *Amasia*, expecting an answer to a message he had sent the Sultan. Mean while, a malicious slanderer comes to him, pretends he could not forbear, out of due fidelity to the Emperor, to discover a projected rebellion of the inhabitants: for, says he, there lurks among the Citizens of *Amasia* a certain counterfeit *Murad*, who boasting himself to be the Son of Sultan *Ahmed*, has drawn the whole City to his side, with above seven hundred Robbers. *Ferhad Pasha*, without examining the truth, acquaints the Emperor with what he had heard, and desires his orders in this imminent danger. *Selim* trusting perhaps to his General's prudence, commands without any inquisition that all the chief men of the country should be impal'd. *Ferhad* executes the orders, and impales above six hundred innocent Persons of note, others he beheads, and the rest drags through the streets at horses tails.

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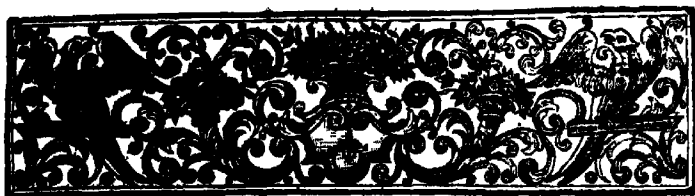
(58) *Yavuz*] Concerning this name See Note p 143 There is extant a most elegant Book about four Sultans, *Mahomet* II, *Bajazet* II, *Selim*, and *Soliman*, written by *Ali Effendi* so often prais'd by me, an Author no less grave than studious of Truth and void of Flattery This Book is very scarce among the *Turks*, from which I have transcrib'd some things relating to my subject.

Cotemporary with *SELIM* in *Europe*.

In *Germany*,	MAXIMILIAN I.	1493-1518.
	CHARLES V.	1518-58.
In *England*,	HENRY VIII.	1509-46.
In *France*,	LEWIS XII.	1498-1525.
	FRANCIS I.	1525-47.

The End of the Reign of SELIM I.

The REIGN of

SOLIMAN I. Sirnam'd *Canuni*,

Tenth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

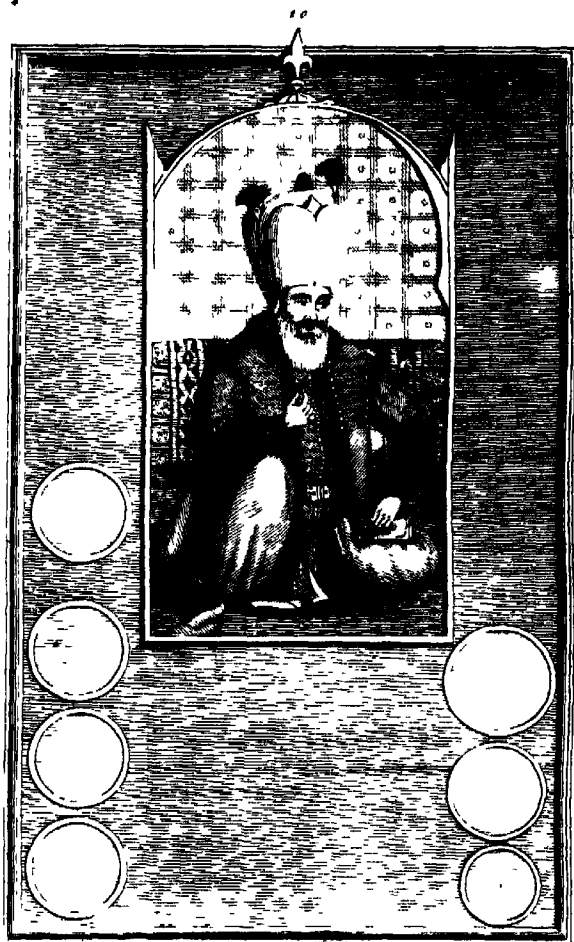
BOOK III. CHAP. IV.

Gazelibeg rebelling is slain.

I. SOLIMAN *Canuni* (1) had scarce mounted his father's throne when a great rebellion broke out in *Asia*. *Gazelibeg*, *Beglerbeg* of *Damascus* (by whose Treachery *Selim* obtain'd his victory over the *Chercassians**) when he is inform'd of *Selim*'s death, imagining all the virtues and fortune of the *Othman* Empire to be buried with him, revolts from his sworn fidelity, with a resolution to assume to himself the full Sovereignty of the countries of which he was Governor. To this

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Canuni*] From the *Greek Canonista*, Institutor of Rules. For tho' the *Othman* Empire before *Soliman* was not govern'd without certain Constitutions, they were founded rather on custom than written law, or to say more rightly, the will of the Prince was instead of law. But *Soliman* first distinguish'd the civil and military offices, assign'd to each its degree of dignity, establish'd the Laws of the Court, Palace, Forum, and Army, and instituted what body of Laws there now is in the *Othman* Court and Common-wealth. His successors are so strictly oblig'd to observe these laws, that whenever any doubt occurs, they think recourse must be had to *Soliman*'s Canons, call'd *Teshrifat*. Thus for instance, in a consultation about war, regard is had before all things to these Canons. If they believe they see a just cause of war express'd there, they decree it to be proclaim'd, if not, to be avoided. If a peace is to be made with some *Christian* Prince, the same Canons are consulted, least any thing be done contrary to the Law of the *Koran* or the *Othman* Empire. But his Canons order, that a peace is not to be made at *Constantinople* or other Royal City, but in the Confines, in the Field, under Arms, that the Peace may seem, not to be made out of fear, but granted to the Enemies by the Emperor's clemency and his care for the quiet of his People. And by reason of these Constitutions, he is seen in the imperial Library, among the rest of the Sultans, painted with a Book in his hand, from which Picture his Effigies prefix'd to his life was copied by my care.

 end,

SOLIMAN I Tenth EMPEROR
of the TURKS, in the Year 1520
From an Original in the Seraglio

end, he assembles his forces, and so suddenly and unexpectedly besieges *Aleppo*, that a messenger sent to the *Othman* Court with news of this rebellion could hardly escape. However the Town, defended by *Coja Mustapha Pasha* (2), made a brave resistance, and gave *Soliman* time to extinguish the flame before it spred any farther. *Soliman* not to deceive the expectation of his Subjects, sends into *Asia*, under the conduct of *Ferhad Pasha* (3), what forces were ready, and also orders them to be joined in their march by *Asiatick* Troops rais'd on every side. *Gazelibeg*, whose ardor was cool'd by the unexpected bravery of the besieged, when he sees himself too weak to meet in open field the army marching against him, raises the siege, and goes and incamps near *Damascus* in a place call'd by the inhabitants *Mustaba*, which he fortifies with strong works, hoping the imperial army would be forc'd by the scarcity of corn and season of the year to march back, and afford him another opportunity to invade the neighboring Provinces. But *Ferhad Pasha*, though he found *Aleppo* free from the rebel, yet mindful of the Emperor's order, he bravely follows him, and at last, contrary to the opinion of all, on the 27th of *Sefer* in the year 927, attacks him in his fortified camp. A fierce and doubtful battle is fought for ten hours, the *Turks* being obstructed more by the situation of the place than the sword of the enemy. At length, the difficulties of the place being surmounted by the valour of the *Turkish* soldiers, the whole rebel army with their leader are slain. The Conqueror *Ferhad Pasha* enters *Damascus*, appoints *Aias Pasha Beglerbeg* of the City, and setling the affairs of those parts, returns with his forces to *Constantinople*.

H 927.
A. C. 1520.

II. *Asia* being in peace, *Soliman* resolves to turn his arms against *Europe*, in order to extend his dominion as far to the west of *Constantinople* as it reach'd to the east. To this end, that he might not, in the midst of his progress, be disturb'd by commotions elsewhere, as had often been the case of his predecessors, he leaves to *Ferhad Pasha*, with good part of his army, the care of *Asia*, sends a fleet into the *Archipelagus*, orders another for the *Black-sea*, consisting of fifty ships of war, with four hundred of Burthen to take care of the provisions for the *Hungarian* expedition. He himself departs from *Constantinople* by land with a great army to subdue all *Hungary*. But before he sets out he sends to *Yahiabeg*, Son of *Balybeg*, Governor of *Semendra*, to besiege, with what forces he had, *Belgrade* on a sudden before his arrival,

Soliman takes *Belgrade*

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Coja Mustapha*] *Old Mustapha*. *Coja* also figuratively signifies a Person of Gravity and Wisdom, as *bir Coja adem*, an experienc'd, grave, prudent Man. So also *bir baba adem*, denotes, a benevolent Man, because as a *baba* (or father) he is a well-wisher to All.

(3) *Ferhad Pasha*] A very famous *Turkish* General, of great valour, fortitude, and wisdom, by whose conduct *Soliman* did great things in *Asia*, and took many Provinces from the *Persians*. He is call'd *Farates* by *Leniserus* and other *European* Writers.

and hinder provisions or a stronger garrison from being thrown in. Whilst *Yabiabeg* closely besieges the City, *Soliman* arrives in person, and incamping in the field call'd *Zemin*, sends his Vizir *Mustapha Pasha* and *Ahmed Pasha* (4) Beglerbeg of *Rumeli*, with part of his forces to *Yabiabeg*'s assistance. These two Generals, the more to gain *Soliman*'s favour, to whom they knew the taking of the City as soon as possible would be very grateful, that he might have the way open to *Buda* the Metropolis of the Kingdom, by battery and undermining destroy the walls, renew their assaults every hour, and so weary the besieged, who make a brave resistance, that at length they are forc'd to yield to the fury of the *Turks*, and surrender (such was God's pleasure) on the 5th day of *Ramazan*, the bulwark of *Hungary*, which had often been attack'd but never subdu'd Mean while *Soliman*, not to be idle, with the rest of the army takes partly by assault, partly by capitulation, *Burgaz* †, *Barij*, *Tiruje*, and *Biugurdlen*, and overrunning the adjacent country, firmly lays the seat of the future war beyond the antient bounds of the *Othman* Empire.

† formerly *Pyrgos*

Orders *Sheh Suvar* to be kill'd

III. After these conquests, in the month of *Ziulcade*, returning to *Constantinople*, he is inform'd that *Sheh Suvar ogli* Prince of *Marash* (5) was raising disturbances in *Asia* in order to shake off his yoke, but deferr'd the execution of his purpose, because things were not yet ripe for rebellion. Wherefore he instantly sends orders to *Ferhad Pasha*, who had the custody of *Asia*, to behead the treacherous Prince. To attempt this openly seem'd dangerous to *Ferhad*, and therefore thinking it best to effect it by stratagem, sends him a friendly letter, telling him, he was by the Sultan appointed his assistant, and desiring him to come and consult with him about the publick affairs. The Prince ignorant of what was transacted, falls into the snare, and coming to *Ferhad*'s tent, is with his two sons, by soldiers planted for the purpose, put to death.

He takes *Rhodes* H 928 A C. 1521

IV. This rebellion being stifled in the birth in the year 928, *Soliman* having prepar'd a great fleet, sends the Vizir *Mustapha Pasha* before to take *Rhodes* (6), whilst himself goes by land to *Thessaly*, from whence taking ship at *Marmaros*, he sails over to *Rhodes* on the 4th day of *Ramazan*. At his arrival, he closely presses the City, and sur-

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) *Mustapha Pasha*] whom I before mention'd left by the rest of the Vizirs at *Adrianople* to guard the Treasures at *Selim*'s death. See p 172.

(5) Prince of *Marash*] *Marash* is a City set down in the modern Mapps by the same name. But the Family of *Sheh Suvar ogli*, though of no great account at Court, boasts even at this day the antiquity of its nobility among the *Asiaticks*.

(6) *Rhodes*] The Metropolis of the Island of *Rhodes* was thus call'd also by the Antients. The *Turkish* name is *Rodos* Out of her Ruins arose *Malta*, an instance of the divine love to *Christians* not being yet extinct, and hateful to the *Othman* Power, which daily threatens it with destruction, by reason of the deplorable discord of *Christian* Princes.

rounds it with ſtrong works. In this ſiege are us'd, all the arts of aſſaulting and defending, hitherto invented by the wit of man. The *Turks* bravely attack, and the *Chriſtians* no leſs gallantly repel their aſſaults. Thus they fought five whole months with ſuch fury, that the diſpute ſeem'd to be for the Empire of the World, and not for a ſingle City. At length, the *Chriſtians*, exhauſted with continual ſlaughters and watchings, are forc'd on the 3d day of *Sefer* the next year, to ſurrender to *Soliman* that renowned City, famous under the *Grecian* and *Roman* Empires, fruitleſly attempted by his Great Grandfather *Mahomet*. The taking of *Rhodes* was follow'd by the voluntary ſurrender of the leſſer neighbouring Iſlands *Iskankioy* (7) and *Butrum*.

H 929.
A C 1522

He ſends *Muſtapha* into *Egypt*, and creates *Ibrahim* Vizir

V. During the ſiege of *Rhodes*, *Chairbeg* (8) Governor of *Egypt* happen'd to die and leave an immenſe treaſure behind him. On news of his death, as if the great ſupport of the *Othman* dominion was remov'd, *Jumun-Kiaſhuf* (9) ſtirs up the *Egyptians*, tells them an opportunity preſented itſelf to recover their former liberty, and ſhake off their ſervile yoke, and by his ſpeeches and preſents, perſwades the whole Nation unanimouſly to reſolve upon an attempt to free themſelves from ſlavery. But *Soliman* hearing of theſe tranſactions, ſends his Vizir *Muſtapha Paſha* with five ſhips into *Egypt*, to ſtifle this flame before it broke out. *Muſtapha Paſha* with a fair wind arrives in a few days at *Eskenderie* †, ſurpriſes the rebels unprepar'd, who did not think their deſigns ſo much as known to the Sultan, and entirely routing and diſperſing them, reſtores the *Othman* dominion in *Egypt* to its former luſtre. But as it took him up ſome time to collect *Chairbeg*'s riches and ſettle the *Egyptian* affairs, *Soliman*, to whom the whole adminiſtration of the Government, ſeem'd too great a burden, made *Ibrahim Aga*, from a common Janizary of the ninth Company (10), Prime Vizir.

† *Alexandria*.

Muſtapha rebels in *Egypt*, and is vanquiſh'd

VI. The news of this promotion, could not but grieve *Muſtapha*, who imagin'd his late victory deſerv'd rather an addition of honour

ANNOTATIONS.

(7) *Iskankioy*] The Iſland Κῶ, corruptly by the *Greeks* εἰς τὴν Κῶ, as *Iſtambol* from εἰς τὴν πόλιν Indeed *Mich. Langius* does not like thoſe derivations, who ſeems to follow ſuch as are more ſtrange than true, deriving for inſtance *Iſtambol* from *Iſtadibol*, *i. e* a City abounding with Artificers. But I ſhould adviſe him not to mix with what he calls the *Græcobarbarous* Idiom, more *Barbariſms*, whilſt he gives Etymologies in a Tongue unknown to him For ſuch a proceeding plainly diſcovers his ignorance in both the *Turkiſh* and *Græcian* Learning which he boaſts of.

(8) *Chairbeg*] A *Perſian* by extraction, Governor of *Damaſcus* under Sultan *Gauri*, whoſe revolt to *Selim* has been related

(9) *Jumun-Kiaſhuf*] An *Arabian Sheikh*, who in *Selim*'s time ſubmitted to the *Othman* Empire.

(10) Ninth Company] There are reckon'd one hundred and eleven Companies of Janizaries, call'd by the *Turks*, *Oda*, (or Chambers.) The eleventh *Oda* has the precedence, the firſt *Oda* holds the ſecond rank, and the one hundred and eleventh *Oda* the third, the reſt follow in order.

than such an affront. But reflecting that he was servant to a Prince whose will was a law, he craftily conceals in his breast the wound he had receiv'd, and as if he was entirely ignorant of what had pass'd at *Rhodes*, sends the Emperor an account of his proceedings, requesting him to give him as a reward for all his past services the Government of *Egypt*. *Soliman* readily grants his petition, telling him, he reserv'd nothing in the whole *Egyptian* Kingdom but the royal name and coin: every thing else he most willingly gave him. *Mustapha* being invested with this power, and inrich'd with *Chairbeg*'s treasures and the effects of those he had conquer'd or proscrib'd, aspires to sovereignty, and resolves to subject all *Egypt* to his dominion. But the old axiom, nothing violent is lasting, was verified by his example. For whilst he was meditating on these things, he imparted his design to *Mehemmed Effendi* scribe of the *Divan* (11), and created him Vizir, as thinking him a man of sense and his particular friend. *Mehemmed*, either out of conscience or detesting his Lord's wicked purpose, resolves to revenge treachery with treachery, and free *Egypt* from a tyranny, and the Sultan from a rebel. To this end, he endeavours with some accomplices to kill *Mustapha* as he was bathing. But *Mustapha* being inform'd of the danger by a faithful servant, escapes out of their hands through a back door, and flies with a few attendants to the *Sheikh* of the *Arabians* (12). There, by means of great promises, he easily assembles a numerous band of *Arabs*, and wages war with the scribe, whom for his unexperience he despises. Mean while the scribe had acquainted *Soliman* with what was done, and for a reward of his service obtain'd the government of *Egypt*. Wherefore to show his fidelity to the Emperor, he incourages the soldiers with a large distribution of money, and leading them against his former Lord and the Sultan's enemy, vanquishes him after a bloody battle, and cuts off his head.

Ibrahim marries Soliman's Sister.

VII. *Mustapha*'s treachery, and *Ibrahim*'s virtues, caus'd *Soliman* not to repent of committing the highest office in the *Othman* Empire to a man of so mean a condition. Wherefore to render him the more

ANNOTATIONS.

(11) Scribe of the *Divan*] *Divan Kiatibi* Such an Officer belongs to every Pasha, and his business is to recite with a clear voice the complaints deliver'd in writing to the Pasha's *Divan*. They have now a more honorable name, *Divan Effendi*. For *Effendi* is an appellation of the learned The Prime Vizir has two, who are not call'd *Kiatib*, Scribes, but *Teskiereji Effendi*, that is, Secretaries. *Teskiere evvel*, vulgarly, *biuyuk Tekiereji*, the first or great Secretary, and *Teskiere sani* or *Kiuchuk* Teskiereji*, the second or minor Secretary. When the Vizir hears causes in the *Divan*, the first stands at his right hand, the second at his left, and read with a loud voice by turns the Petitions or *Arzuhal* receiv'd from the *Chaush* Bashi* The same also is done by them in the *Galibe Divan* before the Sultan If the Sultan orders any thing to be done, they write it in a little book, which is afterwards confirm'd by the Vizir's hand, who usually does it with the word *Sah*. But the Sultan's confirmation is by a *Chatisherif*, or the Holy Character, of which I have before spoken.

(12) *Sheikh* of the *Arabians*] His Name is not extant.

faithful,

faithful, he gives him, in the year 930, his sister (13) in marriage, and whilst he is gracing the nuptials with his presence, the joy is doubled by the Sultana being deliver'd of a son, who was nam'd *Selim* (14).

H 930.
A. C 1523

VIII. Shortly after *Ibrahim Pasha*, with some gallies, departs to settle the *Egyptian* affairs, but being beat back by tempestuous weather he anchors in the *Propontis* under the Island *Kyzyl Ada* (15), about seventeen miles from *Constantinople* Whereupon *Soliman* in his royal barge, instantly goes to the Vizir, views the fleet, and advising with him about the publick affairs, returns to *Constantinople* *Ibrahim* having got a fair wind, sails out of the *Hellespont*, but in the *Archipelagus* meets with a second storm, which forces him into *Rhodes* with the loss of some gallies Finding the sea not propitious to him, he leaves there his ships, and goes by land to *Aleppo*, and from thence to *Cairo*. At his arrival, he composes the troubled state of the Kingdom, disperses by his authority the rebels, and taking the Ring-leaders, the sons of *Omer* and *Becaar* (16), orders them to be hang'd, and their estates confiscated. As among their effects was found a great quantity of Gold, he coins Ducats like those of *Venice*, but of less value by thirty Aspers, which to this day have retain'd the name of *Ibrahimi* (17). After this, he delivers

He is sent into *Egypt*, where he coins false Ducats.

ANNOTATIONS.

(13) His sister] The *Turkish* Sultans are wont to marry their Sisters and Daughters to the Pashas and Vizirs, though not of a fit age, nay sometimes whilst in their Cradles, of whom as Husbands they are to take care, and be at the charge of their Education, nor can they espouse another wife, before their marriage with the Sultana be consummated When the Sultana is of mature age, she is conducted with great pomp and magnificence from the *Serai*, with her portion to her Husband's Palace. But if, in the mean time, her Husband happens to die, or lose his head by the Sultan's command, she is instantly betroth'd to another Pasha, who succeeds to the right and charges of the former *Murad* IV's Sister had four Husbands in one year, and not one of the Marriages appears to have been consummated. For as soon as the Nuptials were celebrated according to custom, they were accus'd of some crime, and put to death by the Emperor, and their Riches with all their effects assign'd indeed to the Sultana as his lawful Wife, but in reality brought into the royal Treasury

(14) *Selim*] This is he who succeeded his Father *Soliman* in the Empire, famous for the memorable defeat of his fleet by the *Christians* near *Naupactus*†, and for his drunkenness.

† *Lepanto*

(15) *Kyzyl Ada*] *Red Island*, so call'd from a Red Stone which is found there It lies in the *Propontis* seventeen *Italian* Miles from *Constantinople* This is the greatest of three Islands which lie together, and are by the *Turks* call'd by the same name *Kysyl adaler*‖ Here are three Monasteries, *viz.* of the *Holy Trinity*, the *Virgin Mary*, and *St George*, fill'd with *Greek* Monks The least of these Islands breeds such quantities of Hares spotted with various colours, which they call *Moscovitici*, that when they come out of their holes to feed, they fill the whole Island like sheep 'Tis said, there were great numbers of them in the time of the *Christian* Emperors. To hunt them is prohibited.

‖ *ler* is a plural termination

(16) of *Omer* and *Becaar*] They seem to have been of the *Egyptian* Race of *Chercassians**, who, after Sultan *Gauri*, had escap'd *Selim*'s cruelty.

(17) *Ibrahimi*] It is a coin resembling the *Venetian* Gold Ducats, but by

H. 931. A. C. 1524

delivers up the Government to *Soliman Pasha*, and in the year 931, on the 30th of *Sheban*, arrives at *Constantinople*.

Soliman vanquishes the King of Hungary; H. 931 A. C. 1525

IX. The next year, *Soliman* resumes the war he had hitherto deferr'd, against the *Hungarians*, and with a great army, on the 30th day of *Rejeb*, comes to *Belgrade*. He orders a bridge to be thrown over the *Savus*, and leads his forces over it into the plain of *Serem*. From hence he moves towards *Buda*, and in his march takes *Suliuk* and *Osek*, under the conduct of *Balybeg*, and commands the bridge to be demolish'd, which afforded near *Osek* a passage over the *Dravus*. Soon after, the *Hungarians* with the same design come thither; but when they see the bridge already destroy'd, they first wonder, and then are seiz'd with fear, because it was a demonstration to them, that the *Turks* had pass'd the river, with a resolution to conquer or die. *Ladosh* (18) himself, King of *Hungary*, to prevent the devastation of his country, marches with incredible speed, and incamps in sight of the *Turkish* army in a place call'd *Mohaj*. The next day, being the 22d of *Ziulcade*, both armies ingage, and so fiercely contend the whole day, that it was long difficult to perceive, to which side victory would incline. At length, about Sun-set, the *Hungarians* take to flight, the King himself falls in battle, and the rest with the whole camp become a prey to the *Othmans*.

and takes Buda

X. After this victory, *Soliman* marches directly to *Buda*, Metropolis of *Hungary*, which, dispirited by the late slaughter, is easily taken the 3d of *Ziulhije*, and the next day *Pesthe* opposite to *Buda* on the other side of the *Danube*, voluntarily surrenders to the Conqueror. Whilst *Soliman* is thus employ'd, some *Hungarians*, who had escap'd out of the late battle, set upon and kill some *Turks* dispers'd over the fields in quest of prey. Upon this, *Soliman* immediately runs a bridge over the *Danube*, and orders his troops, divided into parties, to go in search of these *Hungarians*. His commands are so diligently executed, that some are slain, and others brought prisoners to *Soliman*, who by that means clear'd the country of these enemies. Winter approaching, he leads back his army, and by the way takes by assault *Baj* on the *Danube*, with *Segedin* and *Titeli* on the *Tisa*. Having thus laid waste the neighbouring

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by the confession of the *Turks* themselves lighter by thirty Aspers. So great a quantity was coin'd at *Cairo*, as would suffice to pay two years tribute of *Egypt*. They are still to be met with at *Constantinople* and other Places, though most of them have been melted down by the Emperor's order.

(18) *Ladosh*] This is *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*, whom the *Christian* Writers do not deny to have receiv'd at *Mohatur* a great overthrow from the *Turks*, and to have perish'd in the battle. †

† Our Author is mistaken in the name of this Prince, for *Lewis* II. was then King of *Hungary*. But of this more largely in the additional Notes

regions, he enters *Constantinople* in triumph, the 3d of *Muharrem*, in the year 933, with his victorious army laden with captives and spoils.

H 933
A. C 1526

Suppresses the rebellious *Asiaticks*

XI. Whilst these things pass'd in *Europe*, a false report of his death is spread in the farthest parts of *Asia* Whereupon many free-booters in the country of *Zuulcadir* (19) miserably harrass all the neighbouring Provinces with clandestine depredations and open incursions. *Piri Pasha* indeed, Governor of *Adana*, bravely resists, kills many, and punishes all he takes with death, but for want of a sufficient force cannot quell the rebellion which had taken so deep root. *Calenderbeg* (20) Son of *Haji Bectash* the Arch Rebel, rejected all offers, nor would be perswaded to submit. To conquer his obstinacy, *Soliman* sends the Vizir *Ibrahim Pasha* with a good army into *Asia*, who finds *Calenderbeg* near *Kaisarie* (for so far had he penetrated) and bravely attacking him, after a bloody conflict, the plunderers valiantly fighting for their lives, defeats him, and kills above thirty thousand of his men.

A *Turk* for maintaining the Gospel is put to death

H 934
A C 1527

XII. The next year is begun with religious disturbances. For there appears at *Constantinople* one *Cabyzi Ajem*, a man of great learning among the *Turks*, and well vers'd in the law and several sciences, who not only privately in schools, but publickly in his discourses in the *Jami*, endeavours to perswade the people, that the *Christian* doctrine stands upon a firmer foundation than the *Mahometan*. This so unexpected an opinion of a man of his wisdom could not but offend the ears as well of his brethren as of the common people. Wherefore when they find he is not to be brought by private admonitions to a recantation, they seize and carry him before the Mufti There he not only openly and freely repeats what he had inculcated on the people, but strives to demonstrate, by a comparison with the *Koran* and other strong arguments, the excellency of the *Christian* law and precepts of the Gospel. He is again admonish'd to forsake his opinions, and not sully by a foul defection from the law, a life hitherto adorn'd with

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(19) *Zuulcadir*] It is falsely writ by the *Christians Dulcadir*, by the change of the *Turkish* letter *Zal* into *Dal*, [the first being distinguish'd from the last by only having a point over it] It is also call'd by another name among the *Turks*, *Alaideulet Memleketi*, the Province of *Alaideulet*. This country is bounded on one side by the *Cappadocian* Mountains, and people, call'd by *Cedrenus*, *Manzures*· towards *Syria* by *Aleppo* antiently *Beræa* (with a single ρ Βυροία to distinguish it from Βυρροία in *Macedonia*) towards *Persia* by *Armenia Major*, towards the *Othman* Dominions at that time by *Amasia*, towards *Caramania* by *Adana*, which some think to be the antient *Tharsus*, tho' at present *Tersus* and *Adana* are distinguish'd by the *Turks*

(20) *Calenderbeg*] Who *Haji Bectash* was, is unknown. But his son *Calenderus*, the *Turks* own, brought the *Othman* affairs to such extremities, that the Empire seem'd to be on the brink of destruction. For all *Turky* in *Asia* as far as *Casaria* being subdu'd at once by him, acknowledg'd him for Sovereign. But the blind fortune of the *Othmans* was able to reduce to nothing even the most sharp-sighted Warriors Wonderful are the secret works of Providence!

sanctity. But disregarding both exhortations and threats, he is at last by the Emperor's command punish'd with the loss of his head, and an edict publish'd, that whoever should, even by way of dispute, prefer the Doctrine of *Christ* before *Mahomet*'s, should undergo the same penalty.

All the *Albanians* at *Constantinople* put to death

XIII. About the same time, some thieves at *Constantinople* break into a *Christian* Merchant's house near *Selim*'s Temple (21), murder the Merchant, and not only carry away his money, but also his goods.

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(21) *Selim*'s Temple] It stands on the Mount which hangs over the Gate *Phenar*. Elegance and Art so shines in the whole Structure, that to describe its proportions would be acceptable to the sons of *Dædalus* It is square, and built with square Stones, the length of the side being fifty, and the height seventy, Cubits. The Roof contains the same space with the Floor No Arches are drawn from the Angles, but the roundness of the Roof rises from the walls themselves, so that from the point of the Angles is drawn the Arch of a Circle almost Horizontal. In this whole spacious building, (which is wonderful) there is not they say any iron to be found. The Architect was a *Greek* of *Constantinople*, who besides this built another and more stately Temple at *Adrianople*, in which are nine hundred and ninety nine Windows The Sultan indeed had order'd a thousand, but the Architect designedly left out one Window Wherefore when the Windows were counted at the finishing of the building, and found to be one less than the imperial Mandate, the Sultan in a passion commanded the Architect to be hang'd. He petitions for leave to plead his cause, affirming he would readily undergo his sentence, if the Sultan after hearing his reasons should think fit to condemn him. His request being granted, " If (says he) O Emperor, " there can be found in the whole " World an Architect, who, without infringing the Rules of Architecture, can open another window " in this building, let me be put to " death, but if not, then am I worthy your royal clemency. Besides " there was also another reason " why I left out the thousandth window, because a thousand may appear to the illiterate vulgar to be " of less value than nine hundred " ninety nine " The Architect was not deceiv'd in his expectation, for he was not only pardon'd his omission, but royally rewarded In this magnificent building, among other remarkable things are four Towers, where the *Ezan* is cried, seemingly too small for their height, of which two only can be seen at a distance from the four great roads but by very high winds they were observ'd by their shadow to be moved Two very lofty and thick Porphyry-Pillars adorn the larger Portico before the Gate, in both which is seen a white line from the top to the bottom, as if drawn with a Pencil How this should happen is scarce to be conceiv'd, unless both Pillars are suppos'd to be cut out of the same piece of Porphyry, and so the white line which lay conceal'd in the middle appear'd on both Superficies. There were also other Pillars in this Portico plac'd opposite to one another, which agree in variety of colours They were brought from *Troas*, whose Ruins afforded large Materials for other *Turkish* Buildings. The *Jami* I am speaking of, is a square of seventy Cubits For that is the figure the *Turks* are fond of in their Structures But the Porticoes are generally Quadrangular When the work was finish'd, the Architect being ask'd by the Sultan, in which Building he had shown most ingenuity and art, is said to reply, that he had employ'd on that of *Adrianople*, most expence, but most skill on that of *Constantinople*.

Next morning complaint is brought to the Emperor's *Divan*, and upon a strict enquiry it appears, that the fact was committed by some *Albanians*. Whereupon the Sultan, since the names of the actors were not discover'd, and the circumstances of the thing show'd many more guilty, orders that the *Albanians*, whether inhabitants of *Constantinople*, or sojourners only on account of trade, should be all search'd after to a man, and put to death for this single murder (22).

Inhabitants of *Aleppo* punish'd for killing the Judges

XIV At the same time this butchery was acting at *Constantinople*, a great quarrel arose at *Aleppo* between the ecclesiastical Judges, *Molla* and *Kaziler* †, which the Citizens despairing to see an end of, enter into a conspiracy, and kill them in the very *Jami* at the morning prayers.

† See Note p 31

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(22) single murder] The Sultan seems here to have acted more than tyrannically, though not against the laws For it is ordain'd among the *Turks*, that if one thousand and one men tumultuously kill any person, and refuse to confess who gave the first blow, all the thousand and one are to die. I saw an instance of this in my time. At *Constantinople* under *Caimecam Mustapha Pasha* (who being taken near *Gran* by the *Poles*, was after seven years releas'd by my Father's intercession) a *Greek* Countryman coming from *Kutchuk* Chekmeu**, a Town about two hours distant from *Constantinople* in the road to *Adriano ple*, meets eleven Janizaries, who first reprimand him for slowly alighting from his horse, and then stab him to death with knives Other *Turks* accidentally riding that way, (for the Janizaries had been on foot to drink wine) when they see what they are about, civilly admonish them not to commit such an heinous and illegal deed upon a subject of the Emperor The Janizaries also give them abusive language, who, when they come to *Constantinople* inform the *Caimecam* of what they had seen For the *Turks* believe, that as God will reward them hereafter for giving a voluntary evidence, so he that refuses his evidence against his conscience will be in the same state with the guilty person himself The wife also of the murder'd man exhibited a Petition, imploring Justice of the Judge with a torrent of tears. Wherefore the Janizaries are sought for and taken drunk in the village. Next morning, when they are come to themselves, and understand they had kill'd a man, and many witnesses had appear'd against them, ignorant of the laws, they resolve, when the Judge should ask which of them kill'd the *Raya* or Subject, to answer they did it all together, not imagining it possible, that for one man, especially a *Christian*, eleven Musulmans and Janizaries would be put to death. Being therefore brought into the *Divan*, they confess they all kill'd the man, and when ask'd which of them stabb'd him first, reply, they know not, but remember that they all at once struck at him with their knives. Upon hearing the cause, the Judge states the case in this manner to the Mufti "If eleven Musulmans without just cause kill a "*Gauri* ||, that is, a Subject of the "Emperor and pays tribute, what is "to be done?" The Mufti subscribes with his own hand, "Though "the Musulmans should be one thou-"sand and one, let them all die" The Judge reading the Mufti's sentence, and pitying so many Janizaries, asks the woman whether she would accept of a price (call'd *Diet*) for the blood of her Husband, and offers two thousand Crowns for the life of the eleven Janizaries. The poor woman answers, that by the Sultan's auspicious Government and clemency she wants not money, but justice; and with wonderful firmness refuses the offer. So when she could not be perswaded to accept the ransom, the eleven Janizaries were put to death.

|| Infidel

prayers. *Soliman* being inform'd of this deed, instantly orders some Pashas to lead thither an army, and put all the inhabitants guilty and not guilty to death. But *Ibrahim Pasha* the Vizir interceeded, and by his great interest with the Emperor, obtain'd that the chief men and heads of the conspiracy only, should be punish'd with various kinds of death, and the common people, as being rather led on by the conspirators than guilty of the crime, banish'd to *Rhodes*.

Soliman's expedition into *Hungary* prevented by rains

H. 935
A C 1528

XV. Whilst *Soliman* is thus employ'd in domestick affairs, about the end of the year, *Alaman Kiraly* (23) takes *Buda* from *John* King of *Hungary* (24), and strengthens it with new works and a *German* garrison. Whereupon *Soliman*, to revenge the injury done to a King under his protection, in the year 935 marches from *Constantinople* with a great army, and near *Filibe* on a spacious plain incamps with design to assemble his *European* forces. In this place the Mufti, without just reason, incurs his displeasure, and with reproaches is depriv'd of his office: but the innocence of the holy man, which the Emperor could not see, is made appear by heaven itself! For God displeas'd (25) at this

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(23) *Alaman Kiraly*] The name formerly given by the *Turks* to the Emperor of *Germany* But now he is honour'd in their letters with the appellation of *Nemche* Kiraly*, King of the *Germans*, and *Chasar**, *Cæsar*, and also *Ruma imperaduri*

(24) King of *Hungary*] How treacherously *Soliman* executed the Guardianship committed to him, and how banishing the Queen with her Son *Lebessus* or *Logosh Sanjac*, he quickly seiz'd the Kingdom of *Hungary*, is too well known to be much inlarg'd upon. However it will not be improper for understanding the heinousness of this treachery, to insert the following narrative as related by the *Turks* themselves. For when *Soliman* was invited after King *John*'s death to deliver *Buda* from the *Germans*, the young King with the Noblemen of *Hungary*, came in a submissive manner to meet him in his camp. The Sultan ordering an entertainment to be prepar'd, bid the Vizir invite the Nobles, and his Son *Selim* to invite the young King to dinner, saying, "Remember, Son, I am "thy natural and his *Arbreti*, (*i. e.* "of the other World or) Spiritual "Father. And if I die, do you "cherish him as your Brother, and "readily take care of him and his "Kingdom." The entertainment being ended, the Vizir says to the Sultan, "Behold! most potent Em-"peror, it is this day in thy power "to subject the whole Kingdom of "*Hungary* by one stroke of the "Sword" The Sultan was highly offended with this Speech of the Vizir's, or at least pretended to be so, and said, "Certainly the *Othman* "Empire is not to be inlarg'd, by "treachery, deceit, perfidiousness, "nor by the unjust slaughter of "Princes suing for Protection, but "by arms and open war, but that "*Hungary* will one day be subject to "the *Othman* dominion, what is now "transacting, sufficiently presages" The *Turks* are naturally so fruitful of fine sayings, but withal so barren of good actions, that it is a common saying among them, *Othmanly eyu soiler, fena ishler*, the *Othmans* say well, but do ill.

(25) Displeas'd] Of all the Nations in the World, the *Turks* are the most given to superstition. Neither is there any where greater veneration paid to Ecclesiasticks than among the *Turks*. The Emperor may indeed banish but not put them to death, and of all the Sultans, *Murad* IV. alone commanded a Mufti to be pounded to death in a marble Mortar,

this proceeding, sends that very day as a punishment for it, such terrible and lasting rains, that they not only swept away like a deluge, Coffers (26) full of treasure, but even endanger'd the lives of the Sultan and his whole army †.

He retakes Buda from the Germans.

XVI. All the warlike provisions being thus destroy'd by the violence of the torrents, he is forc'd to defer his intended expedition. However he appoints his troops to winter in the neighboring provinces, that the army might be the readier in the Spring. Mean while, he makes new collections of money and fresh preparations, greater than what were destroy'd. Every thing being ready, he marches the next year with speed through *Hungary* to *Buda*, and incamping under the very walls, closely besieges the City. Having fortified his camp, he batters the walls with his Engines, and by continual assaults so weakens the garrison, which made a brave defense, that they promis'd to surrender on condition of having their arms and lives. *Soliman* accepts of the terms, and assures them of safety, provided they deliver up the Town: but whilst they are going out, they are revil'd by the *Turks*, and especially by the Janizaries, for their cowardice. A certain *German* soldier not bearing these affronts, "I do not command (says he) but am "commanded," and with that, draws his sword and stabs the Janizary who was reproaching him. The rest cry out, the articles are violated and against the Sultan's order, (say the *Turks* in excuse of their countrymen) suddenly fall upon the *Germans*, and before the tumult could be appeas'd, put them all to the sword (27) Thus whilst for the sake

H 936
A C 1529.

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Mortar, saying, "The Heads, "whole dignity exempts them from "the Sword, ought to be struck with "the Pestle." An instance of this superstition happen'd in the *last *Turkish war* with the Emperor of *Germany* under *Ahmed* II, which I saw with my own eyes, and have related in the second part of my History

(26) Coffers] The *Turks* usually place the money carried with them in an expedition, in the Tents of the Sultan and Vizir in the middle of the camp, and guard it with *Spahiler* or Horse, who relieve one another. The Coffers are often empty, but however they are always expos'd, cover'd with Arras, to the view of the soldiers, lest they should think the Emperor without money, and so behave the more remissly in a battle. This in my opinion is certainly a great means to inspire the soldiers with courage. Besides the *Turks* say, that the Enemies, in the Reign of *Egre Sultan Mehemmed*, penetrating into the camp as far as the Treasure, the *Othman* soldiers flew thither to its assistance, and from vanquish'd became victors

(27) to the sword] We frequently read in History, the *Turks* upon a surrender either kill'd or made Prisoners the Garrisons contrary to the Capitulations confirm'd by oath, as happen'd to the Garrisons of *Constantinople*, *Buda*, *Babylon*. The *Turks*, since they can't deny it, because they are convicted of it by living proofs, yet, that they may not seem to have been guilty of breach of Faith, affirm nothing was ever done by them

† It must be observ'd, that in this and many other places where mention is made of any miraculous interposition of Heaven, the Author gives it in the words of the *Turkish* Historians, whom he faithfully copies

sake of preserving their liberty and effects they surrender so strong a City to the *Turks*, they lose both with their lives.

Moldavia made a fief of the Empire.

XVII. Whilst *Soliman* after the taking of the City, staid in the neighbourhood some days to refresh his army, *Teutuk Lagotheta* (28) is sent in ambassy by *Bogdan* (29) Prince of *Moldavia* to the *Turkish* camp. Having

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contrary to Agreements without just cause. For this people, most subtle in devising excuses, presently recur to the *Koran*, where they easily find a hundred passages to their purpose. Thus, for instance, suppose a Garrison surrenders on condition of being dismiss'd without arms, if but a knife or ax be found upon any one soldier, they cry out the articles are violated by the *Christians*, and use them as they depart with great severity. And if it be agreed, that the Garrison shall march out with their arms, cannon, and baggage, and they happen to do it a little beyond the appointed hour, or give a rough answer, or afford any the least frivolous pretence, the *Turks* make no conscience to break the capitulation, and violate their oath. Hence it is more adviseable and better for *Christians* to perish within their walls by famine, fire, and sword, than experience the treachery and barbarousness of the *Turks*.

(28) *Lagotheta*] He was of the noblest *Moldavian* race, from which even at this day five hundred families derived their original, though many of them are so fallen from their former splendor, that they look more like Husbandmen than Nobles. He understood the *Greek*, *Latin*, *Polish*, and other neighbouring Tongues to perfection, was well skill'd in politicks, and of great wisdom. Being sent ambassador to the *Othman* Court, and admitted to the Prime Vizir, he is said to bid his servant bring his shoes with him into the audience-room; whereupon the Vizir asking him whether he was afraid they would be stole, he replies, from those who desire all things, every thing must be kept, and when the Vizir tells him he need not fear, for the *Turks* were now friends not enemies: I wish, (says he) they were as well friends to the head as to the feet! He built at *Constantinople* a Palace call'd at this day *Bogdan Serai*, the *Moldavian* Palace, in which is a Church dedicated to St *Nicolas*.

(29) *Bogdan*] This is a *Sclavonic* name taken from the *Greek* Θεοδωσιος. The *Moldavians* gave him the firname of *Negrul* or *Black*. The *Moldavian* annals say, that *Stephanus the Great*, after a Reign of forty seven years, five months, after so many exploits, and famous victories obtain'd over the *Turks*, *Hungarians*, *Polanders*, *Walachians*, and *Tartars*, when his body, not mind, was now impair'd, and death approach'd, sent for his only son and heir of the Kingdom with his Nobles, and spoke to them in the following manner: "O "*Bogdan* my son, and you my fellow soldiers, witnesses and partakers of so many and great triumphs! See, I have now finish'd "the course of my frail nature, and "have before my eyes the setting of "my life like the evening shadows. "I shall not return through the "Paths, which as a mortal, as a "worm I have trod; Death is at "hand, but that is not the object of "my fear, (for I know I have been "hastening to the Grave from my "birth) the danger which hangs "over this Kingdom from that "fierce and roaring lion, *Soliman*, "who so greedily thirsts after *Christian* Blood, is what disturbs my "thoughts, and creates my dread. "He has already swallow'd up by "stratagem and craft, almost the "whole Kingdom of *Hungary*, sub"du'd by his arms and bound to "him by the *Mahometan* supersti"tion *Crimea* and the hitherto un"conquer'd Tribes of the *Tartars*, "overrun our *Bessarabia*, impos'd "his yoke on the *Walachians*, who, "though our enemies, are however "*Christians*; in short, he holds in "subjection

Having obtain'd an audience, he declares his mission from the *Moldavian* Prince and People, to offer the Sultan both *Moldavia's* (30) upon honorable

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" subjection the noblest part of *Europe* and *Asia* with the imperial " Seat, nor content with this, he " extends his threatening arms on " every side, sets no bounds to his " power, and thirst of dominion. " Since things are thus, can it be " thought that after the surmounting " of so many obstacles, he will with-" hold his hands from *Moldavia* sur-" rounded with his Provinces? It is " rather to be fear'd, that when " *Hungary* is entirely subdued, his " whole forces will be turn'd against " us. For he is prompted to a mor-" tal hatred of the *Christians*, not " only by his deprav'd nature, but " by the laws of the *Koran* If I " look round on my neighbours, I " am forc'd to deplore the wretched " state of our affairs The *Polanders* " I know to be inconstant, and une-" qual to the *Turkish* fury The " *Hungarians* already groan under " his yoke. The *Germans*, it is my " opinion, are so embroil'd at home, " that they will not or cannot, look " abroad Since this is the melan-" choly situation of all around us, I " think it adviseable, of so many " evils to chuse the least For to " spread the sails against storms and " tempests, is the part of a mad, " not prudent pilot Our forces " are inferior, assistance uncertain " and remote, the danger certain " and nigh. Wherefore I judge it " better to soften this raging wild " Beast than rouze him by the noise " of arms For I do not see our ca-" lamitous state can be any other way " reliev'd, than by moderating the " unquenchable flame of his fury " with the dew of submission. And " therefore in these my last hours I " exhort you, as a Father and Bro-" ther, if with the preservation of " your civil and ecclesiastical laws, " you can obtain peace on honorable " conditions in the name of a fief, " that you chuse rather to try his " clemency than his sword But if " he prescribes other conditions, it " will be better for all to perish by " the hand of the enemy, than be " idle spectators of the profanation of " your Religion, and calamity of " your Country But the God of " your Fathers, who alone performs " wonders, will one day pour upon " you his inexhausted Grace, and " mov'd by the tears of his servants, " raise up one who will restore you " or your posterity to their former " power and liberty" *Bogdan*, in obedience to his Father's last will, sends in the seventh year of his Reign Ambassadors to *Soliman*, and first subjects to him *Moldavia* by the name of a fief; but now alas! there is no man of letters, I believe, who is a stranger to the miserable tyranny *Moldavia* groans under

(30) Both *Moldavia's*] *Moldavia* is divided into *Upper* and *Lower*. Lower *Moldavia* extends from *Jassy*, the present seat of the Prince eastward to *Bender* by the *Moldavians* call'd *Tigine* On the South it is bounded by *Galatium* on the *Danube*, on the West, by *Walachia* and the *Transylvanian* Mountains, which run along the road call'd *Teiras*, and belong to the *Moldavians*, and not to the *Transylvanians* Upper *Moldavia* begins at *Jassy*, and has the same eastern bounds with the Lower, but on the west is bounded by the *Transylvanian* or *Carpatian Alps* to *Snyatim* a Town of *Podolia*. To Lower *Moldavia* belong'd formerly all *Bessarabia*, call'd by the *Tartars Bujak*, where lie the two famous Cities *Akkierman*, (by *Herodotus* nam'd Οἰλία, by the *Moldavians*, *Czetate Alba*, by the *Romans*, *Julia Alba*, noted for *Ovid's* banishment, near which at this day is seen a Lake call'd by the *Moldavians*, *Lacul Ovidului*, *Ovid's* Lake) and *Kilia*, antiently *Lycostomon*, near the mouth of the *Danube*, where it falls into the *Black Sea* Besides these in Lower *Moldavia*, which is now subject to the *Moldavian* Prince, were the fortified Towns, *Tigine* on the Banks of the *Tyras* [or *Niester*] (shamefully surrender'd

rable terms, particularly that their Religion should be preserv'd entire, and the country be subject as a fief to the Empire. Nothing could be more grateful to *Soliman*, whose more weighty affairs hinder'd him from turning his arms that way, and yet the defeats receiv'd from the *Moldavians*, oblig'd him to have always an eye to their motions. Wherefore readily accepting the offer'd terms, he confirms them with his own hand, and delivers him the instruments to be carried to his Prince at *Soczava* (31) Afterwards in his return from that year's expedition he is met near *Sophia* a City of *Servia* by *Bogdan* with some of his Barons, and presented by him with four thousand gold Crowns (32), forty bred Mares, and twenty four Falcons with [illegible]

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surrender'd to the *Turks* by *Ilero* a certain *Moldavian* Prince, and by them call'd *Bender*) *Giergina* on the *Siretus* near *Galatium*, in whose Ruins were found some antient coins. That it was built by the Emperor *Trajan*, appears from a marble-stone dug up in my time, with this inscription *Imp. Cæsari, Div. filio Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Ger Dacico, Pont Max. Fel. B dict* XVI. *Imp* VI. *Conf* VII PP. *Calpurnio, Publio, Mario, C. Aurelio Rufo* There was also on the river *Milkow*, which parts *Moldavia* and *Walachia* another Town commonly call'd *Craczuna*, with the *Taiphalia* of *Herodotus* on the river *Prut* not far from *Falczy*, whose largeness is demonstrated by the ruins discover'd in my time: *Soroca*, formerly *Olchionia*, on the *Tyras*, surrounded with a flint wall, and *Jassy* on the river *Bahluy* four miles from *Hierasus*. Upper *Moldavia* contains the strong Towns of *Soczava*, formerly the Metropolis, *Nemcza*, *Romanus*, and *Chotinus* The inhabitants of Upper *Moldavia* are noted for their riches, of Lower, for their warlike bravery, and both after all their losses for their hospitality. But these things, if God grant me life and leisure, will be more largely explain'd in a separate Treatise.

(31) *Soczava*] Before the *Turks* turn'd their arms against *Europe*, this was the Metropolis of the principality and seat of the Prince, but after the taking of *Constantinople*, the *Moldavian* Despots, that they might be nearer the *Turkish* borders, removed their Throne to *Jassy* It is indeed no large City, but very strong by nature and art, and still remarkable for the ruins of the Palace Besides other things worthy of note, whereas there has not been found in any Town of *Moldavia*, any inscription or mark, by which the names of the founders or antiquity of the place can be discover'd, in the walls of this alone appear ingrav'd on a very large stone [illegible] Tower co ver'd with an Imperial Crown [illegible] by two Lions [illegible] the foundations of the Tower is an Arc on which [illegible] wards, [illegible] ner upw[illegible] head of a wild Bull [illegible] his horns a star of six rays This is also a sign that these things were not plac'd here by the first founder, because the head of a wild Bull began long after to be us'd in the arms of the Province. But of this more fully elsewhere

(32) Crowns] The *Turks* themselves dare not deny that *Moldavia* was subjected to them by the name of a fief The instruments of the *Sultan*, by which they ratified the conditions, were formerly kept among the publick records of *Moldavia*, but in my time by the command or permission of *John Sobiesky* King of *Poland*, in his invasion of *Moldavia* in the year 1686, they were taken, and I know not whether very wisely, burnt publickly at *Jassy*, with this Declaration to the crowds of people, "Behold!

"his

mise to send yearly to *Constantinople* the like present in token of his feudal subjection. The Emperor admits the Prince to his presence, and again ratifies the conditions made with the Ambassador, gives him a larger *Cucca* (33) adorn'd with jewels, with a *Chylaat fabire* †, and a horse with all the imperial trappings. Moreover he orders four of his guard (34) to attend him, which custom is still observ'd whenever the Prince of *Moldavia* comes to the *Othman* Court.

† A Robe. vid p. 159

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" his royal Majesty thus frees you " from the *Turkish* yoke." Among other numberless privileges granted them according to the times, the chief was that wherein it was expresly said, that *Moldavia* voluntarily and without compulsion offer'd her obedience to the *Turkish* Empire, and therefore it is the Sultan's will that all her Churches, religious Rites, and Laws be untouch'd, and nothing more requir'd of the Prince, but that he send every year by faithful *Boyars* to the resplendent Port four thousand gold Crowns, forty bred Mares, twenty four Falcons, in the name of *Pishkiesh*, a present or gift. The *Turks* punctually kept their agreement to the time of *Peter Rares*, in whose administration, they requir'd both an *Haraj* or greater sum in the name of a Tribute, and that he should once at least in three years salute the Threshold of the sublime Port *Peter* boldly refus'd this, and that the seeds of future calamities might not be sown in his name, he resign'd the Diadem and retir'd to *Czirzeu*, a City of *Transylvania*, where he purchas'd no inconsiderable estate with his money But *Stephanus Junior*, chosen in his room, either out of ambition, or with the consent of the Senate, promis'd to pay annually twelve thousand Crowns, and in time, out of too great thirst of rule, his successors so increas'd the sum, that tho' at present there are paid in to the imperial Treasury sixty thousand Crowns by way of Tribute, and twenty four thousand as an *Easter* Offering, many more are exacted by these insatiable Blood-suckers. For as there is no law against avarice, so there is no end of the *Turkish* demands and extortions. All depends on the will of the Prime Vizir, and to make any remonstrance against his pleasure is deem'd Capital.

(33) *Cucca*] It is a Crest or ornament of the head made of Ostrich Feathers, with which are adorn'd only the *Bulukagalars* (or Tribunes,) the *Segban bashi* or chief officer of the *Segban*, who is next to the *Aga* of the Janizaries, and the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*. A lesser *Cucca* is worn by the *Solaki*. The *Cucca* is set on the heads of the new Princes of *Moldavia* or *Walachia* by *Muhzur Aga*, (who is about the Vizir, Keeper of his Court, and his Deputy over the whole Militia of Janizaries,) after which a robe is put on them by the Vizir himself, because they may be said to belong to the *Ojac* or Regiments of Janizaries

(34) of his guard] Neither Pasha's nor Vizirs in general are created with so much pomp as the Princes of *Moldavia*. For Pasha's as soon as the Prime Vizir has put on their robe, immediately go home, and next day receive the Patents of their Pashalate, with the Standard call'd *Sanjak*. But the Prince of *Moldavia*, after receiving the robe from the Prime Vizir in token of his power, is conducted with the whole *Divan* and with the acclamations of the *Chaushi** to the Patriarchal Church, where the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch, attended with all the Clergy and *Greek* Nobles, waits to consecrate the Prince. When the Prince comes into the Court of the Church, he alights from his horse on a square stone plac'd there for that purpose, all the *Chaushi** repeating with a loud voice the Prayer usual on these occasions. " May the most " high God grant a life of many " years to our Emperor and our " Prince *Effendi* (a corruption of the " *Greek*

Besieges Vienna. 1529

XVIII. About the end of the year, *Solyman* securing the Cities he had taken, goes with all his forces to *Vienna*, and lays close siege to the

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" *Greek* αὐθέντης) and may he long " live in prosperity." Then the Prince's whole company honorably wait in the Court and Street his coming out. Mean while, the Singingmen, the moment the Prince treads the Threshold of the Church, sing ἄξιον ἐςὶν, a Hymn compos'd in honour of the *Virgin Mary*, which ended, the Prince ascends a Throne appointed for the Princes of *Moldavia*. The Deacon in reciting τὰς ἐκτενὰς mentions the new Prince in this manner: " We pray also for our most pious, " most serene, and most excellent " Lord *N. N.* may he be crown'd with " strength, victory, stability, health " and security, and may the Lord " our God farther co-operate with " him, guide him in all things, and " put all his adversaries under his " feet." After this, the Patriarch in his sacred vestments, with four or more Metropolitans goes up to the Altar. The Prince also approaches the royal entrance to the Altar, where, being sign'd by the Patriarch with both hands in the face with the sign of the Cross, he lays his head on the Holy Table, which the Patriarch covers with an *Homophor*, and reciting the Prayers that were us'd at the inauguration of the Orthodox Emperors, anoints his forehead with the holy oil. After these ceremonies the Prince returns to his Throne, the singers chanting this *Polychronion* " Grant, O Lord God, long life " to our most pious, most serene, " and most excellent Lord *N N.* " Lord of all *Moldovlachia*, preserve " him, O Lord, many years " Then the Patriarch also goes from the Altar to his Throne, and commanding silence, preaches a short Sermon to the Prince, which is follow'd by the foregoing *Polychronion*, pronounc'd by the Patriarch. At last, when all is over, the Patriarch and Prince, accompanied with all the People, go together out of the Church. In the Porch, the Prince after kissing the Patriarch's right-hand, and being confirm'd by him with hand and voice and the sign of the Cross, he mounts his horse, and with the same Parade as he came, returns home, and dismisses his attendants with presents. After some days *Mir alem Aga*, the Emperor's Standard-bearer, brings the larger Standard call'd *Sanjak*, with the imperial Musick, *Tablchane*, from the Palace to the Prince's house, and is met in the Porch by the Prince. There he takes the Standard, and kissing it, according to custom, with his mouth and forehead, delivers it into the Prince's hands. The Prince upon receiving it, kisses it in the same manner, and gives it to his Standard-bearer to keep, saying, " May the " blessed and great God grant the " most potent, most gracious, and " most just Emperor long life, and " multiply his days." Then the Prince gives the *Mir alem Aga*, a robe, and dismisses him with the usual present After spending a few days in dispatching his affairs with the Court, he is conducted to the great *Divan*, where the Prime Vizir with the rest of *Kubbe Vizirleri* and the two *Cadiuleskiers* stand at the Emperor's right-hand *Capuchilar** *Kiethudasi* or chief Porter, arrays the Prince with a Robe in the Porch of *Arzodasi* or Audience room, *Muhzur Aga* bids him put the *Cuca* on his head, and cloaths all the Prince's Barons, which are usually twenty eight, with new Robes. Thus adorn'd and supported on each side with two *Capujibashi's*, with the chief Porter before and the Court-Interpreter behind, (who is commonly a *Christian Greek*) he enters the Audience-room with four of his Barons At the entrance he bows his head to the ground three times, and stands upright when he comes to the middle of the room, which is not extraordinary large. Then the Emperor from the Throne (*Tacht*) turning to the Vizir, bids him tell him, " Since his faithfulness and sincerity " has reach'd the ears of my Majesty, " I gra-

the City He assaults it forty days with various engines, blows up part of the walls with mines, and commands his men to enter the breaches.

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" I graciously confer on him as a re-" ward the Principality of *Moldavia.* " It is also his duty not to fail in his " fidelity and services for the fu-" ture. Let him protect and defend " the Provinces under his subjection, " and dread to commit any thing a-" gainst or beyond my Mandate " To this the Prince replies, " I vow " on my life and head to lay out my " whole endeavours in the service of " my most just and gracious Empe-" ror, so long as he does not with-" draw the aspect of his clemency " and Majesty from the Nothingness " of his Servant," (*i e* from his unprofitable Servant) Upon these words the Prince goes out of the room, accompanied as when he enter'd, and mounting an imperial horse at the inner Gate of the Court, salutes the prime and other Vizirs as they depart, who answer with a nod, after which, the Barons and his whole Company leading the way, he returns home. When he is about to go to his Principality, whether the Sultan be at *Constantinople* or *Adrianople*, one of the Court officers as *Sylabdar aga*, *Chocadar* aga*, *Miriachoraga*, *Capujilar Kiaiasi*, or one of the Senior *Capujibashi's*, is order'd to set him on the Throne. There are also two *Peiki* or imperial Guards, equipp'd with their Gold and Silver ornaments, and two *Akkiullablu*, (so call'd from the white Hat they usually wear,) and also as many *Capuji's* and *Chaushi's** as the Prince pleases The office of these is, when the Prince mounts or alights from his horse, to make the usual acclamation *alkysh*, and in the towns and villages to take care of necessaries for the Prince's Court. The *Chaushi** go a little before him on foot, when he enters and leaves any town, and the *Capuji's* hold his stirrup when he mounts or dismounts. In this manner he is attended till he arrives to the place of his residence, where all the great men both civil and military to the number of two thousand come to meet him To all these the Prince gives his hand on horseback to be kiss'd, and having inquir'd of their health bids them all remount. Then the Barons attending him on each side according to their rank, and the military officers going before, he enters the City with a slow pace for the greater pomp, and first unlights in the Court of the Cathedral Church dedicated to St *Nicolas.* The Metropolitan, accompanied with three Bishops (for *Moldavia* counts so many Sees, whereas *Walachia* has but two) and the rest of the Clergy, offers the Cross and Holy Gospels for the Prince to kiss, the imperial Musick being silent during this ceremony. When the Prince comes into the Church, after the ἄξιον ἐστὶ is sung, and τὰς ἐκτενὰς read, he approaches the Altar, and when Prayers are over, is anointed by the Metropolitan with the Holy Chrysm, unless he has been inaugurated by the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch, which happens when he is promoted to his dignity at *Adrianople*, or the Patriarch of *Constantinople* is absent. For he is, and is call'd, God's anointed. When all is over and the *Polychronion* shouted, he repairs with the sound of Trumpets and Drums and other Musick to his Palace, and alighting at the *Divan*, stands before the Throne plac'd there, whilst the Barons who came with him take their places. Then the Officer appointed by the Emperor to attend him, gives the *Chatisherif* or imperial Mandate to *Divan Effendisi* or the scribe of the Court, who is a *Turk*, to be read. He rehearses the Mandate with a loud voice, sentence by sentence, which the great *Postelnik* interprets to the rest in their native Tongue. After that, the imperial officer arrays the Prince with the robe he had brought with him, and helps him with his right hand into the Throne, at which moment the guns are fir'd, and the *Chaushi** make the usual acclamation. The Prince in his turn gives the officer a Robe lin'd with Ermin, but to the scribe only a plain *Caftan* Thus establish'd

breaches. But as often as they attempt it, they are repuls'd by the valour of the garrison, though not without loss. The *Christians* would at last have been forc'd to yield to the conquering sword of the *Turks*, if they had not by fraudulent promises (35) deceiv'd the politick *Soliman* himself. For by an ambassador they send the salutation *Eyuvallah* to the Emperor, own themselves exhausted, and promise to be his subjects and vassals. On this account they desire a truce, and prolong, under various pretences, the confirmation of the articles of the treaty; by which means they not only gain time to recover their strength, but also incourage the drooping garrison with hopes of the autumnal rains. Neither were they disappointed. For whilst they are yet busied in treating, the rains at the usual season suddenly fall in such abundance, that the besieg'd are inspir'd with hopes of preserving the City, and the *Turks* so annoy'd, that they despair of success, and are even in danger of their lives. Many of them perish'd with cold and moisture, and more whilst they faintly assault, are destroy'd by the sword and fire of the enemy.

He raises the siege

XIX. These continual calamities and daily slaughters, induce *Soliman* to raise the siege (36). But there was need of no less wisdom to

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establish'd in his Throne, the Prince admits the Nobles to kiss his hand, and after saluting them, retires to his inner room. Then follows a splendid entertainment for the imperial officer, who is conducted to it by some of the Prince's Courtiers This suffices to show the manner of confirming the Princes of *Moldavia*, they who desire a larger account may consult my History of *Moldavia*, which, I hope, will shortly be publish'd

(35) promises] The *Turks* say that the *Christian* Garrison of *Vienna* perceiving the City could be no longer defended, sent to the Sultan to desire a ten days cessation of arms, in which space they could inform their Sovereign of their circumstances: for they were bound by their military oath not to open their Gates to Strangers without his privity but if in that time they should receive no answer, they were freed from their oath, and would even against his will surrender the City to the Sultan, intreating moreover that he would not any more batter St *Stephen*'s Tower, nor destroy so famous and beautiful a structure to no purpose. The Sultan yielded to their intreaties; and to give his own men also some respite, granted a Truce both for the City and Tower, on condition that they would instead of the Cross, place a Crescent on the top of it This indeed the besieg'd did do, but deferr'd the promis'd surrender.

(36) raise the siege] The more fabulous *Turkish* Historians say, When *Soliman* was still intent on the siege, but doubtful of the good success, *Mahomet* appear'd to him in a dream, and told him, unless he appeas'd the angry Deity with the sacrifice of forty thousand rams, he would not escape the danger. *Soliman* interpreting the dream in a literal sense, sent to the Vizir to get forty thousand rams. The Vizir said it was impossible, for in so long a siege all the provisions were very near consum'd, and the remainder would hardly suffice to satisfy the hunger of the soldiers. Besides the neighbouring country was so ravag'd by the incursions of the *Tartars*, that there was no hope left of collecting a new stock of provisions. Whereupon *Soliman* assembled all his officers and told them his dream. They answer'd, the Letter of this divine

to lead back his army with safety. The enemy's forces were at hand, to whom after so great losses in the siege he saw himself inferior. On the other hand, his army was incumber'd with great numbers of captives of both sexes, which the *Tartars* and other light horse had taken as far as the bridge of *Iskender* (37). To keep these, seem'd dangerous, to send them away, imprudent. Wherefore, to be freed from this apprehension, he orders all the captives without distinction of age or sex to be kill'd in his presence. After which he unexpectedly commands the Tents to be unpitch'd, and so before his retreat was known to the enemies, he leads the remains of his forces to *Buda*. There he allows the army some days of refreshment, and receiving of the *Vayvod* (38) of *Transylvania* (whom they call *Ban*) the tenths of the tribute he had rais'd in *Hungary*, confirms him in his principality.

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divine revelation was not to be consider'd, but the internal sense, namely, the forty thousand rams signified forty thousand Musulmans, who under the walls of the City should suffer Martyrdom for their faith When the Sultan came to *Buda*, he review'd his army, and found just that number missing, and for that reason bound his successors by the strictest curse (*Lanet*,) never to besiege *Vienna* for the future This story, though it wants the testimony of their more accurate Historians, is so firmly believed by all, that they do not scruple publickly to affirm, that their defeat at *Vienna* in my time was entirely owing to their treading the ground forbidden them by *Soliman*'s curse, and thereby raising God's indignation against them, who is the avenger of broken vows.

(37) *Iskender*] This is certainly the bridge of *Ratisbon*, which for its famousness and the elegance of the building, the *Tartars* seem to denote by the name of *Alexander* I can't forbear here to say something of the Geographical studies of the *Tartars* It seems a paradox, but however is founded on truth and experience, that no nation in the world has so good a knowledge of all places as the *Tartarian Hords*. Geographical Books or Maps they have none, but by tradition alone have an exact knowledge of all narrow Passages, Mountains, Valleys, Towns, Villages, Rivers, Bridges, Fords, Lakes, and talk of them to one another so often, though they never saw them, till they are firmly implanted in their memories. Hence very justly the *Turks* have made it a proverb *Tatarun kylavuze ybtiaji yokdur* The *Tartars* never want a guide, and yet never lose their way. Where they have once been, they know the way as perfectly as if they were natives of the place, and hand it down so exactly to their posterity, that even they, after several ages, will readily find it. In this they employ their whole study, as in a point, without which they could never successfully perform their daily incursions. But to all places they give particular names according to their fancy, so that Strangers, though ever so well acquainted with the countries, cannot without great difficulty understand what they mean by their imaginary names.

(38) *Vayvod*] This is a *Sclavonic* word, signifying the General of an army, but by the *Poles* given to Governors of Provinces. As *Vayvod Kiowsky*, *Posnansky*, &c. The *Turks* are wont to call by this name the *Christian* Princes of *Moldavia*, *Walachia* and *Transylvania*, who are Tributary to them, especially in the imperial Mandates and Letters of the Prime Vizir, as *Bogdan Vayvodesi*, *Iflak* or *Erdel Vaivodesi*, though formerly the Princes of *Moldavia* were, as appears in Historians, call'd *Tekkiur* or Kings Sometimes this Title is given to Governors of large Cities, which are not Bashas, as *Pera Vaivodesi*, *Galata Vaivodesi*, &c

He circumcises his three Sons.

XX. From thence returning to *Constantinople*, he celebrates with great pomp in the month *Rebiul evvel* the circumcision of his three sons, *Mustafa*, *Mahomet*, and *Selim*. At this solemnity are present not only all the Vizirs and Bashas of the Empire, but also the Ambassadors of the *Christian* Princes, and of *Persia*, with great and valuable presents, so that almost the whole world seem'd to be got together to congratulate the Sultan. The ceremony being over, a very splendid entertainment is made for all that are present. The Emperor bids *Mufti Kiemal Pasha zade* and *Caziulasker Kadri Chelebi** sit (39) on his right hand, and on his left, his *Hoje*† and *Muhi illedin Chelebi**. A second table is prepar'd for the Vizirs, a third for the Bashas, a fourth for *Ulema* or the learned in the law. The rest of the civil and military officers were order'd to place themselves according to their rank; a separate table is provided for foreign ambassadors, among whom at that time the *Persian* and *German* had the precedency (40).

† Preceptor

Buda besieg'd by *Firndos*. ‡ *Bohemians*.

XXI. Whilst *Soliman* was thus employ'd, a sudden message from *Hungary* disturb'd his mirth. For *Firndos* (41) King of the ‡ *Chikhi**, thinking the Emperor taken up with these affairs, unexpectedly besieges *Buda*, and for twenty seven days attacks it with all his forces. But the Janizaries, who were left there in garrison, bravely repulse the assaults of the enemies, and give *Mehemed beg*, son of *Iahia Pasha*, Governor of *Semendria*, time to come to their relief with the forces of his *Sanjak*. But as he found himself too weak, he endeavour'd to elude the enemies strength by stratagem. To this end, he spreads a report among the captives taken from the bordering countries, that he was *Ibrahim Pasha* the Prime Vizir, and that the Emperor was coming in three or four days with the rest of the army; and with this information, he suffers them to make their escape. Whereupon they instantly repair to the Camp of the *Christians*, acquaint them with what they had been told, and by their report strike them with

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(39) sit] This Custom began to be disus'd under *Soliman*, and at present the Emperors suffer no man to sit with them at table.

(40) Precedency] A Letter of a certain learned person to *Dav Chytraeus*, inserted by *Lonicerus* in his *Turkish* History, largely describes the diversions us'd on this occasion, particularly the conflict between a Lion and a Hog, which I shall relate in his words. "Wild beasts (says he) "also fought. Among the rest, a "Hog brought from the *German* "Ambassador's house so battled it "with three lions one after another, "that he not only withstood their "attacks in a notable manner, but "if he had not been tied by one leg, "would perhaps have got the better and put them to flight. Most "certainly he receiv'd the last in "such a manner with his snout, that "he tumbled him over and over, and "made him shamefully run away, to "the great confusion of the *Turks*, "who compar'd themselves to Lions, "and the *Christians*, especially the "*Germans*, to Hogs."

(41) *Firndos*] *Ferdinand* at that time King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*. But the *Turks*, as I think, have heedlessly put the Emperor's name for that of one of his Generals.

ſuch terror, that leaving their great ordnance and other warlike proviſions, they raiſe the ſiege, and think themſelves very happy in being able to avoid the danger by a ſeaſonable retreat (42).

Who is defeated by Soliman H 938 A C 1531

XXII. Thus *Buda* was reliev'd, but that the King of the *Chekhi** ſhould retire without loſs was grievous to *Soliman*. Wherefore to be reveng'd for this affront, in the year 938, he invades his Kingdom with a great army, and where-ever his ſcouts could penetrate, deſtroys all with fire and ſword. On news of this invaſion, *Firndos* ſpeedily comes with no inconſiderable army, gives him battle, and for ſome time bravely maintains the fight. But at laſt he yields to the *Othman* valour, his army is routed and forc'd to fly for refuge from their purſuers to *Gradiſca* his ſeat (43). This victory not only added to the *Turkiſh* Empire above twenty Cities and Towns, but ſo terrified the petty Princes of the *Sclavi* and *Hirvati* (44), that they voluntarily ſubmitted to *Soliman*

The Italians are driven out of the Morea

XXIII. Mean while, before this victory had reſtor'd peace to the *Othman* borders, the *Italians* (45), aſſiſted by other Princes, with a great fleet, invade the *Morea*, take the City *Coron*, and miſerably lay waſte the whole Province. *Soliman* being inform'd of it, made *Mehemed beg* Governor of *Semendria*, Son of *Tahia Paſha*, (who had lately given him a great inſtance of his prudence and bravery in relieving *Buda*) *Beglerbeg* of the *Morea*, and giving him good part of the army, bids him go and wreſt the City out of the enemy's hands, and with Muſulman reſolution (46) attack and be reveng'd of them.

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(42) retreat] Some *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians, but of little authority, ſay the City was reliev'd in another manner. For the *Turks* being beat from one of the Bulwarks, a *Jewiſh* woman, when ſhe ſees the *Germans* crowding through one of the Gates, tears off the ſleeve of her ſhift, and lighting it, fires off a great gun, call'd by the *Turks*, *Baliemez*, which made ſuch a ſlaughter, that the *Turks* had time to recover themſelves, repulſe the enemies, aſtoniſh'd with this unexpected blow, and renew their defenſe The Gun was afterwards by *Soliman* bound with a ſilver-circle like a Crown, and the *Jewiſh* woman with her whole family declar'd free from tribute.

(43) his ſeat] *Gradiſca*, is a noted Town of *Sclavonia*, which is erroneouſly, I think, ſaid by the *Turks* to be *Ferdinand*'s Seat, ſince no *Chriſtian* Writer mentions *Ferdinand's* reſiding there any time.

(44) *Sclavi* and *Hirvati*] Theſe are one and the ſame Nation. However the *Turks* call them *Hirvati*, who are under the dominion of the *Chriſtians*, as on the other hand, thoſe who have embrac'd *Mahometiſm* or obey the *Othman* power, are commonly nam'd *Serbadly*, that is, *Of the Borders*.

(45) *Italians*] In *Turkiſh*, *Ifrenj*, by which name are generally call'd the people of any part of *Italy*.

(46) Muſulman reſolution] that is, reſolve to conquer or die. Both which they deem pleaſing to God, for they believe the dead perſon to be crown'd with Martyrdom, and the Conqueror to be rewarded for his labour in the next World. Hence this ſaying is often in their mouth, when they are going upon an expedition, *ya tacht, ya batcht*, either a Throne or Happineſs. *Ya Shehid, ya Gazi*, a Martyr or Conqueror.

Mehemed

Mehemed beg spurr'd on by thirst of glory and the words of his Prince, swiftly marches to the place where he was sent, besieges the City on a sudden, and presses it so closely, that at length the *Italians*, despairing of relief, surrender their City on condition of having their lives, and are forc'd to march out of the *Morea*.

Olame stirs up *Soliman* against the *Persians*
H 940
A. C 1533.

XXIV. Two years after, *Olame* Prince of *Azerbejan*, hitherto subject to the *Persian*, flies for refuge to *Soliman*, puts himself under his protection, and suggests the means of taking *Babylon*. Perswaded by his reasons, *Soliman* sends *Ibrahim Pasha* with forces into *Asia*, with orders to winter about *Aleppo*, and execute his designs the next spring. *Ibrahim* did as he was commanded, but finding more obstacles in taking *Babylon* than he expected, turns to *Van* (47), which he takes in the first assault.

Chairuddin is made *Soliman*'s Admiral

† *Algiers*.

XXV. Mean time *Chairuddin Pasha*, who had hitherto exercis'd pyracy in the *White-Sea*, offers his service to *Soliman*, and petitions to be Admiral of a fleet, that he might subject to the *Othman* dominion the Kindoms of *Tunez* and *Jezair* †. The Emperor bids him repair to *Aleppo*, and consult with *Ibrahim Pasha* (48), for that he had committed the affair to his direction. Whereupon *Chairuddin* departs, and having perswaded the Vizir that the conquest of these Kingdoms was both easy and advantagious to the *Othman* power, is made Admiral of the fleet.

Some *Persian* Princes turn to *Soliman*
H 941
A C 1534

XXVI. The next year, *Soliman* marches with the rest of the army to the assistance of his Vizir *Ibrahim Pasha*, who was still about *Van*. Departing from thence, when he was come to *Tigris* (49), Sultan *Muzaffer* King of *Gilan* (50) with ten thousand men, and *Mehemed chan*, join with him against *Persia*, and promise to be his future Vassals. *Soliman* incouraging them with the promise of his favour, leads his army to *Sultania*, and after a short refreshment, marches towards *Bagdad* about the beginning of winter.

He takes *Bagdad*, and hangs his *Defterdar*

XXVII. *Tekkielu Mehemed chan* (51) Governor of *Bagdad* under

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(47) *Van*] a City belonging to the *Turks* on the borders of *Persia*, too well known to be describ'd.

(48) with *Ibrahim*] The *Turkish* Sultans, if they have granted the Prime Vizir full power to administer the affairs of the Empire, especially when he is sent into any expedition, are wont to transact nothing without his privity, and if they do, his authority is immediately believ'd to be sinking. Hence if the Emperor orders any thing which should be commanded by the Vizir, that common saying is instantly heard at Court, *Semeri yere urdi*, The Trappings are thrown to the Ground, that is, he is fallen from his honour and dignity.

(49) *Tigris*] formerly *Tauris*, or as others say *Persepolis*, the antient residence of the *Persian* Kings, and Metropolis of the Kingdom.

(50) *Gilan*] formerly *Hyrcania*.

(51) *Tekkielu Mehemed*] A famous *Persian* General, and Governor of *Bagdad*, by whose management *Soliman*'s Vizir and *Defterdar* are said to be corrupted, which danger he escap'd merely by the favour of blind fortune.

the King of *Persia*, being inform'd of this march, and finding himself too weak to withstand the *Othman* forces, abandons the City, leaves the country to the mercy of *Soliman*, and retires with his men farther into *Persia*. Thus *Soliman* without opposition enters the City, and whilst he is spending some days in viewing the monuments of the antient Heroes, he takes notice of a place dedicated to *Imam azem* (52), from whence not only the City could be defended from the assaults of the enemies, but also the inhabitants easily restrain'd, should they endeavour a change. This place he immediately orders to be strongly fortified, well stor'd, and garrison'd with Janizaries. After this, having leisure, he carefully examines the *Defterdar's* † accounts, and finding he had not only converted to his own use several bags of money, but prompted by avarice, had also betray'd his designs to the *Persians*, orders him, accus'd of High-Treason, to be hang'd. The *Defterdar* being brought to the gallows (53), asks for pen, ink, and paper, saying he had some matters to impart to the Emperor before he died. Pen and paper being brought him, he writes a letter to *Soliman*, acquainting him, that *Ibrahim Pasha* the Prime Vizir was also guilty, and brib'd by the *Persians* to make an attempt upon the Emperor's life. This letter, though at first it was suppress'd (54) by the Sultan, was the cause of that famous and prudent Vizir's losing, shortly after, his life.

† Treasurer

XXVIII. Whilst he thus staid at *Babylon*, frequent messages come from the borders, that the *Shah* of *Persia* was marching with a great army to besiege *Van*. Whereupon he returns without delay to *Tybris*, and entering into the great *Jami* built at the immense charge of Sultan *Hassan*, hears the mention of the names of *Mahomet's* four successors (55) with his own by the *Chatyb* (56). Next day he goes and

He deters the *Persians* from the siege of *Van*.

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(52) *Imam azem*] It is suppos'd to be the burial-place of that founder of the ceremonies of the Musulman Sect, whom they commonly praise under this name. His successor was *Imam Shafi*, who though not rejected, yet is not so much follow'd as the other by the *Turks*.

(53) to the gallows] The Testimonies of dying persons find great credit with the *Turks*. For they believe whatever is confess'd in his last moments by a man going to die a natural or violent death, to be so true, as not only to exceed the evidence of forty witnesses, but even to remove all doubt, though the whole World should be of a contrary opinion. Hence it is no wonder, *Soliman* should credit this testimony, and though other proofs are wanting, put his Vizir to death.

(54) suppress'd] It is universally known how artfully the *Othmans* can dissemble, especially in cases of treason, or where their enemies are concern'd. Hence it is a common saying among them, *Kiesilmin El, upiulmek gierek*, We should kiss the hand we can't cut off.

(55) successors] See their names p. 135. Of these the three first are denied by the *Persians*, and only *Ali* acknowledg'd.

(56) *Chatyb*] A Reader, as in our Churches the Deacon, also a Preacher, who from the Pulpit makes mention of the Emperor's name in the prayers.

incamps at *Dergejine*, to be more ready to oppose any attempts of the enemies. By this means, he not only deters the *Shah* from the intended siege, but strikes him with such terror, that he instantly sends ambassadors to the Emperor to sue for peace *Solyman* calmly hears them, but dismisses them without an answer.

Leads home his forces, and puts *Ibrahim Pasha* to death
H 942
A. C. 1535

XXIX. In the year 942, when he sees nothing more to be fear'd from the *Persians*, in the month *Sefer* he leads his victorious troops through *Chavit* towards *Deryishe* Here the Chan of *Bytlis* (57) comes to the Emperor's camp, and obtaining an audience, not only promises future subjection to the *Othman* Empire, but humbly offers the Keys of all the towns in his jurisdiction, and in return is highly honour'd by *Solyman*. After his departure, the Sultan pursues his march through *Amze* towards *Aleppo*, and at length in the month *Rejeb* enters *Constantinople* in triumph, but on the third day, orders his formerly belov'd and brave General *Ibrahim Pasha* to be put to death.

Takes *Giurjistan* by *Mehemed chan*
H 943
A C 1536

XXX. The next year seem'd to require a fresh expedition into *Persia*, to prevent the loss of his late conquests. But the length and fatigue of the march discouraging the Emperor himself, he sends *Mehemed chan*, who had lately submitted to his dominion, with a good army into *Giurjistan* (58). *Mehemed*, to demonstrate his fidelity and diligence

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(57) *Bytlis*] A noted town of *Persia* on the borders of *Georgia*, on a river of the same name. This river abounds with a sort of fish call'd *Moruna* the largest of the river-kind, which are no where else to be found, except in the *Danube* and *Volga*. They never winter in this river, but in the spring they go into the sea, and in autumn return into the *Volga*, nor is there one to be found in winter in the *Caspian-Sea*. The *Russians*, who are possess'd of the mouth of the *Volga*, knowing this, stop up the passages with fences made of reeds, in which they catch innumerable quantities of these fishes as they are going into the sea early in the spring. But the Inhabitants of *Bytlis*, when they saw their yearly prey to be thus kept from them, agreed with the *Russians*, that on the day before *Palm-Sunday*, for the sake of the *Christians* of *Bytlis*, one fence at least should be open'd, and left so for three days. By which means even on the second day great plenty of *Morunas* are taken in the river *Bytlis*. If these things be true (as they were told me by an eye witness a *Turk*, inhabitant of *Tiflis*) the swiftness of this fish is very wonderful, since it can swim over the whole *Caspian-Sea* within twenty four hours

(58) *Giurjistan*] A famous nation inhabiting between *Pontus* and the *Caspian* Sea, antiently call'd *Iberians*, now the *Georgians*. Some believe this name to be given them by their Patron St *George* after their embracing the *Christian* faith but the fallacy of this opinion is from hence evident, that long before the times of St. *George*, mention is made of the *Georgians* by *Pliny* and *Mela*. They profess the *Greek* and Orthodox Religion, but except the art of hunting, throwing the dart, and stealing, you will hardly find any other art or science among them But about three years since they are reported to have brought *Greek* Types from *Holland*, printed a Book, containing the praises of the *Virgin Mary*, and to apply themselves now to *Greek* Learning Their *Chan* or Prince also professes Christianity, yet cannot without a previous profession of *Mahometism* ascend the throne but afterwards obtains the King of *Persia*'s licence to say prayers either in a *Jami* or *Christian*

diligence to the Emperor, instantly leads the forces where he is order'd, enters *Georgia*, and by many bloody battles so humbles the inhabitants, that ambassadors are sent to the Emperor, and the whole country put in subjection to him on certain conditions.

Hasrud beg defeats the Christians in Bosnia.

XXXI. About the same time, a great number of *Moldavians*, *Poles*, *Bohemians*, *Germans*, and *Spaniards*, voluntarily assemble, and invading *Bosnia*, besiege *Sulien*. These *Hasrud beg* the brave Governor of *Bosnia*, without staying for the Emperor's assistance, suddenly attacks, though with a small force, and strikes with such terror, that raising the siege, they only think of saving themselves by flight. But *Hasrud beg*, not satisfied with relieving the City, briskly pursues the Runaways, and overtaking them near *Kilis*, vigorously attacks and puts them to rout. After the victory he besieges *Kilis*, takes it in a few days, and by that means adds to the Empire a whole *Sanjak*, of which he sends the joyful news to *Constantinople*.

Chairuddin lays waste Apulia.

XXXII. Whilst the Empire is thus inlarg'd in *Asia*, it is no less augmented in the West. For *Chairuddin Pasha* (59) (who as I have said, was by *Soliman* made from a Pyrate, High-Admiral) lays waste all the *African* Coasts in the *Mediterranean*, takes the towns which refuse to submit, and destroys the countries with fire and sword. Having thus subdu'd all the strong places of those parts, in his return, he arrives in *Apulia*, takes the town of *Caslube*, and overrunning the adjacent country, carries away a great number of captives.

Kiorfes attempted in vain

XXXIII. About the end of the year, the Emperor equips another fleet, and sends it into the *Adriatic* sea under the command of *Lufti*

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Christian Church. From whence he may justly be said to be amphibious as to his Religion One of these *Chans* was forc'd on some account to fly the last century into *Russia*, whose son, being master of the ordnance in the army of *Peter the Great*, was taken by the *Sweeds* and died at *Stockholm*. When I came to *Mosco* in 1712, I found him there, and receiv'd from him, translated into *Greek*, the Genealogy of the *Chans* of *Georgia*, intermix'd with strange fables. In this Genealogy *David* King of the *Jews* is made the founder of the race, one of whose Grandsons by *Solomon* went from *Judæa* to *Georgia*, and there establish'd a Kingdom, and at last, I know not how, was baptiz'd by his father in the name of the *Holy Trinity*. Perswaded of these idle stories, he boldly affirm'd himself to be related in blood to our Lord *Jesus Christ* as man. Hence the Reader will easily infer the ignorance of this people.

(59) *Chairuddin*] Etymologically, *the Goodness and Grace of Faith*: a famous Pyrate, and afterwards High-Admiral of the *Othman* Empire, the terror of the *Christians*, by whom he is commonly call'd *Barbarossa*. After him the *Turks* had another famous *Capudan Pasha* under Sultan *Mustapha*, *Mezomortus*, to whom the *Turkish* Navy owes all its reputation. Though, as *Capudan Pasha*, he enjoy'd three horse tails, with the honour of a Vizir, he never laid aside his Sea-habit, saying, the *Turkish* dress did not suit with sailors, and fine cloaths were the greatest reproach to a Mariner. So from his time, all the Admirals and Captains of ships have been us'd to wear only the sea-habit.

Pasha,

Pasha, (*Ibrahim*'s successor in the Vizirship) and *Chairuddin Capudan Pasha*, to take *Kiorfes* † from the *Venetians*. He himself accompanied with his Sons *Mustapha* and *Mahomet* leads the land forces through *Avlonia* (60), in order to chastise in the way the *Arnauds*

† Corfu ol Corcyra.

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(60) *Avlonia*] A Country and City of *Albania*, which with *Epirus* is call'd by the *Turks Arnaud* The Inhabitants of this Country are oblig'd to follow the *Turkish* camp with eight thousand men. Their soldiers are very warlike and stout, and excel in shooting with the Musket Formerly they were Orthodox, but now so sunk in *Mahometism*, that they exceed the *Turks* themselves in superstition. No sort of literature is cultivated among them, but such of them as apply themselves to any art, are found to make good progress in it. Among the arts, they excel chiefly in two, Aquæducts, and the cure of ruptures. As for the first, their skill will not be questioned by any that have seen the Aquæducts of *Constantinople*. And yet without any Mathematical Learning, Precepts, or Instruments, they make these Aquæducts, measure the height of Mountains, distance of places, more exactly than a Geometrician can, and judge very well of the quality and quantity of water. When they are ask'd of the grounds of this art, they know not what you mean, nor can explain themselves. They perfectly cure by a method as rough as successful, ruptures in persons of any age. When I was at *Constantinople*, in order to see their method more exactly, I caus'd my Secretary, now in years, to be cur'd of this distemper in my Palace. Accordingly the price of the cure being agreed upon, they bound the Patient to a pretty broad board with swathing bands from his breast to his feet; then with a sort of razor they open'd the *Hypodermium* under the belly, and drawing out the inner coat a hand's breadth, thrust up in their place the intestines that were fallen down into the Cods. After this, they sow'd up the *Hypodermium* with a coarse thread, and when they had made a knot in the thread that it might not slip out, they cut off with the same razor the part of the *Hypodermium* which hung over the stitches, and anointing it with Hog's grease, burnt it with a hot iron After the burning they left the wound in the belly still open, and lifting up the legs of the Patient almost dead, pour'd the whites of nine new-laid eggs into the wound. This as it bubbled up or work'd in an hour or two, they took for a good sign of a cure. For if after the third hour no ebullition or working appears, they deem it mortal, because from thence the Patient's weak[illegible]s apparently so great, that he can't possibly receive any benefit from the Medicine though scarce one or two in a hundred happen to die, and this they ascribe rather to weakness or age than the insufficiency of their art. On the second and third day they repeated the infusion, the Patient being kept all the while on his back, so depriv'd of his senses [illegible] he seem'd really dead Neither did they allow him any thing to eat or drink, supposing it sufficient, if his tongue was frequently moisten'd with a drop of water On the fourth day they laid the patient bound to the board on the floor, where he soon recover'd his senses, and complain'd of his pains with a weak voice. They refresh'd him with a moderate draught of warm water, and the three next days gave him a little broth made of any thing, only taking care not to overload his stomach with meat. The seventh day the bands [illegible] loos'd, and the Patient gently laid in a bed. But that he might not draw up his legs or move himself, two of them stood by him continually, and repeated the infusion of whites of eggs every day. From the ninth to the twelfth day the wound receiv'd only six whites, which as soon as infus'd, seem'd to bubble up more than before The fifteenth

Arnauds, who had rais'd disturbances. But they would have render'd *Soliman*'s passage very difficult, if they had not, by the perswasions of their countryman *Atas Pasha*, submitted to the Emperor. *Arnaud* ‡ being thus subdu'd without blood-shed, he stay'd almost a month to settle the affairs of the country, after which he passes into the Island of which he was now master. When his forces were landed, he commands all the towns and villages to be burnt, and closely besieges the City. At length after many conflicts and mutual slaughters, the City is reliev'd by the approach of winter, and the Sultan forc'd, the sea growing tempestuous, to retreat and sail back to *Constantinople*

‡ *Albania.*

XXXIV In the year 944, an army of twenty thousand men of different Nations under one *Cohpan* (61), enters through *Serem* (62), the *Othman* borders with design to besiege *Semendria*. But before they got thither, they are met by *Mehemed beg*, the Governor of the City, who suddenly attacking them, disperses the whole army. Having thus clear'd his territories of the enemies, he sends his son *Arslan beg* to acquaint the Sultan with what had happen'd, who rewards him for his news with a *Sanjak* (63)

Mehemed beg defeats the *Christians* H 944 / A C 1537

XXXV. These victories, obtain'd by his Generals, lead the Sultan to greater undertakings. Wherefore the next year he sends his Admiral *Chairuddin* and *Soliman Pasha* General of the foot, with a considerable army into *India* (64), where they diligently execute his orders, and annex the whole Kingdom of *Yemen* (65) with the adjacent Provinces to the *Othman* Empire.

Soliman takes *Yemen* by his General H 945 / A C 1538

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fifteenth day the wound scarce held the white of one egg, yet they repeated the infusion as long as they perceiv'd any to go into the wound and bubble up When this ceas'd, they laid to the wound a plaster of pitch, oil, and other mixtures, and suffer'd the Patient to move his feet, and lie on his side Mean while, they constantly in the morning before the Patient swallow'd any thing gently drew the end of the thread which hung out, to try whether the band might be broken After the twentieth, thirtieth, or fortieth day, according to the age or strength of the Patient, they drew out the thread, and with another plaster made a perfect cure By this rough method, of which I was an eye witness, these illiterate people are us'd to cure so difficult a distemper.

(61) *Cohpan*] Who he is can hardly be trac'd. That the *Turks* gave the name of *Spaniards* to the *Germans*, was occasion'd, I believe, from the Emperor *Charles* V. being also King of *Spain*

(62) *Serem*] By this name came to the *Turks* the large Plain, which beyond the *Savus*, lies between *Alba Græca* and *Peterwaradin*, whole inhabitants are also commonly call'd *Serin ogli*.

(63) *Sanjak*] This was formerly the most honorable office among the *Turks*, but since *Soliman*'s civil and military regulations, it is the lowest sort of Governments, because they that are invested with it, have no *Tug* or Horse-tail, but only a Standard which is call'd *Sanjak*

(64) *India*] The borders of *Arabia Fœlix*. For I have not read that a *Turkish* army was ever in *India*

(65) *Yemen*] A large Kingdom widely extending between the *Persian* Gulph and Red-Sea, which both antient

and lays waste *Moldavia*.

XXXVI. Whilst these things were performing by his Generals, he himself with numerous forces, as a friend (66), enters *Moldavia*, but contrary to the expectation of the inhabitants, from the *Danube* to *Socxava*, then the Metropolis, destroys all with fire and sword Moreover pitching his tents near the City, he demands the yearly tribute. The *Moldavians* seeing no way to withstand so great a storm, humbly sue to him for peace, and promise the payment of the annual tribute, only they petition that the choice of a Prince may remain in the state (67), and that he may, as before, be invested with regal authority

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tient and modern Geographers make part of *Arabia*, and have usually call'd it *Arabic* Εὐδαίμων or *Fælix*. But no *Turkish* or *Arabia* Historian ever reckon'd the Inhabitants of *Yemema* among the *Arabians*, from whence I may conjecture, that the opinion of the *European* Geographers, though confirm'd by so many ages, does not rest upon firm grounds. For the better understanding of this matter, it must be observ'd all the inhabitants of *Asia* and *Africa* are divided by the *Arabians* into three Tribes, *Tartars*, *Persians* and *Zengi* Under the name of *Tartars* they include all the Nations between the northern Ocean and the Mountains of *Caucasus*, viz. *Tartars*, *Calmuks*, *Siberians*, *Chinese*, &c. By *Persians* they mean the present inhabitants of *Persia*. By the common name of *Zengi*, they call whoever have fix'd their habitations about *Persia* from the very borders of *China* to the western Ocean, in *Asia* and *Africa*, the *Indians*, *Arabs*, *Egyptians*, *Abyssinians*, *Ethiopians*, Inhabitants of *Morocco*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and *Fez*, the *Moors*, with the *Negroes*, and whatever other barbarous Nations possess that Tract of land, and derive the name from the short curl'd Hair, with which all these Tribes, and these alone are distinguish'd by nature, from whence also such Hair was wont to be call'd *Mui zengi* by the *Persians* who have long Hair, (as for *Asia Minor*, I have shown in a former note, that they commonly reckon'd it part of *Europe* or the *Roman* Empire.) But the name of *Arabians* is ascrib'd only to those Tribes, which wander in the desert plains between *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, *Mecca* and *Bagdad*, the same that in the modern Maps are call'd *Arabia Deserta* and *Petræa* If therefore in the former sense, the *Europæan* Geographers understand by the name of *Arabians*, all the *Zengi*, they must describe *Arabia* larger than has been usually done in Maps and Commentaries But if in the latter sense, they call those only *Arabians*, who call themselves by that name, it is evident, that what they term *Arabia Fælix* is beyond the bounds of *Arabia*. For their very name *Sarihindi*, *yellow Indians*, which is given them over all the East, abundantly shows the *Yemenians* not to be of *Arabian* but *Indian* extraction The *Turks* assign a twofold reason of this appellation Some think them call'd *Yellow*, on account that their Emperor is wont to wear only yellow garments, which are forbid to private persons, as the green colour must not be worn among the *Turks* by Foreigners Others imagine, their natural yellow complexion, which appears whitish in respect of the *Ethiopians* gave birth to this name. In which dispute to know what is nearest the truth, is, I think of no great moment, since it suffices that these are unanimously call'd *Indians*, and not *Arabians*, and therefore that *Yemen* also is not properly part of *Arabia* but of *India*

(66) friend] The *Moldavian* Annals say, that the *Turks*, on pretense of a *Polish* expedition, only desir'd a passage of the *Moldavians*, and afterwards turn'd their arms against them, and miserably laid waste all *Moldavia*.

(67) in the state] The *Turks* for almost a whole Century permitted

according

authority (68). *Soliman* grants their requests, confirms the Prince (69) chosen by them, and restoring the captives, assembles the Nobles next day, and severely reprimands them, saying, that unmindful of the favours receiv'd from the Musulman Emperors, they had dar'd to draw the sword against so powerful an Empire, and not only burnt the Town of *Kili*, but slain many Musulmans. Though for this proceeding all by the *Mahometan* Law were guilty of death, he as a demonstration of his clemency, was ready to give them life and liberty, on condition they would deliver up the Treasures of their late Prince (70). As the wretched *Moldavians* could refuse nothing, the *Defterdar* with a company of Janizaries comes into the town, and plunders both the publick and the Princes private Treasury (71), where are found besides great quantity of money, the diadems of the Princes, scepters, crosses, and holy images adorn'd with precious jewels, which *Soliman* abusing as he pleas'd, leads back his forces to *Constantinople*. In his return, he orders *Kili* (72), destroy'd by the *Moldavians*, to be rebuilt,

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according to agreement the *Moldavians* to chuse their Prince, but in process of time, they began to appoint them Princes themselves, and usually out of the Sons of the Princes whom they detain'd as hostages at *Constantinople* At length they granted this dignity to some *Constantinopolitan Greeks*, as forty years ago to *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, thirty years since to *Antonius Rosseta*, and in my time to *Ducas Ramehota*, and *Nicolaus Maurocordatus*, Son of the famous *Alexander Maurocordatus* first Interpreter of the *Othman Port*, and Collegue of *Rami Mehemed*, *Reis Effendi* at the peace of *Carlowitz*. But of these things more largely in the Description of *Moldavia*, which I intend shortly to publish to the World.

(68 regal authority] This remain'd hitherto inviolate to the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*. They fill at pleasure all the great offices, make new laws, and have full power of life and death over all. For after the Prince is authoriz'd, no complaints of the death of any Person, Baron or other, though ever so innocent, are heard at the *Othman* Court. But if he has exacted any thing tyrannically and illegally from his Subjects, he is accountable for it.

(69) Prince] The *Moldavian* Historians call him *Stephanus junior*, natural son of *Bogdan*.

(70) late Prince] It is the way of the *Turks* always to fix crimes upon those they intend to punish. That the *Moldavians* had burnt *Kili*, 'tis certain, but not with the consent of the state, but through the revenge of some private persons, neither were these so much to blame as the *Bujak Tartars*. For a dispute about felling woods arising between those *Tartars*, in conjunction with other new colonies of *Turks* and the Inhabitants of *Kiegeczy*, these last drove the *Turks* out of the woods, and upon their making a second attempt, put them to flight, and pursuing them to *Kili*, set the town on fire Thus the *Moldavians* formerly contended for their privileges, but now the Tyranny of the *Turks* forces them to submit not only their Timber, but also their Heads to the Ax How long, O Lord, shall Wickedness reign!

(71) Treasury] *Hezar fenn*, an accurate *Turkish* Historian, says, great riches were found in this Treasury, and among the rest he mentions a gold cross adorn'd with so many precious Stones, that no man could pretend to value it. I am told it is still preserved entire in the imperial Treasury

(72) *Kili*] By the *Moldavians* call'd *Cilia*, formerly *Lycostomon*; it is situated on the largest Mouth of the *Danube* on the north, through which

rebuilt, and because there was no woods in those parts, he gives them the timber of a bridge he had run over the *Danube*.

Chairuddin defeats two Christian fleets

XXXVII. Mean while, *Chairuddin*, in his return from the Kingdom of *Yemen*, unexpectedly meets near *Crete*, the enemy's fleet consisting of three hundred ships, and after a fierce and obstinate battle, gives them a memorable overthrow, takes many of their ships and sinks most of the rest. Next day, he finds another fleet of the enemies consisting of several Nations under the conduct of *Andrevirius* (73) in the port of *Prevesa*, and couragiously attacks them. The enemies aided by the advantage of the place, behave with great bravery, and render the victory long doubtful, but at last the *Christians*, perceiving themselves overpower'd, make off in the night, but are forc'd to leave some of their ships to the *Turkish* Admiral as a reward of his pains. Whilst he is returning after these victories to *Constantinople* in a too great security, *Andrevirius*, now out of danger, besieges *Nova*, and taking it, puts all the *Mahometan* inhabitants to the sword to appease the discontents caus'd by his late defeat. But *Andrevirius*'s conquest was short liv'd, for *Chairuddin* the next year attacks *Nova* with a fresh fleet, and recovering the lost Town, kills in revenge of his countrymen all the *Christians* there, without distinction of age or sex

H 946
A C. 1539

The Germans are repuls'd at Buda

H 947
A C 1540

XXXVIII. In the year 947, war is rekindled in *Hungary*. *John de zapol* King of *Hungary*, who had under *Soliman*'s protection manag'd his affairs with good success, departing this life, left an infant son call'd *Istifan* † Heir of the Kingdom The King of *Germany* (74), thinking it easy to dethrone a child with an army of eight thousand chosen men, besieges *Buda*. King *John*'s widow instantly acquaints *Soliman*, who was made the young Prince's Guardian, with this unexpected invasion, and implores his assistance Whereupon *Soliman* sends before his Vizir *Sofi* (75) *Mehemed Pasha* with a good army

† *Stephanus*

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alone ships must pass into the *Euxine Sea*, not far from *Akkierman*. Both these Towns belong'd formerly to *Moldavia*, but now to *Bujak*, call'd *Bessarabia* by the *Moldavians*

(73) *Andrevirius*] This seems to be the name of some *Christian* General corrupted by the *Turks*· But who he was I have not been able to find ||

(74) King of *Germany*] Not *Charles* V. who was then Emperor of *Germany*, but his Brother *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* and *Bohemians*, who by reason of his affinity (for he married *Ann* Daughter of *Vladislaus* VI, Sister of *Lewis* II. who was kill'd in the battle of *Mohach**) thought he had a Title to the Kingdom of *Hungary* But when he saw he could do nothing by force, agreed with *Johannes de Zapol*, that he should hold the Kingdom during his life, and after his death yield it to *Ferdinand*

(75) *Sofi*] *Sofi* among the *Turks* signifies the more strict observers of the Laws, but those that carry their observance to excess are call'd *Zahid*, that is, Hypocrites However the word seems to come from the *Greek* σοφος, hence φιλοσοφος is with them pronounc'd, *falusuf*

|| Whom our Author here calls *Andrevirius*, was the famous *Andreas Doria* (call'd by *Jovius*, *Auria*,) a *Genoese*, and at the time here mention'd, in the service of the Emperor of *Germany*.

and

and in a letter to the Queen incourages her with a promise of coming in person with all his forces to her aid. *Mehemed Pasha*, in pursuance of his orders, marches with all speed to *Buda*. Though he found the enemies strongly intrench'd, yet not discouraged by that obstacle, he commands his men to attack them The *German* King finding by his scouts that the *Turks* were not very numerous, divides his army into two bodies, and with one carries on the siege, with the other oppoles the assaults of the *Othmans* So about the end of the year for thirty days there were continual skirmishes, with such doubtful success, that neither side could boast of the advantage But *Soliman* perceiving the town would not by this means be reliev'd, but was rather in danger of being taken, as the *Germans* had now destroy'd the fortifications, comes in person with the rest of his forces in the spring to his Vizir's assistance. The *Germans* hearing of *Soliman*'s approach within four days march of their camp, raise the siege without hazarding a battle, and leaving their great ordnance, retire in the night. *Mehemed Pasha* deeming it a dishonour to suffer the enemies to depart without slaughter, vigorously pursues them, and getting before to the place where they were to imbark, takes some, and kills others, as they were negligently approaching. Some few throwing away their arms, sav'd themselves by flight The enemies being thus dispers'd, *Soliman* enters *Buda*, sends into *Transylvania*, *Stephanus* the heir of the kingdom with his mother, because he believed them incapable (the one for his youth, and the other for her sex) of defending the kingdom (76), and assigns them a *Sanjak* for their subsistence. After this, he places a strong garrison of Janizaries in *Buda*, under the commannd of a governor of his own name, *Soliman Pasha*, and converting the Churches into *Jami*, and appointing a *Cady*, returns with glory to *Constantinople*.

H. 948
A. C. 1541.

XXXIX This rapid course of victories, not only inspir'd his subjects with reverence, and his enemies with terror, but also induc'd the *Christian* Princes to implore *Soliman*'s aid against the unjust oppressions of their neighbours. To this end *Firanche** *Padishahi* (77) in the

Soliman makes an alliance with the French

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(76) the kingdom] What I took notice of in a former note, that the *Othmans* say well, but do ill, is here verified by *Soliman* When he had under the appearance of virtue acquir'd the good will of all the *Hungarian* Nobility, having now got an opportunity, he shows his cloven foot, and like an insatiable monster, swallows up the Kingdom belonging to an Orphan. The *Christians* may learn by this instance, what is to be got by the protection of the *Othmans*. I wish *Charles* XII. of *Sweden*, (in other respects one of the Heroes of his age,) had duly weigh'd this before he committed himself to the faith of the ever perfidious *Othman* Court Certainly, the event has sufficiently demonstrated how prejudicial his proceeding has been to his Kingdom and all Christendom, and it is to be fear'd will still prove more detrimental.

(77) *Firanche** *Padishahi*] The *Othman* Court gives the title of *Padishah* to no *Christian* Prince but the King of *France*. The occasion and

H 949
A. C. 1542

the year 949, when he could no longer withstand the *Spaniards*, sends an Ambassador extraordinary to *Soliman*, with a letter, setting forth the injuries he had receiv'd from the *Spaniards*, and humbly intreating the Sultan to free him from the power of his enemies *Soliman* admits the ambassador, makes an alliance with *Firanche* Padishahi*, and to gain credit to his promises, sends *Chairuddin Pasha* with a numerous fleet to *Spain*, whilst he puts his army into winter quarters about *Adrianople*. in order to an early invasion of *Germany*

Takes some Towns in *Hungary*

XL. The *French* being thus assisted, annoy the *Germans* on one hand, whilst on the other, *Soliman* enters *Hungary* with a great army, and immediately takes *Liposa*, *Beczozi*, and *Sholklovass*, which had been two years before recover'd by the *Germans* Then penetrating farther into *Hungary*, he becomes master of *Ussturgun Beligrad* (78), *Tatarhyssari* (79), and *Ustuni Beligrad* (80), converts the best churches into *Jami*, and fortifying the towns with strong garrisons, marches back to *Constantinople* in order to triumph But when he approach'd the City, and had now commanded the *Alay* (81) to be prepar'd, he receives

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rise of this title is very remarkable, as reported by the *Turks*. They say a Grand-Daughter of the King of *France* having vow'd a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, was taken near *Cyprus* by *Turkish* Pyrates, and presented to *Soliman*. On account of her birth and beauty she was plac'd among the most beloved Concubines, and so attracted the Sultan's affection by her *French* airs, dancings, and love-verses, that she had an absolute influence over him, and manag'd all affairs Not long after there arriv'd ambassadors from *France*, who seeing it impracticable to get her out of the *Seraglio*, made a virtue of necessity, and told the Emperor, " the King of *France* " esteems it the greatest happiness, " that providence has destin'd his " Daughter (for so they say he call'd " her, not Grand-Daughter) for the " bed of so potent an Emperor, and " hopes the band of perpetual alliance and amity between the two " greatest Monarchs of the World " will be confirm'd by this union of " blood." So by the instigation of this Sultana, *Soliman* not only granted all the *French* King's requests, but also gave him the Title of *Padishah*, and order'd that the *French* Ambassador should have access to his person before all others. This indeed seems to be a fable, especially since I do not find it mention'd in any *Christian* Historian or Genealogist However the *French* do not scruple to boast at *Constantinople* their King's affinity with the *Othman* race, and on that account claim the precedency of all *Christians* For this reason the Emperor of *Germany* has never an Ambassador extraordinary at the *Othman* Port, but only a Resident, and if affairs of greater moment happen, as the confirmation of a peace, or prolongation of a truce, a Plenipotentiary (*Murahhas*) is sent, who takes place of all

(78) *Usturgun Beligrad*] *Strigonium*, or *Gran*

(79) *Tatarhyssari*] *i e* Castle of the *Tartars* At the same time seems to be taken the City of *five Churches*, in *German*, *Funf Kirchen*

(80) *Ustuni Beligrad*] *Alba regalis*, call'd by the *Germans*, *Stulweissenburg*

(81) *Alay*] *Alay* is not so much a triumph as the marshalling of the soldiers in a certain manner, which is always done when the Emperor either departs from or returns to the City But a triumph after a victory is call'd *Donanma humayun*, a majestick triumph. In a battle, when the soldiers are drawn up, the *Alay* is also said to be made, which as I shall have no occasion

receives the melancholy news of the sudden death of his son ***Mahomet***, which so affects ***Soliman***'s otherwise invincible mind, that laying aside all triumphal pomp, he enters the City mournfully like one that was vanquish'd. In remembrance of his son and for his soul's health, ***Soliman*** afterwards built at ***Constantinople***, in the way leading to the gate *Engi Capu* (82), a large *Jami*, and adorn'd it with a College and Hospital, which to this day is call'd *Shehzade Jami*.

XLI. In the year 954, *Elkasib Mirza* being greatly injur'd (83) by the *Persians*, flies to the Sultan, and shows him how he may easily subdue all *Persia* He offers to be Guide and General to his forces, and represents matters so plausibly, that *Soliman*, perswaded by his discourses, supplies him with a large sum of money to raise an army and recover his dominions (84). Early in the spring the Sultan himself moves towards *Persia* with numerous forces. In this march the Emperor is met by his sons *Bajazet* Governor of *Iconium*, and *Mustafa* Governor of *Amasia*, who having kiss'd their father's hand, are sent back to their governments (85).

Marches against the Persians

H. 954
A. C. 1547

H. 955
A. C. 1548

XLII. After

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occasion to mention elsewhere, I shall describe in this place. The whole army is divided into five parts, namely, *Sa[illegible]* the right hand, *Sollol* the left hand, *D[illegible]* the main body of the army, *Chan[illegible]** the forerunners (or vanguard,) and *Dondar* the bringers back (or rear,) who are commanded to force those that run away or give ground to renew the battle In the front are the *S[illegible]en [illegible]**, who are follow'd by the Janizaries led by their *Aga* After these are drawn the great guns guarded by the *Topchis** and [illegible], or K[illegible] of the Artillery Then comes the Prime *Vizir* with his Court and S[illegible] On his right hand stand the *[illegible]* horse, on his left the *[illegible]* After the Vizir comes the Emperor, if he is present, surrounded with his Courtiers and *Bostanji* On his right hand are the *Spahi* of the red Standard, and on his left, the *Spahi* of the yellow, who are call'd also *[illegible]*. After the Emperor are carried the money-coffers, with innumerable waggons and camels laden with provisions and other necessaries Last of all are the above-mention'd *Dondar*. Much the same order is observ'd in the heat of a battle The *Serden guechdi** charge first, then the Janizaries and the rest of the foot Mean while the horse endeavour to attack the enemy in flank, and when repuls'd are seconded by the *Spahi* of both wings Then succeeds the Vizir with his horse The *Aga* of the Janizaries takes notice of the weak part of the foot, and supports them with new supplies The Emperor at a little distance from the battle with his men, has an eye to the whole army, and if any part is press'd by the enemy, sends aid from his own and other Regiments The *Egyptian* foot give place to the *Asiatic*, and the *Albanian* to the *European* But of these things more largely in another place. Besides these, the company of Merchants and Artificers are by the *Turks* call'd *Ordi alai*, who by the imperial mandate follow the camp, that nothing may be wanting there, of what is found in a City.

(82) *Engi Capu*] One of the twenty eight principal gates of *Constantinople* looking towards *Sylivri*, of which elsewhere.

(83) injur'd] They say his wife was ravish'd by the King of *Persia*.

(84) dominions] The name of which is not mention'd by the *Turks*, nor can I find it elsewhere.

(85) sent back &c.] Some of the *Turkish* Chronographers say, *Soliman* was

Recovers *Van*, and routs the *Persians*

XLII. After this, he enters the borders of *Azerbejan*, in order to carry war into the *Persian* Provinces. Whilst he remain'd here a few days, Sultan *Burhan* (86), descended from the antient Sultans of *Shirvan*, comes to the camp, and surrenders himself and territories to the Emperor. Presently after, he commits the custody of *Tibris* to *Elkasib Mirza*, the author of this expedition, but he seeing himself neither safe from the attacks of the *Persians*, nor able to effect any thing for the *Othman* advantage, demolishes the Palaces of the *Shah*, and leads back his forces to the imperial camp, which was now before *Van*. *Soliman*, with this addition of strength, makes a vigorous assault, which so terrified the besieged, that they offer'd to surrender on condition of having their lives. The Emperor, to prevent the effusion of blood, agrees to it, and on the 19th of the month *Rejeb*, is again master of so strong and noble a City. Having taken possession, he leads his forces to *Amze*, where he surprises and routs part of the *Persian* army, and then sends his victorious troops into winter-quarters about *Aleppo*.

Seizes the *Shah's* treasures and subdues the *Georgians*.

XLIII. Mean while, he is inform'd by his spies, that the *Shah's* immense treasures lay weakly guarded in the towns of *Isfahan*, *Kiesban*, and *Camid* (87) Whereupon, allur'd by the hope of spoil, he sends *Elkasib Mirza* with some light armed troops to seize the riches. *Mirza* by known ways penetrates into these inner parts of *Persia*, and routing the guards before they knew any thing of his coming, gets possession of the treasures, and destroying the adjacent country with fire and sword, returns to the Emperor laden with spoil *Elkasib* privately offers part of the prey to the Vizir *Azyzalla* to be made associate to the Governor of *Babylon*, and easily obtains his desire of the covetous Vizir. When he comes to *Babylon* with the imperial mandate, he repents of having deserted the *Persians*, sends private letters to the King, begging pardon, and promising to be for the future faithful to him even amongst his enemies, and a diligent spy upon the motions of the *Turks*. His Collegue *Mehemed Pasha*, who carefully watch'd all his actions, quickly accuses him of this treachery,

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was told that his sons were come with intent to dethrone him. And therefore, since on account of his reputation, he did not care to imbrue his hands with his own blood, he commanded them to return to their homes; but afterwards, upon a fuller discovery, put *Mustafa* to death, as will hereafter be related.

(86) Sultan *Burhan*] *Burhan* is the same with what the *Greeks* call ἀποδεικτικὸν, and the *Latins*, *Demonstrativum*; hence the *Turks* were wont to call a *demonstrative Syllogism*, *Debilburhan* but turn'd into a proper name, it denotes something strong, and as it were invincible, such kind of names were once frequent among the *Turks*, but now are almost disus'd.

(87) *Isfahan*, &c] Formerly the Metropolis of the Province of *Arak*, but now of all *Persia*. *Kiesban*, is corruptly call'd in the Maps *Casian*, and *Camid*, it may be, in modern descriptions is call'd *Com*.

and receives the Emperor's order, to send him in irons to the Port. But before the order came to *Babylon* he was inform'd by some of his friends (whom he had gain'd with *Persian* money) of what was transacting, and as there was no other way to escape, flies into *Giurjistan*. This retreat brings to *Soliman*'s remembrance the late treachery of the *Georgians*, who about a year since surpris'd the Governor of those parts, *Mustapha Pasha*, when little expecting such perfidiousness, he had incamp'd in a narrow place, and cut his whole army in pieces. Wherefore *Mehemed Pasha*, to revenge this deed, is instantly sent with a good army, who entring *Giurjistan*, after several battles fought with various success, at last entirely routs all their forces. After the victory, he takes seven of their strongest castles, and razes them to the ground, and then as the season of the year would not suffer him to make farther progress, he winters his troops in *Diarbekir*. Early in the spring he re-enters *Giurjistan*, and meeting no opposition, reduces above twenty towns to the *Othman* dominion, and when he had confirm'd the Province in the Emperor's obedience, and plac'd garrisons in the fortresses, he goes to *Constantinople* to give an account of his proceedings.

H. 956. A. C. 1549.

XLIV. His Empire being thus establish'd in the East, *Soliman* thinks of inlarging his dominion to the West. To this end, he sends *Mehemed Pasha*, Beglerbeg of *Rumeli*, with the *European* army to take *Temishwar* † the strongest City of all *Hungary*. Accordingly *Mehemed* having made himself master of the neighboring towns, *Bachi**, *Buchgergi**, *Ratzu*, and *Chenad** (88), he lays close siege to *Temeswar*. Mean time an army comes to the relief of the town, which when *Mehemed Pasha* perceiv'd was superior to his own, he acquaints the Emperor by letter with his danger, desiring a speedy supply of forces. Whereupon *Soliman* without delay sends his Prime Vizir *Mahmud Pasha* with the rest of the army to join *Mehemed*. Thus strengthen'd, he routs the enemies, and then takes the City by storm, and annexes the whole territory of *Temeswar*, which was almost as large as a *Beglerbeglic*, to the *Othman* Empire, and leaves the custody of it to *Casim Pasha* (89) with a good garrison.

He takes *Temeswar*. H. 959. A. C. 1552.

† *Temeswar*.

XLV. Whilst the *Othman* dominion is thus extended in *Europe*, affairs are not so prosperous in *Asia*. *Shah Ismail*, son of *Tomasib*, after the departure of the Musulman army out of his borders, enters the countries subject to the *Othmans*, and suddenly takes *Erdish* and *Aglash* (90), and miserably puts to the sword all the *Turks* he could

The *Turks* defeated by the *Persians*.

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(88) *Bachi** &c.] Cities, as it seems, lying between the *Danube* and *Savus*, which country is by the *Turks* call'd *Bacha** *ovasi*.

(89) *Casim*] A famous *Turkish* General, afterwards advanc'd to the Vizirship. He founded or inlarg'd the new colony at *Galata*, where are now the Magazines, and therefore call'd it after his name.

(90) *Erdish* &c.] Towns on the borders of *Shirvan*, in Maps corruptly call'd *Ergish* and *Elata*.

find in these towns. *Iskender Pasha* is sent into the field with good part of the *Asiatic* army to repress this boldness *Shah Ismail* bravely meets him, and joining battle, routs him with the slaughter of the best part of his army. Thus fortune smil'd on the *Persians* in lesser battles, in order to show them her sting in greater For inrag'd at this ill news, *Soliman* severely reprimanding *Iskender Pasha* for his dishonorable flight, resolves with a more numerous army to humble the *Persians* flush'd with this victory But as the season of the year was too far advanc'd to carry war into those parts, he sends before the Prime Vizir *Mehemed Pasha*, and commands him to winter with what army he had ready about *Tokad* (91), and in the year 960, in the month *Ramazan*, near a place call'd *Erkile*, he himself joins the Vizir's camp with the rest of his forces. Here he receives certain information, that his son *Mustapha* (92) (whom on the same suspicion he had last year put under strong custody) was in a plot against his life, and had many complices. Whereupon after finding the thing to be true, he orders his son to be strangled. After this, when he was come to *Aleppo*, *Ihangir* (93) another of his sons departed this life, and the Emperor commands his eldest son *Selim* to winter with the forces in *Marash*.

H 960
A C 1553

Soliman takes *Revan*, and lays waste *Persia*
H 961
A C 1553

XLVI. Assembling his whole army in the year 961, he enters *Shirvan*, and sends an Herald to the *Shah* (94), to tell him he is ready for

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(91) *Tokad*] A City of *Natolia* not far from *Amasia*, according to some, the ancient *Eudocia*.

(92) *Mustapha*] Fourth Son of *Soliman*, who was said to excite all his Brothers against their Father The *Turks* say, *Soliman* with great policy suffer'd their attempts to go unpunish'd above a year, in hopes of leading them to repentance, and afterwards perceiving their obstinacy, caus'd only *Mustapha* to be strangled as Author of the rebellion *Ihangir* also by some is thought not to die a natural death, but to be poison'd by his Father's command. After these rebellions of his sons, *Soliman* made a law, that the Sons of the Emperors should not for the future have any Governments, but be detain'd in the royal City; and tho' some, since this law are reported to have had *Sanjaks*, 'tis never so now.

(93) *Ihangir*] He is said to have been crook'd-back, so that a Globe seem'd to be plac'd on his back, and for that reason to be call'd by *Soliman*, *Ihangir*, as much as to say, *Atla* or *Bearer of the World* See the preceding note

(94) *Shah*] The *Turks* are forbid by their law, to wage war without acquainting the enemy of their coming. This is done, (they say,) both that the *Othman* bravery may not be eclips'd by subduing their adversaries with fraud and stratagem, and that the enemy may be call'd to the precepts of the *Koran* and *Mahometan* Faith. Upon a refusal, they think themselves not only innocent of the effusion of blood, but if they die, believe they become in God's sight, Martyrs, and if they conquer, *Gazi*. However, they do not always so strictly observe this custom, but often interpret the law according to urgent emergencies, nor proclaim war before they have sheath'd the sword in the Bowels of the enemies, as I perceiv'd was lately the case of the *Venetians*, from whom in four months Sultan *Ahmed*, by his General *Ali Pasha*, wrested all *Peloponnesus*. But it is wrong

for battle, and challenges him to meet him in the field, if he dar'd trust his fortune to the valour of his men. But the *Persian* answering his challenge with neither words nor deeds, he besieges *Revan* (95) the seat of the *Persian* King, in the month *Shaban*, takes it in a few days, and destroying the royal gardens, palaces, country-houses, sets fire also to the City, the glory of *Persia*. Then he leads his forces towards *Neh jivan* (96), and by the conduct of Sultan *Husein* (97) lays waste all the country between *Tybris* and *Meragye* (98), utterly destroying the cities, towns, and villages with fire and sword. Having taken this severe revenge of the *Persians*, at the approach of winter he sends his forces into quarters about *Amasia*.

XLVII. The next spring, before *Soliman* led forth his army, *Shah Kuly* (99) Sultan comes to him near *Arzirum* (100), imploring his clemency, and delivering himself to his protection. From thence going to *Bagdad*, he receives ambassadors from the *Persian* King, humbly suing for peace, which after several conferences is at last concluded, and by it the cities *Van*, *Merash* (101), and *Musul* (102) are made the boundaries of the *Othman* Empire.

Makes peace with the *Persians*

XLVIII. Whilst the Emperor was thus employ'd in *Asia*, a certain Impostor appear'd in *Dobruje* (103) under the name of Sultan *Mustapha*,

Routs a counterfeit *Mustapha*

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wrong to blame the *Turks* for what is the common practice of all Mortals.

(95) *Revan*] A famous City of *Persia*, corruptly written in modern Maps *Ervan*.

(96) *Neh jivan*] corruptly in Maps *Nah Schuan*.

(97) *Husein*] He seems to be one of those *Persian* fugitives, who frequently at that time submitted to the *Othman* dominion. For *Amadia*, which is a Province of *Shirvan* or *Azerbejan*, is at present in subjection to *Persia*. Hence seems to be taken the *Hebrew Madian*, and *Greek*, *Midian*.

(98) *Meragye*] corruptly in Maps, *Marraga*.

(99) *Shah Kuly*] One of the *Persian Chans*, who revolted to *Soliman*, famous only for Musick. There are still extant most elegant airs of his, composed for instruments, of which there are two said by the *Turkish* and *Persian* Musicians to be inimitable, namely, *Shah Kuli Sakili* in ἤχῳ *Husam*, and *Kiophpare* in ἤχῳ *Hysar*, in metre call'd *Divrek*.

(100) *Arzirum*] Etymologically, *Grecian* or *European* Land. For the *Turks* are wont to call whatever lies west of *Arzirum*, with all *Asia minor* or *Anadol*, parts of *Europe*. But *Arzirum* is the Metropolis of that *Armenia major*, which obeys the *Turks*, not far from the borders of *Media*, six days journey from *Trapezond* on the *Euxine-Sea* to the South. This is one of the principal *Pashalicks* of the *Othman* Empire, and is given only to Bashas of three horse-tails.

(101) *Merash*] A City of *Asia* on the River *Murasius* near the *Euphrates* between *Aleppo* and *Malatia*.

(102) *Musul*] According to some, the *Nineveh* of the Antients.

(103) *Dobruje*] A Country on this side Mount *Hæmus*, extending along the *Danube* from *Drista* in *Walachia* to the Mouths of that River. A Champain Country, neither water'd with rivers, nor distinguish'd with woods though at the extremity near *Drista* there is a wood, call'd by the *Turks*, *Deli orman*, *the foolish wood.* The Inhabitants are originally *Turks*, and remov'd hither out of *Asia*, but now are call'd *Chitaki**, famous for their singular hospitality. If a Traveller

pha, who getting together about forty dissolute men, had not only cruelly laid waste this, but also all the neighboring provinces. But before the impostor, by reason of the distance, could be restrain'd by the Emperor, *Bajazet*, the Sultan's sixth son, having by an admirable stratagem, drawn him into a snare, takes and sends him in chains to his father, by which means he eases him of great care, being now about to dispatch *Mehemed Pasha* with an army to oppose the counterfeit *Mustapha*.

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veller passes through a village, let him be of whatever Nation or Religion, all the House-keepers appear at their doors, and very kindly invite him to come in, and accept of such a dinner as God has sent them (for that is their expression.) So the Person, whose invitation the Traveller accepts, entertains him and his horses, if he has not above three, without any reward, for three days with such civility and hospitality according to his abilities, that the like is hardly to be found. He sets before him, Honey, Eggs, with which the country abounds, and Bread bak'd under ashes, but very fine. They prepare a little House design'd for the reception of Strangers with Couches in the middle round the fire-place, which the Travellers use as they please Because they have no wood, they burn the dung of Cattle dried in the Sun. They build stone Cottages, but without lime or mortar, so that the walls seem to be rather a heap of Stones. However to keep out the cold, they dawb the outside of the walls with dung. They have Wells, by reason of the dryness of the soil, above a hundred fathom † deep. The country produces bred-horses of great swiftness, which are reckon'd by the *Turks* next to the *Moldavian*. I have often pass'd through this region, because it is in the way from *Moldavia* to *Constantinople*, and shall relate what happen'd to me once in my journey. I us'd to be entertain'd by a certain Inhabitant of the Village *Alibeghio*, a Person of great note and riches among them. Coming to this man's house the 22d of *July*, St. *Phocas*'s day, and seeing all his Labourers, (of whom he had hir'd above a hundred of the *Christians* by the year) standing idle, I ask'd him, why his people were not at work He reply'd, though he was a *Mahometan*, he never suffer'd any work to be done on that day. My wonder being more rais'd by these words, I ask'd him the reason of this solemnity, He answers with a smile, "I admire, that "you, who are a *Christian*, do not "know this to be St *Phocas*'s day" What, say I, have you to do with St. *Phocas*? My Friend, replies he, say not so. That Saint has sufficiently shown his virtues among us by Miracles. For it is transmitted to us by our Fore-fathers, that our people, ignorant of St *Phocas*'s sanctity, sent their *Christian* Labourers on this day to gather in the Harvest, and upon their urging it to be St *Phocas*'s day, forc'd them with blows to do as they were order'd Accordingly they obey, though unwillingly, and load the Carts with Corn But as they are returning home, there appears to them a Man, venerable for his age, with a burning Torch in his hand, who severely threatens the Labourers for profaning his Festival, and at the same time fires the Corn in the Carts with his Torch, the flames of which, like lightning, running through the country, consum'd not only the Corn yet standing, but what was already hous'd. Our Fathers, instructed by this loss, resolv'd to keep this Saint's day as religiously as the *Christians*, and abstain from all Labour. Which resolution being observ'd, we don't remember the like fire has since happen'd to us.

† Ὀργυιὰ.

XLIX. About

XLIX. About this time, a war was kindled again between the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, in which the *French* King (104) being unsuccessful, and press'd by his enemies, desires the Emperor to send a second fleet to his assistance. *Soliman*, not thinking any request of his ally should be denied, sends *Carly Elibeg* (105) with a strong fleet against *Spain*. *Elibeg* finding no opposition at sea, ravages the coasts of *Spain* with some Islands, and setting fire to what he could not bring away, carries off the inhabitants in bonds. He caus'd by these proceedings the *Spaniards*, dreading his farther progress, to recall their troops and send them against him, by which means the *French* army, commanded by *Corbon* (106), obtain'd a compleat victory, forty thousand *Spaniards* being, as it is said, slain on the spot.

Aids the *French* with a fleet

L. *Soliman*, incourag'd by this success, sends another fleet under the conduct of *Peri Reis* to *Hurmuz* (107), to ravage the Coasts. who succeeding at first, plunder'd all the maritime provinces of that Kingdom, and laden with spoils returns towards *Constantinople*; but whilst he was sailing with too great security in the *Egyptian* sea, he is pursu'd by the enemy's fleet, his scatter'd ships are attack'd, and partly sunk, partly taken, especially such as were incumber'd with the spoils. Some few of the lightest escape, in one of which was *Seid ali Kapudan*, who assembling the dispers'd ships that had not been in the battle, or had sav'd themselves by flight, re-attacks the enemy's fleet sailing back in disorder, and by a strange turn of fortune, gets the advantage, and sinks several ships. Thus *Soliman* was attended with good success on sea and land, and

Sends another into *Hurmuz*.

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(104) *French* King] *Francis* I, who by his continual wars with the Emperor *Charles* V, afforded *Soliman* ample room to seize the Kingdom of *Hungary*.

(105) *Carly Elibeg*] He seems to have been an old Admiral, but not the *Capudan Pasha* himself. It may be conjectur'd from the name *Carly*, that he was some Renegado *Christian*.

(106) *Corbon*] He seems to be *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, General of the Emperor *Charles*'s army, who revolted to him from the *French*. The *Turks* often use to confound the names of the *Christian* Generals. But as neither the *German* nor *French* Annals mention this battle, I take it to be a fiction of the *French* to induce *Soliman* the more readily to assist them. An Artifice I have known them in my time to use at *Constantinople*.

(107) *Hurmuz*] This name is by the *Turks* given to two Countries and Seas, *Portugal* and the Island *Ormuz*, (the ἅρμυζα of *Ptolemy*) and also to the Sea of *Portugal*, and the *Persian* Gulph, because Pearls are found in both, call'd by the *Turks*, *Hurmuz*. As it is well known, that the *Turks* had a great fleet for a long time in the *Red Sea*, call'd by them *Bahril Kulzum*, or more usually *Suvid Dengisi*, and also that *Selim* endeavour'd to unite the *Red-Sea* to the *Mediterranean*, from which purpose he desisted not, till the Channel he had almost perfected was over-whelm'd with sand, (on these accounts I say) I should think the *Persian* Gulph was here meant, if it was not said the fleet return'd towards *Constantinople*, which could not be done, but by sailing all round *Africa*, a thing never yet perform'd by the *Turks*.

very often an inconsiderable loss was the forerunner of a great victory For at the same time *Toigun Pasha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, with his forces took three towns (108) from the *Christians*, and carried away numberless captives. On the other hand, the Governor of *Jizair* (109), *Salih Pasha*, subdu'd *Bijane* (110) and three other castles in *Spain*.

ends another eet to aid the *rench* H. 963 .. C 1555.

LI. In the year 963, a fresh occasion of acquiring glory occurrs. *Francha* Padishahi*, when he did not succeed against the *Spaniards* according to his wish, desires a third fleet to be sent to his assistance. *Soliman* rejoicing that he could break one egg with another, without hurting his own hands, readily grants his request, and sends *Capudan Piale Pasha* (111) with a great fleet into the *Spanish* Sea, to join the *French*. *Piale* diligently executes his orders, and in conjunction with the *French* forces takes *Misine* (112), *Rije* (113), with *Marioca* (114), and three lesser neighboring Islands (115), and laying waste all the coasts of *Apulia*, about autumn returns to *Constantinople* with rich spoils.

'akes new gulations in e State

LII. His Empire being thus establish'd and strengthen'd on every side, *Soliman* gives his army some respite, and spends almost ten years in better regulating his civil affairs His first care was to finish the *Jami* founded by him three years before, which he does in so beautiful a manner that next to *Sancta Sophia*, there is not, it is thought, the like in the whole world, and calls it by his own name *Suleimanie* (116).

After

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(108) three towns] I cannot learn their names.

(109) *Jizair*] or with the article *El*† *jizair*, call'd in Maps *Algiers*. It is subject to the *Turks*, but uses its own laws, like *Tunis*. However in time of war they are oblig'd to send the Sultan six or eight men of war. If the Sultan is at peace with the *Venetians* and other *Christian* States, they are free from all obligations to him, and may always pursue the exercise of Pyracy, like the Knights of *Malta* among the *Christians*. A Pasha is given them by the Sultan, but he can do nothing arbitrarily as in other places. As for Necessaries, Victuals, and Cloaths, he is largely supplied by the Inhabitants, but besides this, he has no right, nor power of commanding any thing in the Emperor's name. Very often they depose him by their own authority, but to save the honour of the *Othman* Court, accuse him to the Sultan of misdemeanours, and petition for a better. The Court rather connives at, than allows these proceedings, but for fear of an open revolt, always condemns the Basha, and declares the Inhabitants of *Jizair* to be just

† the

(110) *Bijane*] Perhaps *Nizza*, a Castle in *Piedmont*, which the *French* aided by the *Turkish* forces took about that time.

(111) *Piale Pasha*] A famous *Turkish* High Admiral, whose Market-place and *Jami* are to be seen at *Constantinople*

(112) *Misine*] *Messina* in *Sicily*

(113) *Rije*] *Regium Julium* in *Calabria* This, and *Messina* by a common mistake of the *Turks* are plac'd in *Spain*.

(114) *Marioca*] The Island *Majorca*, the principal of the *Baleares*.

(115) three lesser] perhaps *Minorca*, *Yvica*, and *Formentero*, but this is only conjecture.

(116) *Sulamanie*] This Temple is on a high hill looking towards the Harbour, and built with so much art and elegance, that no structure deserves to be compar'd with it This

I have

After this, perceiving many things to be perform'd irregularly in the Court and Kingdom, and the confus'd degrees of offices to beget contention and strife among his officers, makes new regulations both civil and military, enjoins them as laws to the whole Musulman Nation, and assigns to every one his rank at Court, in the City, and in the Army Thus the arms but not the mind of *Solyman* is at rest, who like a butting goat, retires only to strike his enemies with the greater force. For he had discover'd by his former expeditions, that the *German* Empire was too powerful to be overthrown with the bare hoofs of horses, and greater preparations and longer time requisite to break down the barriers by which it was defended. Wherefore during these ten years, he makes the greatest warlike provisions, replenishes his exhausted treasures, assembles troops from all parts, and now endeavours to execute the design, in which only *Mahomet Fatih* had gone before him, and which he himself had already attempted in vain.

Dies at the siege of *Segetwar*
H 974
A C 1566

LIII To this end, in the year 974, he goes with a mighty army from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*, and dispatching some troops under the command of the Prime Vizir *Pertev Pasha* to seize *Giule* (117), follows more slowly with the rest. But though nothing was wanting to this expedition, yet he wanted youth, and old age refus'd to execute his purposes. Worn out with years, when he comes to *Segetwar* (118), his body, fatigu'd with so many labours, is first seiz'd with a slow fever, which increasing by degrees, turns to a malignant one. Though the Emperor was grievously tortur'd by it, and there was scarce any hope of recovery, yet invincible, and as it were immortal in his mind, he orders the City to be besieg'd and assaulted. But when, upon the Governor's making a braver defense than was expected, his grief was more increas'd, *Solyman* oppress'd with publick cares, frequently repeats this sentence. "The City, whose hearth (119) was to be extinguish'd, is "not yet taken!" Afterwards when he perceives death's approach, he lifts up his hands to Heaven, and thus prays. "O God of all the "worlds (120), O Sovereign and Lord of all creatures, I humbly be-"seech

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I have heard affirm'd, not only by *Turks*, but by Foreigners of several Nations Nor is it any wonder, that the Building should be so elegant, since it contains not only what the common Marble Quarries, and the Ruins of *Troas* afforded, but also every thing precious or rare that was found in the antient works of the *Greeks*, by which they foolishly imagin'd to acquire an immortal name to themselves. Four Towers adorn this Church, two with three *Sherife* or Galleries, from whence the *Ezan* is sung, and the others with two. The President of the adjoining Academy takes place of all others, and from that office rises to the dignity of *Mola*.

(117) *Giule*] So call'd at this day in the Maps.

(118) *Segetwar*] by the *Christians* call'd *Sigeth*.

(119) hearth] A *Turkish* Phrase denoting utter desolation and destruction. For where the fire is not lighted, there men dwell not.

(120) worlds] The *Turks* say, that God has created seventeen thousand worlds, but that this will be the last. There

" seech thy most sacred Majesty to have pity upon the Host of the " faithful, and vouchsafe to grant they may instantly conquer this City " Whilst he was pouring out this prayer he dies, on the 13th day of *Sefer*, in the year above-mention'd.

Segetuwar is taken, and his death conceal'd

LIV. The Prime Vizir immediately informs *Selim*, who was then at *Magnesia*, of his father's death, and intreats him to hasten to the army, but conceals the Emperor's decease from all besides, and in his name exhorting the soldiers to take the City, so manages, that the Sultan's death could not be suspected. On the 18th of that month, he orders a general assault, which promoted by an accidental fire (121) in the City, so prosperously succeeds, that though the Garrison made a gallant resistance, they were within few hours subdued by the valour of the *Othman* soldiery. This day famous for the conquest of this strong fortress, was render'd more illustrious by the news of the taking also of *Giule* at the same time.

Selim is saluted Emperor

LV. Mean while, *Selim*, on receit of the Vizir's letter, hastens with all speed to the camp, where at his arrival, *Soliman's* death being declar'd, he is unanimously proclaim'd Emperor After which, to pay the last duties to his father's remains, he lays his body in a gilt chariot, and attended with the whole army, conducts it to *Constantinople*. When they come near the City, all the *Ulema*, *Eshrefi* (122), and Great-men, with a crowd of people, meet the funeral, and accompanying it with the invocation of God's name, *Zikr* and *Teshbih*, and with singing into the City, deposite the body in the Court of the *Jami* built by *Soliman*, and call'd by his name, and perform the *Namaz* according to the rules of *Imam Shafi* †, to which the Emperor himself was not only very much addicted, but always carried with him *Imam* (123) *Nakybul Eshref* one of the sect. The solemnities being over, the body is committed to the earth, and all the Ecclesiasticks and other re-

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There was once a great dispute about this expression among the learned *Turks*. Some denied it to be Orthodox, to say God of all the Worlds, when properly he is only God of the Musulmans, and said the name of Governor of the Good and Bad, suits not with his Holiness. Others asserted the contrary, and producing a passage of the *Koran*, where God is called Lord of all the Worlds, their opinion was approv'd by the rest.

(121) fire] The *Turks* ascribe this entirely to *Soliman's* prayers, by means of which, the City was taken, not by force of arms, but by a remarkable accident, whereby God was pleas'd to glorify the prayers of his Servant.

(122) *Eshrefi*] Men of holier lives, or conspicuous for some ecclesiastical dignity, from *Sherif*, *Holy*. Hence *Kudsherif*, *Jerusalem*, *Kiabeishei if*, *Mecca*, &c

(123) *Imam*] An Ἐφημέριος Priest, who daily says publick Prayers. He who attends on the Sultan, is in great Honour, and distinguish'd with the Title of *Imam Effendi*.

† See Note on Paragraph XXVII. of this Chapter [*Imam azem*]

ligious

ligious that were at *Constantinople*, are order'd to finish the *Telaveti Koran* (124) forty times a day for forty days, and by these prayers to obtain the peace of his soul. Moreover his son causes to be erected before the *Jami*, a *Mihrab* (125), and over his grave a large marble *Turbe*, which is at this day religiously visited by the Musulmans. For they are perswaded that he was a great favorite of Heaven, because he not only lost his life at the siege of *Segetwar*, and so became *Shehid*, but was also *Gazi* †, two Cities being taken under the conduct of his relicts, and annex'd to the *Othman* Empire.

† Conqueror.

Soliman's character

LVI. Thus liv'd and reign'd *Soliman* a Prince of an heroic and invincible mind, of great valour and wisdom, and so patient of the hardships which usually attend warlike expeditions, that he almost seem'd to be nourish'd by them. Besides the *Turkish* language, he spoke also *Persian* and *Arabic*, and in that kind of poetry, by the *Persians* call'd *Nazm* (126), he excell'd all in elegance and wit. His *Persian*, *Hungarian*, and naval victories gain'd him a great name, but his reformation of the Courts of Justice, and his excellent laws, by which the *Othman* Empire still flourishes, acquir'd him a greater. On this account the name of *Canuni* was ascrib'd to him by the *Turks*. He govern'd the *Othman* Empire one and forty years, and liv'd seventy four. He had seven sons, *Murad*, *Abdulla*, *Mehemed*, *Mustapha*, *Selim*, *Bajazet*, and *Jihangir*, who all but *Selim* his successor, died contrary to the order of nature before their father.

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(124) *Telaveti Koran*] The Reading of the whole *Koran*, which is usually done over the Grave of the deceased, as with us the Psalter and New Testament are wont to be read.

(125) *Mihrab*] Signifies both an Altar and the Southern part of a *Jami*. Concerning this word the *Turks* have the following story. A certain Poet being banter'd by his Acquaintance for still loving a Mistress, now grown pale, bearded, and old, without any abatement of his former passion, excuses himself with this Distich *Gier Mesjehid* ikyldyse, nola Mihrab ierinde*, that is, Though the *Mosch* (or Temple) is destroy'd, the *Mihrab* (or Altar) still remains unhurt. His Enemies upon hearing this Distich immediately carry the Poet before the Judge, and accuse him of Blasphemy, by explaining the Verses so, as if he had compar'd the wither'd face of his Mistress to a Church, and that part of her Body, which had been the object of his youthful Passion, to an Altar. At which the Judge is so mov'd, that he sentences the Poet to lose his Head.

(126) *Nasm*] A Poetical Metre often occurring, particularly in the *Koran*, and for that reason is accounted more elegant than the rest.

Cotemporary with SOLIMAN I. reign'd in *Europe*.

In *Germany*, { CHARLES V. 1519-58. / FERDINAND 1558-63

In *England*, { EDWARD VI. 1546-53. / MARY 1553-58 / ELIZABETH 1558-1602.

In *France*, { FRANCIS I. 1525-47. / HENRY II. 1547-59 / FRANCIS II. 1559-60. / CHARLES IX. 1560-74.

The End of the Reign of SOLIMAN I.

The REIGN of

SELIM II. Sirnam'd MEST (1).

Eleventh EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK III. CHAP. V.

Selim saluted Emperor, H. 974. A. C. 1566. † *Mars.*

I. *SOLIMAN* being dead, *Selim* only remained, on whom the Empire could devolve, and was then at *Amasia* as has been said. Departing from thence in the year 974, on the 9th of the month *Rebiul evvel*, the Planet *Merich* † ruling that day, he enters *Constantinople*, and mounts his father's throne. Next day all the Great men of the Empire, according to custom, appear in mourning (2) at Court, adore the new Emperor, and comfort him on his father's death with excellent speeches.

and receiv'd by the army.

II. Three days after, with a few attendants he departs from *Constantinople* towards *Segetwar*. But in the mean time, the Vizir *Mehemed Pasha*, having taken the City and guarded it with a strong garrison, had sent the army into winter quarters, and was now come as far as *Belgrade*, the Emperor's death being still a secret to all (3). Wherefore

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(1) *Mest*] i. e. *Drunken*, so call'd from his being addicted to Wine and Drunkenness, which was his greatest delight. However, though he was extremely given to this vice, he is said never to omit the usual daily Prayers. There are other Historians, who that such a stain might not be cast on so famous an Emperor, deny he us'd to be drunk, but pretend he was seiz'd with a sort of divine Enthusiasm, which, least the people should suspect to be Hypocrisy, he himself declar'd to be drunkenness, and so chose rather to be accounted a Drunkard than an Hypocrite. But such Colourings for the Vulgar

(2) mourning] Formerly they us'd the greatest solemnities, and choice of colours at the *Turkish* Emperor's death, but at present they only mourn three days in red Habits, and that not very strictly, after which they put on again their usual dress.

(3) secret] Both *Christians* and *Turks* unanimously affirm, *Selim*'s death

C. Du Bosc Sculp.

Selimo II Eleventh EMPEROR of the Turks, in the Year 1568.
From an Original in the Seraglio

Wherefore the soldiers are troubled at *Selim*'s sudden and unexpected arrival, and fearing he might, after the example of his Grandfather of the same name, do some injury to his father, run to their arms. But when they were certain of *Soliman*'s death, they all receive *Selim* as lawful successor, and pay obeysance to him as to their Sovereign.

III. As soon as all things necessary for his father's funeral were ready, he returns to the royal City, and after the ceremonies are over, is again confirm'd in the throne by all orders and degrees, and celebrates his father's victories with a splendid triumph. Then he distributes to the Janizaries and *Spahi* the usual *Bakhshish* (4) or donative, but presents the *Ulema* and rest of the Ecclesiasticks, who officiated at his father's funeral with silk robes and money.

He buries his Father in a splendid manner.

IV. Mean while, *Beni omer* (5) *Ulian ogli* the *Arabian*, hearing of *Soliman*'s deceate, not only dares to throw off the *Othman* yoke, but also perswading his neighbours to join in the rebellion, invades the territories of *Bagdad*, which he cruelly lays waste. However he did

He vanquishes the rebellious *Arabs*
H. 975
A. C. 1567.

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death was conceal'd by the Vizir for forty one days, till *Selim* came to *Belgrade*. This, a Reader, ignorant of the *Turkish* Customs, will be apt to deem impossible to be done among so many thousands of soldiers: but those that know the more than *Pythagoric* silence of the *Othman* inner Court, will not call it in question. No man speaks there unless order'd, no talking to one another, neither doth any person dare so much as to sneeze or cough, whatever occasion he may have. If they have any thing to communicate to one another, 'tis done in the language of the Mutes, by signs. They wear no shoes, and walk only on the tips of their toes, and withal so softly and carefully, that you can hardly perceive the sound of their steps when they are running. For the least noise is attended with a severe correction.

(4) *Bakhshish*] or Largess, usually given to the soldiery, on the election of a new Emperor. Each Janizary, (and there are forty thousand) receives twenty Dollars, and each of fifteen thousand *Spahi*, twenty five. Sometimes also at the Sultan's pleasure their daily pay is increas'd with an *Asper*, which however is seldom done, but when the Sultan wants to ingratiate himself with the army.

(5) *Beni omer*] The sons or posterity of *Omer* are a Tribe of *Arabians* wandering in the deserts of *Babylon*, without fix'd habitations. Sometimes they are subject to the *Othman* Empire, and out of the produce of their Dates, which are the sole fountain of their riches, pay a good yearly sum of money to the Governor of *Babylon*. But they frequently rebel and ravage the very Suburbs of *Basre*. In Sultan *Mustapha*'s reign, they suddenly surpriz'd the City of *Basre* itself, and continued masters of it near two years. But afterwards, *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha* Governor of *Babylon*, expell'd them from thence, and crush'd the whole tribe, by killing thirty thousand of them, whose heads he produc'd before *Capuji bashi Baidal Ismail*, sent by the Emperor for that purpose. This victory acquir'd him so great a reputation, that he was a few days after advanc'd to the dignity of Vizir, but to his destruction, for within three months he was accus'd by the Mufti of rebellion, and though innocent, punish'd with the loss of his head. This cruelty shortly after gave birth to a conspiracy, which dethron'd *Mustapha*, and killing the Mufti, a thing seldom practis'd among the *Turks*, deliver'd the imperial Diadem to *Ahmet* his brother, the present Sultan.

not long go unpunish'd. For *Selim*, inform'd of these proceedings, instantly orders the Governors of *Bagdad*, *Basre* (6), and *Shehresul* (7), to join a good body of Janizaries with the forces of those Parts, and go in quest of these plunderers. His commands are speedily executed, and the wandering *Arabs* in the deserts of *Basre*, are attack'd, dispers'd, and routed, and the country restor'd to its former tranquillity. The same year *Selim* finishes a bridge (8), begun five years before by his father, not far from *Constantinople*

He attempts in vain to join the *Tanais* and *Volga*

V. Mean time, a new war was to be thought of, least the *Othman* valour should be blunted with idleness. A peace had been but very lately concluded with the Emperor of *Germany*, nor was there any cause for a rupture. The *Persian* was the only Prince, against whom the *Othman* arms could be turn'd, as he seem'd by his continual incursions to give just occasion for a war. But *Selim* was deterr'd from this by the difficulty of the places, as well as by the warlike stores and provisions to be carried thither, for want of which, he had perceiv'd that numerous armies of his Ancestors had miscarried. To remove this obstacle, he sends a body of soldiers over the *Euxine Sea* to *Kufe* †, and orders the Chan of *Crimaea* to hire labourers out of all the *Tartarian* Tribes, and pitch his tents near the river *Ezel* ‡, in that place, where it is but six *Italian* miles from the *Ters* ∤, and by a Canal to join the two rivers. He hop'd if this design took effect, to penetrate with ease out of *Pontus*, through *Maille* (9), *Ters*, and *Ezel*, into the *Caspian*

H 976
A C 1568

† *Caffa* ol. *Theodosia*
‡ *Volga* ol. *Rha*
∤ *Tanais*

ANNOTATIONS.

(6) *Basre*] *Balsora*, formerly *Bostra*, in Maps it is commonly plac'd at the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, but erroneously. For it lies six days journey up that river. *Curma* is situated at the Mouth of the *Euphrates*, the most noted Mart of the East, unknown to all the Geographers I have yet met with.

(7) *Shehresul*] An *Asiatic* City and Territory well known. It has a Pashalic with the honour of three Horse-Tails, but of so little account among the *Turks*, that if a Basha be removed from another Pashalic to the Government of *Shehresul*, he is look'd upon as sent into banishment.

(8) bridge] This bridge is over the Lake *Buyuk Chekmeje**, where it runs into the *Propontis* at a village of the same name, about two hours distance from *Constantinople*. It is all built of square stones, and two thousand paces long, a truly imperial work. *Hiudai*, a famous Poet of that time, adorn'd the marble inscription to the Sultan with some elegant Verses, which, if I rightly remember, are as follows

Bashladi bu jisri olmadan temam
Kildi azmi [illegible] jennet [illegible]
Geldi [illegible] hakk Shah Sultan Selim
[illegible]
Didi tarikhin Hiudai [illegible]
Yaptdi [illegible] Shah Selim [illegible]

i. e. *He begun this Bridge, but* [illegible] *be finish'd, he took a Journey* [illegible] *Paths of Paradise by the help of the* [illegible] *merciful (God)* SHAH SELIM [illegible] SELIM, *God's Shadow,* [illegible] *finish'd and compleated this large Bridge* HIUDAI, *at that time told the* [illegible] *in which* SHAH SELIM [illegible] *Bridge over the Water* From the last Distich, by a computation call'd by them *Ebjed*, the sum of 974 years is counted

(9) *Maille*] So the *Palus Maeotis* was once call'd by the *Turks*, as I gather from these words of the Historian, perhaps a corruption of *Maeotis*. But at present the *Turks* give this name

Caspian-Sea, and as the *Persians* had no fleet there, to transport an army into *Shirvan*, and so without much difficulty subdue all *Persia*. And this work would have entirely succeeded according to his wish, if the supreme Governour of the world had suffer'd the bounds he had set these rivers to be changed. But the *Crimean Chan*, who on receit of the Sultan's mandate had instantly repair'd through *Aizderchan* (10) to the place appointed, had scarce finish'd a third part of the channel, when the labourers are so infested with constant rains, cold storms, and want of provisions, that many perishing with sickness and hunger, they are forc'd to desist from their enterprize. However with these mischiefs, this expedition was attended with one advantage, namely, thirty thousand *Nigaian Tartars* (11), who had hitherto been under the *Russian* Empire, turn'd to the *Othmans*, and departed with their families to habitations assign'd them in *Crimæa* Bnt *Chan Kyrim* not succeeding in his undertaking, the *Turks* return to *Constantinople*.

He quells a rebellion in *Yemen*

H 977

A C 1569

VI. About the same time, *Muttahir*, Sherif of the Kingdom of *Yemen*, with some *Arabians* gain'd to his party, suddenly attacks *Murad Pasha*, Beglerbeg of *Yemen*, slays him with his whole army, and so frees *Yemen* from the *Turkish* yoke. But *Selim* on news of this rebellion, burning with indignation to be thus serv'd by one of no account, commands *Sinan Pasha* (12) Governor of *Egypt* to join his forces with those of *Ozdemir Ogli* (13), and revenge their slain bre-

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name to that Gulph of the *Black-Sea*, which washes *Ocbacovia**, the *Olbiopolis* of the Antients. The *Mæotis* is now call'd *Azak denizi*, the Sea of *Azof*, and its *Bosphorus*, formerly, *Cimmerius*, *Gierch** *Taman Bogasi*. It was shut up by two Fortresses (after the taking of *Azof* by the *Russians*) by *Osman Pasha* the *Turkish* High-Admiral. These, if I guess right, were formerly call'd by the *Greeks*, *Nymphæum Cimmerium* and *Tauricum*.

(10) *Aizderchan*] A well known *Tartarian* Kingdom, now subject to the *Russians*, commonly call'd *Astracan*. This word in the *Persian* Tongue, signifies, the *Habitation of Dragons*, or the *Lord of Dragons*, which name was given to the inhabitants for their fierce and wild nature. But at present they are so accustom'd to subjection, that they are not said to attempt, even when they have an opportunity, the recovery of their former liberty. Thus what the Arms of *Alexander the Great* could not, the *Knutæ* and *Batogi* of the *Russians* have effected, and perfectly tam'd the fierceness of the Nation. But what will not fear join'd with love produce in the minds of men.

(11) *Nigaian*] These had Habitations assign'd them with the *Bujak Tartars* in *Bessarabia*, among whom even at this day are reckon'd above eighteen thousand of the *Cazanensian Tartars* so call'd. I have seen their Brethren in the *Russian* Empire with no difference of language, looks, and manners So deeply has nature imprinted on every Nation its peculiar marks, that they cannot be alter'd much less entirely defac'd by the distance of places and change of Climate.

(12) *Sinan*] Care must be taken not to confound him with *Sinan Pasha*, who was Prime Vizir to *Selim* I, and slain in the battle with the *Chercassians**.

(13) *Ozdemir*] According to the Etymology, *wholly of Iron*. He was a very famous Champion, of so great strength, that the *Turks* believe he never had, nor never will have, his fellow. He was the *Turkish Sampson*. Whether he was Governor of any place before this expedition, I dare not determine.

thren. These Generals act so diligently in conjunction, that they surprise, rout, and disperse the rebels, and reduce again the whole country to the *Othman* obedience. But the next year, the joy for this happy success is interrupted by a sudden fire breaking out at *Constantinople*, which rag'd with such violence seven days, that the whole City was almost laid in ashes.

He promises aid to the *Saracens* in *Spain* H 978 A C 1570

VII. In the year 978, the remains of the *Spanish Saracens*, who had hitherto been ill treated under the dominion of the *Christians*, rise in arms, seize *Garbie* (14), and make *Mansur*, of the race of *Beni Achmer* (15), King. They moreover vigorously attack the *Spaniards*, and vanquish them with great slaughter. But perceiving themselves too weak to resist their power, they send ambassadors to *Selim*, imploring his assistance against the *Spaniards*, the common enemy of the Musulmans. *Selim*, whose thoughts were turn'd to *Cyprus*, promises aid, but not till *Cyprus* was taken: exhorts them in the mean time to keep as close together as possible, and only stand on the defensive: and dismisses the ambassadors with noble presents.

Invades *Cyprus*,

VIII. Before these were return'd, he had now sent numerous forces under the Prime Vizir *Mustapha Pasha*, and *Capudan Ali Pasha*, to take *Kybris* †, with orders to the latter to guard the seas, that the invasion might not be interrupted, and to the other, to land the army, and closely besiege all the fortresses. *Mustapha* begins with the siege of *Nicosia* (16), and vigorously assaults it. But the situation of the place, and obstinacy of the garrison, baffle the *Othman* valour that year, and oblige the Vizir to turn the siege into a blockade, and put his soldiers into winter-quarters.

† *Cyprus*

and subdues it H 979 A C. 1571

IX. But the following year 979, *Capudan Ali Pasha* with a fresh supply of ships, stores, and forces, under the command of *Pertev Pasha*, sails from *Constantinople*, arrives at *Cyprus*, renews the siege undertaken in vain the last year, and after battering and undermining the walls, carries the City by assault, notwithstanding the obstinate defense of the besieged. The downfal of *Nicosia* draws after it the whole Island, which seeing itself destitute of relief, *Magusa* ‡ first, and then the rest of the towns strive to gain the Conqueror's clemency by a surrender. About the same time, *Kylij Ali Pasha* (17) Governor of *Jezair* takes

‡ *Famagusta*

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(14) *Garbie*] or with the article *El* ‖ *Garbie*, a noted Kingdom, now subject to the Kings of *Portugal*, and by the *Christians* call'd *Algarva*. It seems to have receiv'd its name from its situation to the western Ocean. For *Garbie*, with the *Arabians*, is the Western Coast.

‖ the

(15) *Beni Achmer*] One of the Race of the antient Kings of the *Saracens*, whom *Ferdinandus Catholicus* drove out of *Spain*, of whose fortunes I find nothing either in the *Turkish* or *Lusitanian* Histories.

(16) *Nicosia*] with the *Turks*, *Kybris*, to which they seem to have given the name of the whole Island, because this was the first City they subdu'd there.

(17) *Kylij*] *Ali Pasha*, sirnam'd, *Sword*, who in the Suburbs of *Constantinople*, call'd *Topchane*, (Arsenal) on

takes *Tunez* † from the *Arabians*, and annexes it to the *Othman* Empire.

† *o' Tremisa*

The Tartars ravage Russia

X. Whilst the bounds of the *Othman* Empire are thus extended to the South, in the North the arms of the *Tartars* are no less successful. *Deulet Gierai Chan* their Prince, assembling all the *Scythian* Hords under his dominion, enters *Russia*, and meeting no opposition, penetrates to the Metropolis (18), ravages the country, carries away, or kills such of the inhabitants as had not sav'd themselves by flight; and thus laden with spoil returns to *Crimæa*.

The defeat of the Turks at Lepanto.

XI. These victories were follow'd by the greatest blow the *Othmans* ever receiv'd since the defeat of *Ildirim Bajazet*, by which fortune show'd, that no Empire, though ever so extensive and firmly establish'd, is out of her reach. *Ali Pasha* the Admiral having taken *Cyprus*, had left the flower of the army to garrison the towns, dismiss'd the *Europæan* soldiers fatigu'd with twelve months toil in raising ramparts and other works, and he himself was now returning to *Constantinople* with the fleet and rest of the forces Thus sailing in the *Mediterranean*, he is suddenly attack'd by the enemy's fleet, strengthen'd, as some say, by the assistance of the *Germans* and *Spaniards* *Capudan Pasha*, though by reason of the fewness (19) of his men he could scarce

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on the banks of the *Bosphorus* built a large *Jami* The *Turks* pretend, he laid the foundations of this *Jami*, without any man's privity, in one night, and run up the walls as high as the lower Windows. Next day, People passing by, and seeing so spacious a Building, for which they had not before perceiv'd any preparations, the thing was reported to the Sultan as a miracle The Builder being ask'd by the Emperor how he could possibly raise such a structure in one night, answer'd, it was not his, but the Emperor's work, because his Gally-Slaves built the whole, and his intention was to demonstrate his own skill and the power of the *Othman* Empire. For if a private man with the help only of those that were condemn'd to row in the Gallies, could effect such a work, what might be expected from the united efforts of the *Othmans* against their enemies? By these words he is said to gain Sultan *Selim*'s favour to such a degree that he advanc'd him with the honour of three Horse-tails, to be Admiral of the whole Sea, and Governor of *Africa*. However this be, he is reckoned among the *Turks* next to *Chairuddin* in Sea-Affairs. For when at *Lepanto* the *Turks* lost their whole fleet, he in one year render'd their navy both stronger and more numerous.

(18) Metropolis] The *Turks* plainly seem to mean *Mosco* But the *Russian* Annals say, the *Tartars* did not then penetrate so far, but only to *Tula*, (one hundred and ninety *Italian* miles from *Mosco*) which from its multitude of Farriers might justly be call'd *Vulcanopolis* Moreover they relate, that the *Tartars* by their sudden irruption, surpris'd indeed and kill'd many of the Inhabitants, but presently after near *Cursca* were overtaken by the *Russian* army, who put them almost all to the sword, and recover'd the spoils they had gotten.

(19) fewness] The *Turks* impute this defeat solely to their fleet's being weakly mann'd, and consequently, that the multitude of ships without soldiers was rather an incumbrance than an advantage But perhaps I am not mistaken in thinking this to be an invention of the *Turkish* Historians,

scarce have any hopes of victory, yet thinking death preferable to flight, bravely ingages with what forces he had, and by his valour, renders the success of the battle many hours doubtful. At last, after repelling the enemy several times, he is slain whilst he is discharging sometimes the part of a General, sometimes of a common soldier, and by his death causes victory to incline to his enemies. For the Musulman ships immediately take to flight, and for want of a leader are dispers'd, whereas the enemies, inflam'd with more courage, furiously come on, break the disorder'd wings, and sink and take almost the whole fleet (20).

Selim in his affliction finds comfort in the *Koran*

XII. If any man in his most flourishing state has met with fortune's frowns, he may judge of *Soliman's* grief in this unexpected calamity. He had just receiv'd news of the conquest of *Cyprus*, and whilst he is waiting the return of his victorious fleet, and preparing a triumph, the few that escap'd, arrive and inform him of the destruction of his whole army. The Emperor, otherwise of an invincible mind, was so struck with the news, that for three days (21), he neither eat nor drank, nor suffer'd any one to approach him, praying night and day the God and Protector of the Musulmans to have compassion on his people, and remove the dishonour brought on them by this defeat. At last on

Annotations.

rians, as it is, to my knowledge their usual way, when things have not been crown'd with success, to ascribe it not to the enemy's bravery or their own unactiveness, but to some accident, or the General's imprudence. For it is not credible, that the *European* part of the *Turkish* army, when the *Christian* fleet had the dominion of the sea, should venture to cross so wide a sea, as that between *Cyprus* and *Greece*, either in ships for carriage or in small vessels.

(20) whole fleet] Both *Turks* and *Christians* vary in their accounts of the number of the *Turkish* ships. Some say they had two hundred and seventy, others at least one hundred and seventy, but all agree, that no more than twenty eight escap'd. After this battle, the *Venetian* Ambassador detain'd at *Constantinople*, hearing of this victory, desir'd, it is said, and obtain'd an audience of the Vizir, by whom at his coming with the greatest parade he was thus accosted: "I am sensible, *Elchibeg**, (Prince Ambassador) you have desir'd this audience with no other intention than "to show the *fodulluk* (ostentation) "natural to your countrymen, and "to see our depression of mind by "the loss we have suffer'd, but before you give a publick testimony "of your folly, I advise you as a "friend to lay aside those vain airs, "and consider that though you have "indeed shav'd us pretty close, we "have saw'd off your arms. And "as the beard, when shav'd, grows "again, and even thicker than before in three or four months, so "our fleet, unless our woods fail "us, will in a short space become "larger and more numerous, whilst "you can't so much as think of recovering your arms, for so I call the "spacious and famous Kingdom of "*Cyprus*."

(21) three days] After his example, *Ahmed* III the present Emperor of the *Turks*, when he sent his Vizir *Ahmed Pasha* against the *Russians* into *Moldavia*, pray'd, as I hear, forty days and nights, and eat nothing till Sunset, neither did he leave fasting, till news came of his good success.

the

the fourth day, he takes up the *Koran*, and accidentally opens (22) to this passage *In the name* (of God) *merciful, compassionate. I grieve for the victory of the* EUROPÆANS *over the Inhabitants of the Earth: Gladness shall not be given them any more for victory hereafter.* *Selim* admonish'd by this Oracle, that this defeat had not happen'd to the *Othman* Empire without the finger of God, return'd him thanks for his fatherly correction, and recover'd his Spirits almost quite sunk with sorrow. This calamity seem'd to be foretold by the fall of the wooden roof (23) of the Temple at *Mecca*, according to the interpretation of the Wise-men, which, that it might be a more firm Emblem of the Empire, *Selim* order'd it to be rebuilt with brick.

He repairs his fleet, and invades the *Christians*
H. 980
A. C. 1572

XIII. The next year, *Kylij Ali Pasha*, who had succeeded *Ali Pasha*, as High-Admiral, a man of great valour and an excellent sea-man, repairs the fleet with such expedition, that the following summer he had two hundred and fifty gallies ready. With these he sails from *Constantinople*, and infests the coasts of the *Christians* wherever he could arrive. The enemy's fleet appears near *Evarin* (24), which the *Capitan Pasha*, desirous to wipe out the late disgrace, vigorously attacks, but the approach of night parting the combatants, after having fought some time with doubtful fortune, and no great loss on either side, he retires. Four days after, the *Christian* Admirals consult how to surprize the Musulman fleet, which they hope to effect the more easily, because the high rocks, surrounding the port of *Coron*, hinder'd a free prospect, and afforded an opportunity of concealing the fleet. But *Kylij Ali Pasha*, being inform'd by his scouts of the enemy's intention, sails out of the harbour and draws up his fleet. When the enemies come, they are surpris'd to see the *Turks*, (whom they suppos'd at anchor) on the open sea, and prepar'd to receive them. However they advance, as if they intended to execute their design, but perceiving they were like to meet with a rough reception, tack about, and suffer the fleet loaden with spoil to return to *Constantinople*.

ANNOTATIONS.

(22) opens] The *Turks* believe the *Koran* divination to be infallible. Wherefore, when they are oppress'd with grief, or doubtful how to manage an affair, they read a *Sura* † or two of the *Koran*, then they open the Book, as chance directs, and read the first line of the first page. If the words correspond with their thoughts, they become a little merry, and prepare to execute their designs. On the contrary, if the passage they open to is nothing to their purpose, they not only grow melancholy, but frequently desist from their undertaking, and alter their mind.

† Vulg. *Surata*

(23) roof] I have before observ'd, that the Temple of *Mecca*, believ'd by the *Turks* to be *Abraham*'s Oratory, is without roof: however there is a sort of roof with an opening in the middle, running upwards from the angles of the walls, which, being of timber before, Sultan *Selim* order'd to be rebuilt with stone.

(24) *Evarin*] This must be *Navarinum*, because there is no other Port in the *Morea* which may be denoted by that name. But I have elsewhere observ'd the negligence of the *Turks* in marking the names of Places and Generals.

Nova is reliev'd.

XIV. This year the *Othman* arms were crown'd with the same success on land. For the *Germans*, imagining all the forces of that Empire to be destroy'd in the last year's defeat at sea, and that they might without obstacle recover what they had lost, lay siege to *Nova* a City of *Bosnia*. To the relief of this place, the Governors of *Bosnia* and the adjacent countries hasten with united forces, surprise the enemies, intent on the siege, put them to rout, and in token of victory, send three hundred captives to *Constantinople*.

Selim repairs *Sancta Sophia*

XV. Thus the damages sustain'd by the late defeat being amply repair'd, *Selim* to show his piety and grateful sense of so many divine favours, takes upon him the care of adorning the sacred buildings. In pursuance of this design, he begins this year with repairing the injuries time had done to the Temple of *Sancta Sophia*, raises four *Minare* or Towers of different shapes (25) at the four corners, and demolishing some private houses near it, founds two *Medrese* of excellent workmanship

Sends a fleet to *Spain*

XVI. Whilst *Selim* is intent upon these works, he remembers his promise to the ambassadors of the Musulmans in *Spain*, before his *Cyprian* expedition, of assisting them against the *Christians*. Wherefore that he might not seem to break his word, and withal might curb the boldness of the *Spaniards*, by taking his revenge for the blow given him by the *Spanish* fleet at *Lepanto*, sends his Vizir *Piale Pasha* (26) and High-Admiral with a fleet against the *Spaniards*. When they arrive at *Messina*, with intention to besiege it, they destroy the adjacent country with fire and sword. The City would doubtless have been taken, as no army appear'd to relieve it, if nature herself had not resisted the Musulman efforts. For when they were in great hopes of success, the sea on a sudden grew so tempestuous, that unless they would hazard all, the *Othman* forces were oblig'd to retire

Tunis is taken by the *Spaniards*, and recover'd by the *Turks*

XVII. The fleet returning home in this manner, the King of *Spain* with the forces he had design'd for the relief of *Messina*, sails to *Africa*, and surprises *Tunis*, kills and makes prisoners all the Musulmans, then fortifies the City with stronger works, and garrisons it with his own soldiers. The chief blame of this loss seem'd to fall on *Piale*

ANNOTATIONS.

(25) different shapes] All the *Minare* of the *Turkish Jami*, if two or four, are of the same form. If six, four are the same, and adorn'd with three *Sherife*, and two which are erected in the Angles of the outer *Charem*, are lower, with but two *Sherife*. Only *Sancta Sophia* has four Towers of different forms. When the *Turks* are ask'd the reason, their usual answer is, the Temple of *Sancta Sophia* being a structure of inimitable Workmanship, the Emperor was pleas'd it should have different *Minare*, that it might not in any respect be like other *Jami*

(26) *Piale*] There was another of this name under Sultan *Soliman*, but whether of the same family, or call'd so by chance, I can't say. The latter seems to me most probable, because, except the royal race, few or no families are preserv'd by the *Turks*, besides those of *Ibrahim ogli* and *Kioprulioglì*

Pasha,

Pasha, because he had return'd too securely with the whole fleet, and left no part of it to guard the *African* coasts. Wherefore he is dismiss'd, and *Sinan Pasha* † the former Vizir put in his room, who in the year 982, is sent by the Emperor with the whole fleet to recover *Tunis*. *Sinan Pasha* having landed his troops, instantly orders the City, and a neighboring fortress, call'd *Chalkulvadi* (27), to be attack'd, both which, after several assaults, he takes, and sacrifices the garrisons to the Ghosts of the Musulmans, slain by the *Christians* in *Tunis* the last year. Then he razes *Chulkulvadi* to the ground, and repairing the walls of *Tunis*, leaves there a sufficient garrison.

† See Note p 221

H 982
A C 1574

XVIII. About the same time, fifteen hundred *Hungarians* come together and consult how to surprise *Segetwar* ‡. *Japher Pasha*, Governor of *Giula*, being inform'd of it, lies in ambush for them, with at least five hundred Janizaries, and attacking them as they were carelessly marching along, routs them and sends the best of the captives to *Constantinople*.

Some *Hungarians* kill'd at *Segetwar*

‡ *Sigeth*

XIX. About the end of this year, *Selim* builds a large and most elegant Bath (28), in that part of the palace, which looks to the East. Whilst the Mortar yet exhal'd virulent steams, the Emperor first enters the Bath, and if some writers are to be credited, drinks a large dose of wine to expel the noxious vapours, this is follow'd with a light headach, then a giddiness, and at length a sort of Apoplexy, which, on the eleventh day of his distemper, and the 28th of the month *Shaban*, carries him out of the world. His son *Murad* comes to *Constantinople* the beginning of *Ramazan*, and is immediately saluted Emperor by all the Great men, who testify their grief for the death of his father in elegant orations. Sultan *Selim*, after the usual solemnities, is buried in a *Turbè* near *Sancta Sophia*.

Selim's death,

XX. Sultan *Selim* liv'd fifty two, and reign'd eight years five months and nineteen days. He was a Prince of great valour, but not always so fortunate as to have his designs crown'd with success, of an invincible mind in all circumstances, in counsels ready and secret (29), a lover of justice and a good name, liberal, so merciful, that nature seem'd to have indu'd him with a gentler disposition than his predecessors, familiar and facetious in his talk with his domesticks, extreme fond of the learned as well as of mimicks, very constant in his daily

and character.

Annotations.

(27) *Chalkulvadi*] It seems to be the strong Castle of *Goleta* at the entrance into the Bay of *Tunis*.

(28) Bath] This is a very noble structure, divided into forty rooms, all of marble within, and without of square stone. It stands in the middle between the apartments in the Seraglio design'd for the men, and those for the women, so that it immediately strikes the eye of all that pass the *Bosphorus*.

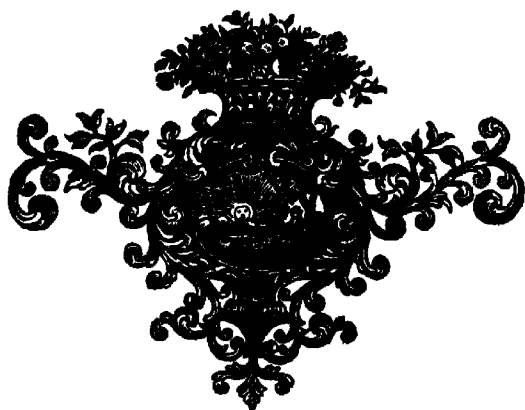
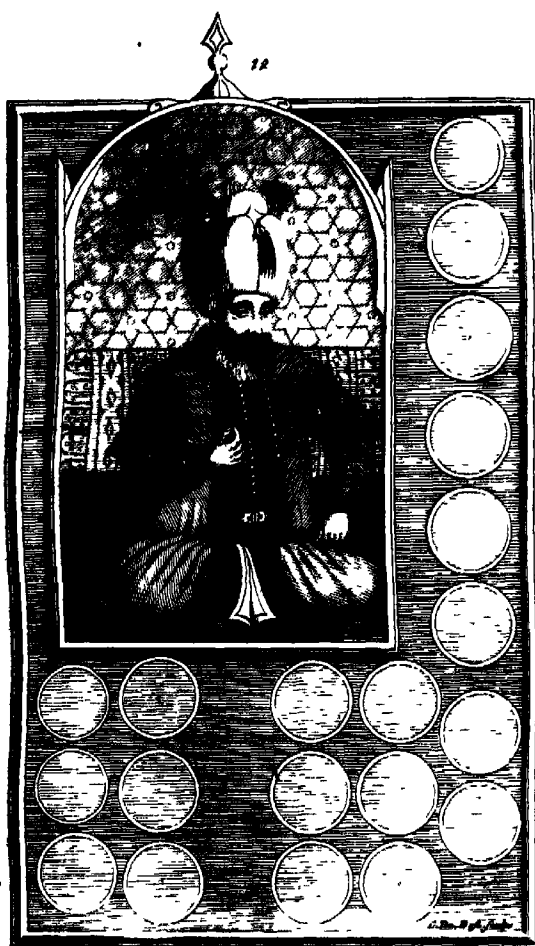
(29) secret] A rare quality in a man given to drunkenness. But I should rather chuse to ascribe this secrecy to the custom of the Court, whose profound silence I have elsewhere observ'd, than to the natural temper of this Emperor.

and nightly devotions. However ſome Hiſtorians, who either had a better opportunity of knowing what paſs'd in the inner Seraglio, or ſought to pleaſe their readers with the novelty of things, ſay, that under pretenſe of devotion, he gave himſelf up entirely to wine and luſt in the ſecret apartments of his palace. It is certain, he put on a great ſhow of Religion in publick, and if at any time his actions ſeem'd to ſwerve from the paths of reaſon, it was aſcrib'd rather to divine inſpiration than the vice of drunkenneſs.

Cotemporary with *SELIM* II. reign'd in *Europe.*

In *Germany,*	MAXIMILIAN.	1565-78.
In *England,*	ELIZABETH.	1558-1602.
In *France,*	CHARLES IX.	1560-74.

The End of the Reign of SELIM II.

The

MURAD III. *Twelfth* **EMPEROR** *of the* **Turks** *in the Year 1576.*
From an Original in the Seraglio.

The REIGN of

MURAD III.

Twelfth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK III. CHAP. VI.

Murad succeeds his Father.

H. 983
A. C. 1575

I *SELIM* being remov'd out of this world, his son *Murad*, the third of that name, succeeds to the Empire, in the 31st year of his age, and of the *Hejira* 983, and spends the three first summers in the arts of peace, settling the publick affairs, and making warlike preparations.

Goes to war with the *Persians*

H. 986
A. C. 1578

II Things being thus ready, he resolves in the year 986, to wage war with the *Persians*. He appoints for General *Mustapha Pasha*, a brave warrior, whose conduct had been chiefly signaliz'd in the *Cyprian* expedition, and gives him the forces of *Arzirum* and *Diarbekir*. *Mustapha*, not to disappoint his Sovereign's expectation, repairs first the castles on the borders, fortifies the City *Kars*, almost demolish'd by several sieges, and builds store-houses there, to the end, want of corn, which had ever obstructed former expeditions, might not occasion new mischiefs. After this, he goes and closely besieges *Chaldiran** a strong town of *Persia*, which after several assaults he at length takes

Vanquishes them

III Presently after, he hears that *Tokmak chan* (1), General of the *Persians*, was coming with a considerable army to relieve the town, against

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Tokmak*] This name signifies originally a *Mallet* or *Pestle* or *Rammer*, with which stakes are fix'd into the ground, but figuratively is ascrib'd to a man, who presses some affair immoderately or insolently. Hence the common saying *Balshimuze tokmak geldi*, *the Mallet comes upon our head*, that is, the man is incessantly urging us. And indeed this does not seem to be the name of a family, because no *Persian* race was ever so call'd, but to be given by the *Turks*. For it is usual with them, to call not only the Generals of their enemies, but also whole Nations, by names, though not very honorable, yet however in some respect analogous Thus

against whom he sends the Basha's of *Arzirum* and ‖*Diarbekir* with part of his forces. These Generals surprising the enemies, vanquish and put them to flight. The reward of this victory was *Tiflis*, a noted town of *Armenia*, which is taken immediately after the battle and destroy'd with fire and sword. Moreover *Mustapha Pasha* leads his victorious troops towards *Shemakie*, but the rains preventing all expeditions, he leaves *Ozdemir ogli* (2) *Othman Pasha* and the Beglerbeg of *Erzenurrumi* (3) to guard the towns he had taken, and returns himself into *Europe*.

Munevjehir revolts to the *Turks*.

IV. Mean while, after *Tokmak*'s defeat, when *Mustapha* was still about *Tiflis*, *Munevjehir* (4), a *Christian* of noble extraction, who had hitherto been subject to the *Persians*, comes and delivers him the keys of the towns under his command, and promises future obe-

ANNOTATIONS.

Augustus the present King of *Poland*, when he was yet but Elector of *Saxony*, and General of the Imperialists in *Hungary*, was commonly nam'd, *Nal Kyran*, Horse-shoe breaker. They use to call the *Jews*, *Chifud**, Dogs: the *Persians*, *Kyzilbash*, Red-heads: the *Armenians*, *Bokhchi**, Turd-eaters: the *Georgians*, *Bityeyi*, Lice-eaters: the *Scythians* ‖, *Liash yeyi*, Carrion-eaters: the *Indians*, *Dilenji*, Physicians: the *Arabians*, *Akylsiz*, Mad: those that are subject to them, especially the *Greeks*, *Boinuz siz coyun*, Sheep without Horns: those that live on the Continent, *Arabaji*, Waggoners: Islanders, *Jemiji*, Mariners: the *Albanians*, *Jigierji*, Sellers of Lungs: the *Moldavians*, *Bogdani nadan*, inhuman *Bogdans*: the *Walachians*, *Chingiane**: the *Bulgarians* and *Sirbians*, *Haidud*, Robbers: the *Dobrujans*, *Chitak**: the *Cyngari*, *Firauni*, Pharaonites: the *Raguzians*, *Chasus**, Spies, Betrayers: the *Bosnians*, *Potur*, Destroyers, Inroaders: the *Russians*, *Rusi menkius*, Perverse: the *Polanders*, *Fodul Gaur*, boasting, arrogant Infidels: the *Germans*, *Gurur Kiafir*, proud Blasphemers: the *Venetians*, *Balykji*, Fishers: the *Italians* and all the *Franks*, *Fireng Hezar reng*, of a thousand colours, that is, deceitful: the *French*, *Aineji*, crafty: the *Dutch*, *Peinirchi**, Cheese-mongers: the *English*, *Chokaji**, Clothiers: the *Spaniards*, *Tembel*, idle: and in this manner they give Nick-names to almost every Nation that comes to their knowledge.

‖ Tartars.

(2) *Ozdemir ogli*.] Etymologically, *all of iron*. There was, (as I have related) a famous Champion of this name among the *Turks*, of whom no less things are said than of *Hamze*, that is *Sampson*. But *Ozdemir ogli* here was so call'd from the fortitude of mind he was endu'd with.

(3) *Erzenurrumi*.] I can't certainly tell what City or Province is meant by this name, but it seems to be cover'd from the *Turks*, since there is no such Pashalik now in the whole *Turkish* Empire.

(4) *Munevjehir*.] He seems to have been one of the *Georgian* Governors, for there was at that time no *Georgian* Prince, Lord of [illegible] and those fortified Towns. *Christian* Writers mention him in the life of *Murad* II and say *Mehemed Pasha*, a Relation of *Mustapha*, to whom after his death the command of the army was committed, under colour of friendship, invited *Munevjehir* to come to him, with intention to have sent him in chains to *Constantinople*. But he knowing *Mehemed*'s design, took with him fifty trusty Companions, and when he came to *Mehemed Pasha*, order'd his Attendants on pretense of curiosity to go with him to the Audience, by whose assistance he cut off the heads of the first that would have seiz'd him, and escap'd from the rest, after giving *Mehemed Pasha* himself several wounds.

dience

dience to the *Othman* Empire. He is kindly receiv'd by *Mustapha Pasha*, and after some time turns *Mahometan*, for which he is rewarded with the Sanjak of *Achisca* (5), and made Beglerbeg of *Teflis* lately taken.

V After *Mustapha*'s departure, the Winter became so severe that the *Othman* Soldiers not us'd to the cold, daily perish'd in their Camp. As the whole army was in danger, *Ozdemir Ogli Othman Pasha*, sends his forces into Winter quarters at some distance from one another, because there was no City in those desert and ravag'd Parts capable of receiving the whole army. *Euris Chan* the *Persian* General, having intelligence of this, unexpectedly falls upon the *Othmans* thus dispers'd, and makes a great slaughter.

Othman Pasha defeated by the *Persians*

VI. *Othman Pasha*, otherwise an able General, was not a little troubled at this misfortune, in the fear it wou'd be imputed to his negligence. Wherefore with intention to be reveng'd, or wipe out the disgrace by an honorable death, he assembles his army in the midst of winter, and with doubtful fortune fights the *Persians* above twenty times in several places. At last, the enemies to the number of thirty thousand, incourag'd by their late victory, furiously attack *Othman* under the conduct of *Imamenli* The Battle lasted four days, but in the end the *Persians*, repuls'd by the valour of the *Othmans*, are almost all slain *Ozdemir ogli*, seeing his army weaken'd with so many ingagements, repairs the walls of *Shemakhie*, and leaves there *Japher Pasha*, with good part of the army, whilst with the rest he retires into *Europe* to give an account of what he had done

Who are afterwards routed

VII The best part of the *Turkish* army being thus detain'd in *Persia*, the Chan of the *Crim Tartars* attempts to throw off the *Othman* yoke. Whereupon *Murad* orders *Mustapha Pasha* to go and extinguish the flame in its birth *Mustapha* readily obeys the imperial order, and marching over mount *Caucasus* by the streights of *Demur Capi*, passes the *Tanais* in boats, surprizes the Chan not fearing any danger from a quarter never yet travers'd by man, and cutting off his head, sends it to the Port.

Mustapha [illegible] *Crim* [illegible]

VIII The domestick enemies being thus suppress'd, the Prime Vizir is sent in the year 988 with a great army against the *Persians*, who seeing their whole nation threaten'd with destruction, lay aside their warlike ardor, sue for peace, and for that purpose send an ambassador *Ibrahim Chan*, a man of great subtilty. He so moves the Vizir (who had now enter'd the *Persian* borders) both by his speeches and presents, that the army was immediately ordered to march back, and the ambassador sent with recommendatory letters to the Port.

The *Persians* sue for peace. H 988 A C 1580.

IX. But *Murad* was not of the same mind with the Vizir. He thought it too early, the enemy not being yet quite exhausted, to

But is repuls'd

ANNOTATIONS.

(5) *Achisca*] A Sanjak of *Asia minor*.

grant peace, and dishonorable for an army, prepar'd at so great expence, to be induc'd by deceitful speeches of peace to waste the time idly. Wherefore he dismisses the ambassador with a refusal of his petition, and deprives *Sinan Pasha* of the honour and office of Vizir, for taking upon him without his privity so weighty an affair, and advances *Ferhad Pasha* in his room.

Ferhad's fruitless expedition into *Persia* H 991

A C. 1583.

X. The new Vizir, in the year 991, with numerous forces enters the *Persian* borders, and repairs the walls of *Revan* which had been some time in ruins, but either out of cowardice, or being bribed by the enemies, he did nothing else worthy of memory what is more, he lost *Tybris*, and after some defeats, returns in the beginning of winter with his army to *Constantinople* *Murad*, thus disappointed in his expectations of this general, deprives him also of the vizirship, and confers it on *Ozdemiroglı Othman Pasha*, whose heroic valour and military prudence had before been display'd in the same war, and sends him, adorned with the ensigns of vizir and generalissimo, to the army

Othman Pasha retakes *Tybris*, H 993

A C 1585

XI. *Othman Pasha*, that he might the sooner meet the *Persians*, winters his forces in *Castamoni*, and early in the spring of the year 993, recovers *Tybris*, taken by the *Persians* when *Ferhad* had the command. As he found this city was entirely commanded by a neighbouring hill, he builds there a castle (6) with such expedition, that on the thirtieth day, the walls were in a condition to withstand the assaults of the enemies.

and kills all the inhabitants.

XII. Whilst he was employ'd in storing and fortifying this castle, some of the inhabitants of *Tybris* affront the Janizaries plac'd there in garrison, in which dispute, when they fall from words to blows, some of the soldiers are wounded, and others killed *Othman Pasha*, enrag'd at this accident, and fearing a mutiny, orders all the inhabitants, except the women and children, to be put to the sword, and their goods to be distributed to the soldiers. After which, peopling the town with new colonies, he places *Japher Pasha* over it with the title of Vizir

In his return, vanquishes the *Persians*, and dies

XIII The affairs of those parts being settled, he resolves to return into *Europe* with the best part of the forces But in his march, he is met at *Sofian* (7) by *Hamze Mirza* (8), the bravest general the *Persians* then had, with a great army. Both sides fight obstinately from sun-rising till midnight for their country. *Hamze Mirza* ran up and down the army, one while he charged in the front, another

ANNOTATIONS.

(6) Castle] I cannot meet with the name, either in the *Turkish* or *Christian* Historians.

(7) *Sofian*] A well-known province of *Persia*. This word originally signifies *Wiseman*, being a corruption of the Greek σοφός. There is also a metre in musick call'd *Sofian*.

(8) *Hamze Mirza*] He seems to be of *Tartarian* extraction, and by some accident to come into *Persia* For *Mirza*, as I have observed, is with the *Tartars* the same as *Beg* with the *Turks*, *Chan* with the *Persians*, and with us, *Prince*.

while rally'd his disorder'd troops in the rear, and exhorting his men to behave valiantly, performed the duty of a good General both in words and actions. On the contrary, *Othman Pasha*, by reason of sickness gotten in his march, not being able to manage a horse, rid on a mule, and because he could not, through his indisposition, incourage his men by his deeds, desires them with his voice not to sully the glory of the *Othman* arms. At length the *Persians* are forc'd to give ground to the *Turks*. The night after the victory, *Othman* not so much exhausted by his distemper, as by the labour of the foregoing day, breathed his last, and so crown'd with martyrdom a life he had render'd illustrious by his exploits.

Sinan Pasha repells the Persians

XIV. By his death the army being destitute of a leader, and seeing themselves surrounded with enemies, chuse *Sinan Pasha* (9) for general, and pursue their intended march. But *Hamze Mirza* follows them very close, and since he dar'd not, by reason of his late loss attack the *Othmans* in the field, harrasses them with continual skirmishes, lays in ambush at narrow passes, and does them more damage than a defeat. Having thus weaken'd their army and assembled more forces, he attacks them at last at *Selmas* (10), and furiously assaults their camp. Here, whilst he is leading on his men, and encouraging them by his example, he falls among the foremost, and by his death, frees the *Othmans* from great danger. For the *Persians*, struck with their General's misfortune, instantly retire, and give the Musulmans an open passage to *Var*.

Ferhad Pasha fights the Persians with advantage

H. 994 / A. C. 15[illegible]

XV. When the *Othman* forces, by reason of the smalness of their number, were thus obliged to quit their conquests, the *Persians* re-assemble their army, and in the year 994 besiege *Tybris*, where *Japher Pasha* commanded. To his relief, *Ferhad Pasha* (11) is sent with numerous forces, who compels the *Persians* to raise the siege, builds a new castle betwixt *Tybris* and *Revan*, and between these, as strong bulwarks, keeps his army four whole years. In the summer, he fights with the enemies, and that he might be nearer their borders, passes the winter in *Erzirum*. At length he penetrates into *Giurjistan*, and subduing the castles of that province, builds two towns, *Luri* and *Giunje*. After this, he joins battle with *Carebagy* (12) *Mehemed Chan* Ge-

ANNOTATIONS.

(9) *Sinan*] The same, who for his negligence in *Persia*, was (as I have said) dismissed from his office. For it is not unusual with the *Turks*, to restore their discarded generals to their former, or even higher posts. Hence, while in banishment, they have presents sent them even by their enemies, in the fear they should, in case of being restor'd, do them an injury.

(10) *Selmas*] A city unknown to me as well as to the Maps, but seems however to be in the province of *Sophian*, since the *Turkish* army, surrounded and continually harrass'd by the *Persians*, could not probably have marched very far.

(11) *Ferhad Pasha*] A famous *Turkish* General, who acquir'd great reputation in this war.

(12) *Carebagy*] Seems to be the native country of this General.

neral of the *Persians*, puts him to flight, and so disperses the whole *Persian* army, that the forces of the *Red-heads* dar'd not from that time appear, or try the chance of war.

Peace is made with the *Persians*.

XVI. After so many defeats, the *Persian*, taught by the loss of the provinces of *Revan*, *Ginnje*, and *Carebeg*, that the *Othmans* were not to be resisted, begins to think in earnest of suing for peace. *Murad* not seeming very forward to grant it, he promises to relinquish all the countries subdued by the *Othmans*, and send his brother *Haidarjan* to the invincible Port, as a pledge that no *Persian* army should ever enter the *Othman* dominions, or make any private or open attempt against that empire. On these conditions sworn on both sides, a peace is at last concluded, and an end put to so long and bloody a war.

H. 995. A. C. 1587.

A mutiny at *Constantinople*. H 997. A. C 1589.

XVII. But the troops who had hitherto inlarg'd the bounds of the empire, begin, after the peace, to rage against their own bowels. The *Defterdar* or High-Treasurer was accused by the Janizaries of having debased the coin, and paid them with it Wherefore being stirred up by his enemies, they flock together, and threaten to kill him in his palace. The *Defterdar* being informed by his friends of his imminent danger, flies to the Imperial Palace, and humbly begs *Murad*'s protection against the fury of the soldiers. The rebels hearing this, surround the palace, and insolently require the Treasurer to be delivered to them. On the Emperor's refusal, they are more urgent, guard all the avenues, and threaten destruction and death to the Sultan, no less than to all the great men.

The Janizaries are quell'd and pardon'd.

XVIII. In this distress, *Murad* thinking it proper to proceed to extremities, least the imperial majesty should fall into contempt, arms all his chamberlains and *Baltaji* (13), and orders the gates to be open-ed, and the Janizaries to be attacked as infidels and disobedient. His commands are vigorously executed, and preferring the Emperor's life to their own, they rush like lions on the disorderly Janizaries. One hundred and seventeen rebels are kill'd at the first onset, before they could come together, and of the rest, some are dispersed, and some fly to their homes. At last, *Sinan Pasha*, the Prime Vizir intercedes, and by his speeches pacifies the Emperor's indignation, representing that all were not to be equally punish'd, that the first authors of the mutiny ought indeed to be made examples of, but to punish in the same manner those that were only carried away with the torrent, would be both unfit and disadvantagious to the State. *Murad*, mov'd by these representations, pardons the rest, and commands only the ring-leaders to be thrown into the sea. The sedition being thus suppress'd, the soldiers humbly return to their obedience.

ANNOTATIONS.

(13) *Baltaji*] For this service, they are called to this day in the Imperial Palace, *Chasculler*, *pure* and *faithful Servants*.

2 XIX. To

XIX. To remove all occasions of future disturbances of this kind, *Murad* sends the Vizir *Sinan Pasha* in the year 1002, with a great army into *Hungary*, and by him takes some towns. At the approach of winter, he orders the troops to be quarter'd in *Rumelia*, and in the spring *Yanik* (14) to be invested. This city is also, after a siege of eighteen days, added to the *Othman* dominion, and then the Vizir settling the affairs of those parts, returns to *Constantinople*.

Sinan Pasha moves into Hungary
H. 1002.
A. C. 1524
H. 1003.
A. C. 1595

XX. After having thus vanquished both rebels and enemies, *Murad* the same year left his earthly for a heavenly Kingdom. He lived fifty, and reign'd twenty years, eight months. He had as many sons as he reign'd years, who being all strangled by the command of the eldest, followed their father to immortality (15). All the *Turkish* Historians I have seen, strangely pass over in silence, the character and manners of this Emperor, contrary to their constant custom.

Murad's death

ANNOTATIONS.

(14) *Yanik*] *Yavarinum*, or *Yaurinum*, with the *Germans*, *Raab*, which the *Christian* Historians say, was surrender'd to the *Turks* by the treachery of the Count *de Hardek*.

(15) immortality] The *Turks* account all their Emperors *Holy*, and therefore mention their ἀνακοίμησις (decease) in the most honourable terms, as, "This year the existence of his "Majesty, with the consent of his "own desire, departed from the *Port* "*of Pride*, (world) to everlasting "Possessions."

Cotemporary with *MURAD* III. reign'd in *Europe*.

In *Germany*,	RODOLPHUS.	1575-1611.
In *England*,	ELIZABETH.	1558-1602.
In *France*,	HENRY IV.	1589-1610.

The End of the Reign of MURAD III.

The

The REIGN of

MAHOMET III.

Thirteenth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. VII.

ahomet ſuc-eeds *Murad.* H. 1003 . C. 1594.

I. MURAD dying in the year 1003, on *Friday* the [illegible] *Jemazul evvel*, his Son *Mahomet* ſucceeds as well [illegible] *Hungarian* war, as to the Empire, and, (as I have ſaid, [illegible] be-ginning of his reign with the blood of his nineteen brothers (1)

akes *Egre*

II. By this means having eſtabliſh'd his Kingdom, he [illegible] thoughts to finiſh the war in *Hungary* begun by his father, that he [illegible] af-terwards give himſelf up entirely to repoſe, of which he was [illegible], and quietly taſte the pleaſures (2) of a crown (3). To [illegible] e-nemies the more readily to a peace without any diſparagement to the

H. 1004. . C. 1595.

Othman Majeſty, he marches the next year with a great army into *Hungary*, beſieges *Egre*, fruitleſly attempted by his Predeceſſors, and ſo harraſſes the Garriſon with his frequent aſſaults, that at length, deſpair-ing of relief, they ſurrender the Town.

III [illegible]

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) Brothers] The *Chriſtian* Writers ſay, he kill'd twenty two brothers, and threw ten of his Father's concu-bines, that were with child, into the ſea. But I chuſe to follow here the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians.

(2) pleaſures] Foreign Hiſtorians a-gree in this, and ſay he was more delighted with ſenſual pleaſures than fame and glory.

(3) crown] [illegible] ſtood of the Emperor [illegible], [illegible] of the Empire. For [illegible] as he liv'd, tho' a peace was once made, the *Turks* had conſtant [illegible] with the *Germans* with various ſucceſs.

Cl. Du Bosc fecit

MAHOMET. III
Thirteenth EMPEROR of the TURKS
in the Year 1594
From an Original in the Seraglio

III. After the taking of *Egre*, when by reaſon of the approach of winter, he could make no farther progreſs, he thinks of returning to *Conſtantinople*. Whilſt he is on his march, an army of *Chriſtians* ſuddenly appear, and ſo furiouſly attack the camp of the *Othmans*, that the Muſulmans, unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, are forc'd to give ground. The enemies preſs forward, and penetrate as far as the tents where the royal treaſures were kept. But here the *Germans* breaking open the coffers, and ſurpris'd at the immenſe riches, betray the victory for money. For the Sultan, perceiving them intent on the ſpoil, attacks them firſt with only his courtiers, and ſlays upon the very treaſures thoſe who now imagin'd the *Othmans* entirely routed. The reſt of the army alſo admoniſh'd by the Emperor's example, rally again, and ſo bravely charge their enemies, that not a man of thoſe that had enter'd the camp eſcap'd to tell the news.

Vanquiſhes the *Chriſtians*.

IV. After this victory, he comes to *Conſtantinople* in triumph, and content with what he had acquir'd, makes peace with the *Chriſtians*, in order to enjoy, what he was naturally inclin'd to, eaſe and pleaſure. So he lives in profound repoſe till the year 1012, when deſirous of an everlaſting Kingdom, and weary of the allurements of this world, he departs to an eternal palace. He reign'd nine years and two months; but how long he liv'd is not mention'd in hiſtory, only it is certain, he died in the vigour of his age. He perform'd but one memorable action, namely, his expedition into *Hungary*, in which he took *Egre*, and routed the *Chriſtians*, from whence he acquir'd the name of *Egre*.

Dies.

H 1012.
A. C. 1603.

The End of the Reign of MAHOMET III.

The REIGN of

AHMED I.

Fourteenth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. VIII.

Ahmed succeeds.
H 1012.
A. C. 1603.

I. THE throne being vacant by the death of *Mahomet Egre*, is fill'd by his son *Ahmed* on the 9th of the month *Rejeb*, in the year 1012, when he was yet scarce fifteen years old, and thus what had never before been done, the reins of the Government were committed to a youth, which gave occasion to the following verse of a certain Poet: "To him alone, of all the sons of *Othman*, it was "granted to enjoy the Empire before he had been possess'd of a Stan-"dard (1).

He is disturb'd by two Ravagers.

II. But he demonstrates in the first years of his Reign, that the scepter was not unworthily put into the hands of a youth. His deceas'd father's love of ease had render'd the *Asiatic* soldiery, whom the *Persian* wars had always kept employ'd, so insolent, that they imagin'd it allowable to set upon and spoil not only Travellers but whole provinces and towns. Complaints had in his father's time been frequently brought to Court, and Generals also sent to suppress the rebels, but either allur'd with the hope of prey themselves, or negligent of their duty, they were so far from putting a stop to these proceedings, that the number of plunderers increasing, all *Anatolia* was miserably ravag'd. Among these the two chief were *Calenderogli* and *Ta-*

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) Standard] that is, before he was of mature age. For till then, the *Turks* never deliver a *Sanjak* or Standard, the Ensign of Power, to any Person.

vol

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A. Du Bosc fecit

AHMED I

Fourteenth Emperor *of the* Turks

in the Year 1603

From an Original in the Seraglio.

vil (2), who made the greatest and most bloody incursions into the *Othman* dominions, and dar'd even to attack the troops.

They are vanquish'd

III. Sultan *Ahmed* thinking, if these were quell'd, the whole sedition would be easily extinguish'd, and peace restor'd in the east, sends about winter the Prime Vizir *Cosa Murad Pasha*, adorn'd with the imperial Signet, to *Aleppo* with his guards, with orders to quarter his forces there, and in the spring to lead them, in conjunction with such of the *Asiaticks* as remain'd faithful, against the ravagers. *Murad Pasha* executes the Emperor's commands with no less bravery than success, vanquishes *Calenderogly* (3) at last after several bloody conflicts near *Marash* in the mountains *Kioikiesen*, disperses his whole army, kills all the common soldiers, and drives him alone without any followers into *Arak* a province of *Persia*. Then he turns his arms against *Tavil* the other ravager, who was coming to the assistance of his companions. But *Tavil*, without staying for the Musulmans, marches with his forces towards them, and gives them battle, but by the valour of the Janizaries is defeated, and forc'd to fly into *Persia*.

They embroil the peace with the *Persians*.

IV. There he finds *Calenderogli*, and with him enters into measures, detrimental both to friends and foes. By their instigations the peace between the *Othmans* and *Persians*, hitherto inviolable on both sides, is disturb'd, and the *Persians*, mov'd by the speeches of the rebels, refuse to deliver them up when requir'd. *Ahmed* consider'd this as an indignity, and done in contempt of his government, and therefore resolves to be severely reveng'd.

Murad Pasha marches against the *Persians*

V. To this end, he sends *Murad Pasha* the Vizir, (whose conduct he had before tried in quelling the rebels) with a numerous army from *Constantinople* towards the *Persian* borders, but not with the success he had expected. For as the expedition had been undertaken something late, and the march render'd more tedious by the difficulty of the ways, it was near winter when the Vizir came to *Tybris*, and therefore impossible to effect any thing with his wearied troops in so advanc'd a season. Whereupon he orders part of the forces to winter in *Diarbekir*.

Dies, and his post given to *Nasuh Pasha*

H. 1013
A. C. 1604

VI. Early in the spring, resolving to repair by his speed what he had lost by his slowness the last summer, he assembles his army, and prepares to invade the *Persian* provinces, but just as he is ready to march,

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Tavil*] *Tall*, it is a sirname, such as is frequently given by the *Turks* to their Generals on account of their endowments of body or mind, as, *fasil Ahmed Pasha*, *Ahmed Pasha the Learned*, (the same that took *Candia*.) *Shishman Ibrahim Pasha*, *Ibrahim Pasha the Fat* *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha*, *Ibrahim Pasha the Devil*, *Seraskier* in the last war with the *Germans*, *Elmaz Mehemed Pasha*, *Mehemed Pasha the Adamant*, who fell in the battle of *Zenta*.

(3) *Calenderogli*] Son of *Calender* a famous robber, whose exploits are still celebrated in songs call'd *Sharky*. He must not be confounded with one of the same name, who under *Mahomet* I. almost reduc'd the *Othman* Empire to the last extremity.

2

march, he is seiz'd with a distemper, and dies shortly after in his tent. His office is conferr'd on *Nasuh Pasha* (4), who after a year's stay there to as little purpose, leads back the army much weaken'd by sickness and fatigue to *Constantinople*.

H. 1014. A. C. 1605

Mehmed Pasha besieges *Revan*

VII. At his arrival, he is accus'd to the Emperor of sloth and negligence, and on conviction beheaded. *Mehmed Pasha* is made Prime Vizir in his room, and commanded to prosecute the *Persian* war with more vigour, and that he might be in greater readiness, to winter at *Aleppo*. From hence he departs in the year 1015 with a very numerous army, and entering the *Persian* borders, lays close siege to *Revan*, and furiously assaults it forty days: but repuls'd by the bravery of the garrison, he is forc'd at last to raise the siege with great loss.

H. 1015 A. C. 1606.

Is strangled, and succeeded by *Halil Pasha*

H. 1015 A. C. 1606.

VIII. *Mehmed Pasha*, in his return from this expedition, when he comes to *Erzirum*, and intends to send his forces into winter quarters, is in pursuance of the imperial mandate strangled by *Capuji bashi*. His post is conferr'd on *Halil Pasha*, a brave and prudent General, who warn'd by the examples of his predecessors, spends the whole winter in providing warlike stores, that he might the next spring act against the enemy without any impediment.

Ahmed's death

H. 1026 A. C. 1617

IX. Thus whilst there was great hope of humbling the pride of *Persia*, it is blasted by a sudden fever, which, the same year *Persia* was threaten'd with destruction, namely in 1026, seizes the Emperor. It is at first disregarded as not seeming dangerous, but afterwards so increases every day, that *Ahmed*, glutted with human affairs, leaves the toils of Empire, and flies to Paradisiacal pleasures.

His character.

X. He liv'd twenty nine, and reign'd fourteen years, his three sons *Othman*, *Murad*, and *Ibrahim*, were all seen by posterity on the *Turkish* throne. Not to mention his other virtues, he excell'd all his predecessors in liberality and magnificence, so that he has been charg'd by some with profuseness. He was very fond of building, witness the *Jami* (5), Rival, and Neighbour of *Sancta Sophia* in the *Hyppodrome*, built with so great care and expense, that to finish it, the treasures of the whole Empire, collected during his father's long repose, scarce suffic'd. Whilst this work was in hand, the Sultan is said to visit it every week, and pay the workmen their wages himself.

ANNOTATIONS.

(4) *Nasuh Pasha*] In the *Koran*, *Benjamin*, *Joseph's* brother is call'd *Nasuh*, and from that time this name began to be common with the *Mahometans*.

(5) *Jami*] This Building in magnificence, though not in largeness, excells *Sancta Sophia*. Besides the numberless ornaments on the outside of the walls, there are above two hundred gold tables hung up on the inside, on which are ingraven the names of the Prophets, with sentences out of the *Koran*, every one whereof it is said, cost fifty thousand dollars, being set each with sixty one Diamonds. It is certain, so much money was expended on this structure, that after it was finish'd, upon an exact calculation, every dram of stone or mortar was found to cost three Aspers.

The End of the Reign of AHMED I.

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C. Du. Bosc. sculp.

Othman II,
Sixteenth EMPEROR of ye TURKS
in the Year 1618
From an Original in the Seraglio

MUSTAPHA
Fifteenth Emperor of ye Turks
in the Year 1618.
From an Original in the Seraglio

The REIGNS of

MUSTAPHA and *OTHMAN* II.

BOOK III. CHAP. IX.

I. AHMED being dead, is succeeded in the beginning of the year 1027, by his younger brother *Mustapha* (1) But as he govern'd the *Othman* state with little or no care of the publick affairs, and gave himself up entirely to his lusts, he was in the fourth month of his reign, by the unanimous consent of all the Great men, remov'd from the throne to the prison of the seven Towers.

Mustapha succeeds H 1027. A. C. 1618.

II. *Mustapha* being thus depos'd, Sultan *Othman*, son of *Ahmed*, ascended the throne in the eighth year of his age, whom, on account of his youth, they had before thought unfit to wield the scepter, and therefore had pass'd by, though he had more right to the Empire than *Mustapha*, who was chosen as a contemplative and inoffensive man.

III. In this reign appear'd at *Constantinople* a strange sight, such as had there never been, nor perhaps ever will be, seen. In the year 1029, on the 28th of the month *Rebiul evvel*, was beheld in the heavens a crooked sword five times as long as a spear, and three foot broad. It extended from East to West, and for a whole month shone with great brightness after sun-set. The astrologers and those that pretended to foretell things to come being consulted, declare it to be a sign of victory and increase of Empire to the *Othmans*. The same astrologers interpret as a bad omen the frost which happen'd about the same time the next year, and was so great, that the inhabitants of *Constantinople* safely went to and from *Iskiuder* on foot.

A sight in the Heavens H 1029 A. C. 1620.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Mustapha*] The *Turks* ascribe the greatest things to all their Emperors, except this *Mustapha*, whom they represent as exceeding all the rest in vice, as much as his ancestors did him in virtue. He might be call'd the *Sardanapolus* of the *Othmans*, if he had shown the like magnanimity in his death with that Prince.

Othman marches into Poland.

IV. *Othman* in contempt of this prediction undertakes, in the summer after the hard winter, an expedition against the *Poles*, recovers *Chotin* (2), which they had taken by assault, sends the Chan of *Tartary* with the *Tartarian* and *Turkish* forces to ravage the inmost part of *Poland*, and he himself so surrounds and presses the enemies troops with his own, that they were at last compell'd to sue for peace. The Emperor grants their request, and making a peace on his own conditions, returns about winter laden with spoil and captives to *Constantinople*.

He is depos'd, and Mustapha restor'd.

V. But the soldiery unus'd to youthful Government, whilst they live idly at *Constantinople*, being stirr'd up by *Mustapha*'s party, raise the next year a furious sedition, most barbarously kill, without any regard to the blood from whence he was sprung, the Emperor, a young man of great hopes, in the fourth year of his reign, and the twelfth of his age, and bury him near his father in the *Jami* which he had built. Then they release *Mustapha*, whom they had before depos'd and shut up in the prison of the seven Towers, and re-establish him on the Throne.

Who for his vices is again dethron'd and strangled.

VI. But neither was his reign very long. He had conceal'd, whilst in prison, not corrected, the vices of his perverse nature, and thereby put the soldiers in hopes, that having tasted of the cup of affliction, he would become better, and alter his course of life and government. In this expectation, when they had replac'd him on the throne, thinking himself out of fortune's power, he returns to his old vices, plays the tyrant, seeks to destroy his deposers, manifestly neglects the administration of affairs, and acts nothing in words or deeds worthy of memory. When he had thus tyranniz'd, rather than reign'd, fifteen months, he is again dethron'd by the Great men, rejecting the dominion of a fool, and with the greatest ignominy put on an ass, and carried amidst the scoffs and insults of the mob to the prison of the seven Towers, where soon after by the command of his successor *Murad* IV. he is strangled.

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Chotin*] A City of *Moldavia* on the *Tyras* over-against *Caminiec*, fortified both by nature and art. The walls in my time were repair'd by the *Turks* after the battle of *Hierasus*, with the addition of some modern works, so that it may now justly be counted the Bulwark of the whole Empire against the *Russians* and *Poles*. But of this more largely in my account of antient and modern *Moldavia*.

The End of the Reigns of OTHMAN II. and MUSTAPHA.

The

MURAD, II,
Seventeenth *Emperor* of y^e Turks,
in the Year 1622.
From an Original in the Seraglio.

The REIGN of

MURAD IV. Sirnam'd GAZI, Seventeenth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK III. CHAP. X.

I. SUltan *Murad*, whose brave exploits acquir'd him the name of *Gazi* or *the Valiant*, was born in 1018, and upon the deposing of *Mustapha*, succeeded to the *Othman* Empire the 4th of *Zilcade*, in the year of the *Hejira* 1032.

Murad succeeds
H 1032.
A. C 1622.

II. In the very beginning of his reign he show'd, how much better it was for the *Othmans* to obey an active young man than a sluggard. *Abaza*, Basha of *Erzirum* in *Mustapha*'s time, had dar'd to ravage the *Asiatic* provinces, and openly oppose his sovereign, and hop'd to proceed with impunity, as long as *Murad* a youth held the reins of the government. But the Emperor, to curb this man's insolence and hinder the flame from increasing, in the second year of his reign, sends the Prime Vizir *Cherkies** *Mehemed Pasha* (1) against the rebels with an ar-

He vanquishes *Abaza* the rebel.

H 1033
A C 1623

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Cherkies**] The only Prime Vizir of *Chercassian** extraction, tho' several of that Nation have enjoy'd the highest offices in the *Turkish* Court. He was a General of the greatest reputation among the *Turks*, and marri'd *Murad*'s sister *Hatijem*, of whom he was very fond. The Brother of this man, in the village call'd *Ortakioi*, built an elegant Palace, adorn'd with Gardens and Aquaeducts. In process of time, when the *Turks* in *Ahmed* II's reign saw all *Hungary*, *Belgrade*, and *Nissa*, subdu'd by the arms of the Emperor *Leopold*, and expected *Constantinople* or at least *Adrianople* would be taken, and many, under colour of a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, had retir'd with what effects they could carry with them, to the remote provinces of *Asia*, I bought this Palace for twenty five thousand Dolars of *Yusuf Effendi* son of *Tersane Emini*, Inspector of the Navy, and have left it inlarg'd with several buildings and ornaments. I hear it is possess'd now by the present Emperor's daughter, wife of *Ali Pasha* the Prime Vizir †.

† See the Plan of *Constantinople*.

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my into *Asia*, who bravely attacks *Abaza Pasha* (2) near *Caisairie*, and defeating him after a very bloody and fierce battle, forces him to fly to *Erzirum*. Perhaps he would have entirely quell'd the rebellion, if he had not after his victory died the same year at *Tokad*.

He in vain attempts Bagdad by Ali Pasha.

III *Murad* despising *Abaza*, (whose forces he now imagin'd entirely suppress'd) turns his thoughts to greater undertakings, and sends again a great army into *Asia* under *Chaphyz Ali Pasha*, Governor of *Diarbekir*, with orders to join the *Asiatic* troops, and instantly attack *Bagdad*. He executes his commission; but after five months siege is repuls'd by the bravery of the besieg'd with great loss, and forc'd to avoid the injuries of the weather by a speedy return.

Halil Pasha made Vizir, besieges Abaza,

IV. For this reason, *Chaphyz Ali Pasha* (3), when he comes to *Aleppo*, is depriv'd of his dignity, and the imperial signet committed to *Halil Pasha* But neither does this Vizir answer the Emperor's expectations For being order'd to march against the *Persians*, when he comes in the neighbourhood of *Erzirum*, *Abaza Pasha* the rebel, who lurk'd about that place, suspects, that under the colour of a *Persian* expedition, an army was leading against him, and returns into *Erzirum*, which he some time since had made the seat of arms, and stor'd with provisions and other warlike stores. *Halil Pasha* taking this for a flight, that he might entirely crush the dispirited, as he thought, enemies, leaves the *Persian* expedition, marches to *Erzirum*, and closely besieges the city.

but is defeated by him.

V. But whilst he hopes to acquire fame with little labour, he procures disgrace with infinite trouble. For the City is bravely defended by *Abaza*, who of all mortals was then unanimously esteem'd the best soldier and wisest General. Not content with repulsing the enemies, he unexpectedly assaults, with a small but chosen band, the *Othman* camp, instantly kills the guards, and strikes the whole army with such terror, that a defeat easily follow'd. Thus numerous forces are vanquish'd by a handful of men, multitudes are slain, and many taken alive, the Vizir himself, after throwing away his arms, hardly escaping with a few attendants.

Chosreu Pasha takes Abaza and Erzirum

VI. When this defeat is brought to *Murad*, he is doubly afflicted, and perceives his own, as well as his Vizir's error; his own, in unseasonably despising *Abaza*, and his Vizir's, in relinquishing the more weighty affairs, and turning the arms of the Empire to things of less moment. To remedy both, he displaces *Halil Pasha*, and appointing

ANNOTATIONS.

(2) *Abaza*] So call'd from his country *Abaza*, the inhabitants whereof in manners or language are very like the *Chercassians**. Hence Captives from *Abaza* are valued next to those from *Chercassia**. *Abaza Pasha* himself was a General of the greatest repute with the *Turks*, and after his rebellion an example of fidelity.

(3) *Chaphyz*] Is a firname, usually given by way of honour to those who can say the whole *Koran* by heart, and is deriv'd from the *Arabic* word *Chyfh*, *Memory*, *Custody*.

Chosreu

Chosreu Pasha his Vizir and General, sends him with supplies to the army wintering in *Diarbekir*, with orders to extinguish the flame, by attacking *Abaza* early in the spring. *Chosreu Pasha*, whom the unfortunate example of his Predecessor had render'd more cautious, executes his commission with greater care, assembles all the forces, prepares the largest cannon, and with them so shakes the walls of *Erzirum*, that the frighted inhabitants deliver up their City with the rebel, the fifth day of the siege.

VII. The town being taken, *Chosreu Pasha* sends the rebels in chains to the Port. But *Murad* having before heard of his heroical exploits, and moreover seeing the man to be of an invincible courage and mind, who had been betray'd into his hands by his own people, thinks it unfit to remove him out of the world, and though he deserv'd a thousand deaths, deprive the *Othman* Empire of so great an ornament. Wherefore severely reprimanding him for his rebellion, he promises to forgive him (3), on condition he will wipe out his former crimes by his future actions, and draw that sword against the enemies of the *Othmans*, which he had hitherto us'd against the Empire. *Abaza* readily consenting to these unexpected terms, is not only receiv'd by *Murad* into favour, but also made Beglerbeg of *Bosnia*, as a proper person to curb the enemies by his valour, in case they should invade the Empire on that side whilst employ'd in the *Persian* war.

Murad pardons him.

VIII. The civil disturbances being thus appeas'd, in the year 1039, *Chosreu Pasha* is sent with a fresh army against *Bagdad*. The Vizir to remove the obstacles his predecessors had met with, immediately goes into *Asia*, and makes great preparations the whole winter at *Musul*. In the spring, to cut off all relief from *Bagdad*, he enters the province of *Arak*, govern'd under the *Persian* King by *Zeinel chan*, takes the castles, destroys what he can't keep, and entirely quelling the rebellion, closely besieges *Bagdad*. But fortune did not permit the glory destin'd for the Emperors alone to fall on the General. For the Vizir, though he bravely assaulted the City one and forty days, yet finding he could not prevail, is forc'd to raise the siege with great loss.

Chosreu besieges *Bagdad* in vain
H. 1039.
A. C. 1629.

IX. The good success of this expedition was hinder'd chiefly by a fresh rebellion rais'd on the borders of *Persia*. For *Ilias Pasha*, whom *Murad* had made Beglerbeg of *Erzirum* in *Abaza*'s room, as if he had succeeded not only in his office, but also in his desire and

Ilias Pasha rebelling, is taken and punish'd

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(3) forgive] This pardon is ascrib'd to him as an unparallell'd instance of clemency by the *Turkish* Historians, who study to put the best construction on their Emperor's actions. But there are others who say *Abaza* surrender'd himself to *Chosreu Pasha*, on condition he should depart out of the City with his life and honour safe, and therefore could not be put to death by *Murad*. For the *Turkish* Emperors seldom break the faith given to *Mahometans*, and besides the signal qualities of the rebel seem'd to require mercy.

thirst of dominion, when he finds both the soldiers and inhabitants ready to favour him, refuses obedience to the Emperor, hoping to avoid with ease the snares *Abaza* had fallen into. But fortune was not alike to both, and what had turn'd to an increase of honour to *Abaza*, brings infamy and punishment on the other. For he was taken in the year 1041 by *Kiuchuk** (5) *Mehmed Pasha*, and sent to the Port, where in the publick market place he is order'd to lay down his aspiring thoughts with his head

H 1041. A. C. 1631

Van besieg'd by the *Persians*, is reliev'd.

X. The Musulman army being weaken'd by these civil wars, *Rustem Chan*, General of the *Persians*, invades the *Othman* dominions, and ravaging the adjacent country, lays close siege to *Van*. As the *Asiatic* army was unable to withstand him, and the City in the utmost distress, *Murad*, on news of the danger, sends the Beglerbeg of *Rumelia* with his *European* forces to its relief, who routs the *Persians*, and delivers the City now on the point of surrendering.

Murad sends an army against the *Poles*, and grants them peace.

XI. The *Persians* being defeated, he resolves to turn his victorious arms against the *Poles*, and assembling his forces at *Adrianople*, orders *Murtaza Pasha*, in conjunction with *Jambolad zade* (6), whom he had made General of the *Rumelian* horse, to infest *Poland*. These Generals pass the *Danube* near *Girgiow* (7), a town of *Walachia*, and incamp on the banks. Whilst they remain here, expecting the Emperor's orders, *Polish* ambassadors arrive, and humbly sue to *Murtaza* for peace. *Murtaza*, not daring to transact so weighty an affair without his Sovereign's privity, sends the ambassadors to the Port, by whose intreaties *Murad* is mov'd to grant a peace on his own terms.

Wine permitted H 1043. A. C 1633

XII. In the year 1043, a new and hitherto unheard of edict is publish'd by the Emperor, by which not only the sellers of wine are permitted to exercise their trade, but also every one allow'd to drink it freely contrary to the *Mahometan* Law. On the other hand, the Coffee-houses are forbid to be open'd under severe penalties.

Murad goes against the *Persians*, and takes *Revan*.

XIII. Mean while, the care of the *Persian* war gave him continual uneasiness, because he perceiv'd it impracticable either to establish, or as he intended, to inlarge the Empire, whilst *Bagdad*, the noblest City of *Asia* and Bulwark of the *Othman* dominions, was in the hands of the *Persians*. Wherefore as he found, he had gain'd no advantage to the *Othman* state by his Generals, he resolves to take upon himself the office of General, and surmount by the imperial Majesty the obstacles which had stop'd the progress of so many Vizirs. To this purpose, in the year 1044, he passes into *Asia* from his Metropolis with

H 1044. A. C 1634.

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(5) *Kiuchuk**] A name usually given by the *Turks* to persons of low stature.

(6) *Jambolad zade*] Son of *Jambolad*. He seems to have been of *Tartarian* extraction, for this name is peculiar to the *Tartars*; as *Polad Mirza*, &c.

(7) *Girgiow*] An ancient City of *Walachia* between *Silistria* and *Nicopolis*.

a numerous

a numerous army, and leads his forces full of hopes towards *Bagdad.* In his march he besieges *Revan* lately recover'd by the *Persians*, and presses it so closely, that the garrison, unable to withstand his assaults, on the eighth day surrender themselves and City to his mercy. Whereupon the Governor alone, *Emirgiun ogli* (8), is detain'd and sent to *Constantinople.* But the next year, after he had staid some time about *Tybris*, repair'd the adjacent castles, and strengthen'd them with garrisons, he leads back, about *Cassim Giuni* † (9), his victorious army to *Constantinople.*

H. 1045.
A. C. 1635.
† *Oct.* 26

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(8) *Emirgiun ogli*] Son of *Emirgiun*, a *Persian* Chan. He was brought a Captive to *Constantinople*, but by his skill in musick soon gain'd *Murad*'s favour to such a degree, that he was made one of his Privy Counsellors, and when the Emperor indulg'd himself in wine, he was delighted with only him and *Becri Mustapha.* Very often in his palace, which is still to be seen on the *Bosphorus*, and from him call'd *Imirgiun ogli yalisi* (for *Yali* is any palace situated near the sea) *Murad* met him and made himself merry with wine. Once when the Emperor was there drinking wine, a certain noble *Greek* happen'd to pass by in a boat, and not knowing the Sultan to be in that place, sung with great skill and sweetness a *Persian* song. *Emirgiun* opening the window, the *Greek* immediately left off. But *Emirgiun* desires him in God's name and for Christ's sake to go on with his song, and bids the rowers stop the boat. When the song was ended, he goes down to the *Greek*, asks him, who he was, that was so perfectly skill'd both in the *Persian* language and the art of musick. Being told he was a *Greek* and *Murad's* subject, he kisses his hand three times, and dismisses him with a good present. Then returning to the Emperor, the *Greeks*, says he, who now obey your scepter, were once our Lords, and I have this day found they justly enjoy'd that honour. I had indeed heard of their fame in our Historians, but never happen'd to meet with any one of that Nation worthy the character formerly given them. But it has been my fortune to day to know a *Greek*, whom if the rest are like, that race was truly deserving as well of our Empire as of your service. For though I am second to none among our countrymen in musick, I am scarce worthy to be call'd the scholar of this *Greek*.

(9) *Cassim Giuni*] By this name the *Turks* denote St. *Demetrius*, whom as well as St *George* (by them call'd *Hydyrlez*) they fabulously assert to have been a Musulman. They celebrate with the eastern *Christians* the Festivals of both, namely the 23d of *April* and the 26th of *October*. By these two days, as by anniversary Poles, the *Turks* regulate their expeditions: after the 23d of *April* they take the field, and the 26th of *October* they return from their expedition. After St. *George*'s day, whatever soldier is not at the place of Rendezvous, he is depriv'd of his pay and present, or must undergo some other punishment, though there can't be a worse punishment than to be dismiss'd from the army with disgrace. When they have spent these months in an expedition, the moment St. *Demetrius*'s day appears, no soldier is forc'd to obey the General or the Sultan himself, unless they voluntarily bind themselves to farther duty for the publick safety. For whoever after St. *Demetrius*'s day comes to *Ordicadisi*, or the Judge of the camp, and demands *Casim sigili*, that is, a Certificate of having faithfully serv'd that year to St. *Demetrius*'s day, which cannot be refus'd, he may safely leave the army without being liable to pain or penalty. For no *Turkish* soldier, tho' all receive pay throughout the year, is oblig'd to duty above six months.

XIV. But

The *Persians* take *Van* H. 1046. A C 1636.

XIV. But the *Persians*, who had hitherto skulk'd for fear of the *Othman* sword, when they hear of *Murad*'s departure, suddenly rush forth with numerous forces and besiege *Van*, of which *Abaza Pasha* had been made Governor. The Musulmans make a gallant resistance, so that for four months the *Persians* could gain no advantage, though they frequently repeated their assaults, and perhaps the City would have been freed from the danger, if the Governor *Abaza Pasha*, on whom the strength and safety of the place seem'd to depend, had not been snatch'd out of the world. For dispirited by this accident, the *Othmans* more faintly defend themselves, whilst the *Persians*, grown more courageous, furiously renew their assaults, take the City by storm, and sacrifice all the Musulmans to the Ghosts of their countrymen slain by *Murad*.

Murad marches against the *Persians*,

XV. When the news of this slaughter is brought to *Constantinople*, *Murad*, not expecting any such thing after his last year's happy expedition, is fill'd with rage and indignation. The effects whereof are first felt by the Vizir *Mehemed Pasha*, who for neglecting to fortify the borders, is instantly turn'd out, and his office given to *Bairam Pasha* with terrible threats against the *Persians*. That these menaces might not be in vain, he sends the same year the Vizir before, with some light-armed troops, and following in person with a greater army into *Asia*, marches directly to *Bagdad*.

H 1047 A C 1637

takes *Bagdad*

XVI. When he comes there, spurr'd on, not so much by his heroical valour, as by the desire of revenge, attacks the City so vigorously, that for thirty days it seem'd to be rather a continual slaughter and butchery than a fight. Fire, sword, and cannons cease not one moment the whole time, to destroy the soldiers on both sides. The assaults are daily renew'd, the Emperor with his scymiter, compells the retiring men to re-charge, and with his own hand kills the Vizir himself for appearing too negligent. At length, by the bravery of the *Othmans* and steddiness of the Emperor, the City is taken, and above thirty thousand *Persians* (10), who had deliver'd themselves up to the Sultan's

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(10) thirty thousand] The *Persians* still mourn with everlasting tears this cruelty of Sultan *Murad*. For he resolv'd to spare no Captive, noble or ignoble, but commanded all to be slain to a man. As his order was executing, a certain Musician desires the officers to defer his punishment, and permit him to speak one word at least to the Emperor. Being brought to him, and ask'd what he had to say, suffer not, (says he) most gracious Emperor, that with me *Shahculi, the Emperor's Servant*, (by which name he was afterwards call'd) the whole art of Musick to perish. For life is not desireable to me as a man, but as a student of Musick, whose hidden depths I have not yet entirely fathom'd, I beg a longer time to perfect myself in that divine art, which if I can accomplish, I would not exchange it for your Empire. Being order'd to give a Specimen of his skill, he takes up a *Sheshdar*, (call'd in *Arabic*, *Zabur*, in *Greek*, *Psalterion*,) and with so sweet a voice and so much art sings the Tragedy of the taking of *Bagdad* and *Murad*'s praises, that he drew tears from

Sultan's power, are ſlaughter'd in his preſence. Thus fell the famous City, to defend which, the *Shah* of *Perſia* had aſſembled the flower of his army, and almoſt his whole nobility, and to take which, *Murad* had applied the ſtrength of the *Othman* Empire. This was the laſt overthrow of the *Perſians*, ſince which they have not dar'd to be reveng'd, or to lift up their head againſt the *Othman* power.

XVII. *Bagdad* being ſubdu'd, *Murad* ſpends ſome days in repairing the breaches, and ſetling the affairs of the province of *Arak*; then leaving the new Vizir *Muſtapha Paſha* to finiſh what he had begun, winters in *Diarbekir*, and the next ſpring returns to *Conſtantinople* with his guards. Whilſt he is there meditating an expedition againſt the *Chriſtians*, he is ſuddenly ſeiz'd with a diſtemper, which after fifteen days tranſported him to the regions of eternity in the year 1049, on the 15th of the month *Sheval*, after he had liv'd thirty one, and reign'd ſeventeen years

[Margin: returns, dies. H / A C; H. 1 / A C.]

XVIII. The *Turks* relate the manners and domeſtick affairs of this Emperor in ſo many Volumes, that perhaps they juſtly ſeem ſometimes to intermix fables. I ſhall briefly inſert ſuch things only as are deliver'd by *Murad*'s more accurate hiſtorians. By theſe he is chiefly obſerv'd to commit ſome things contrary both to the imperial honour and the order of nature. They ſay he us'd to reſort with particular friends to certain pleaſant places and gardens without the City, and in a manner unbecoming an Emperor, converſe with them, light fires, dreſs victuals, buy wine from a tavern, and drink it familiarly with his companions. Moreover he married old women of eighty to young men of fifteen or five and twenty, and join'd in matrimony old men and girls in the flower of their youth, with a thouſand ſuch like pranks.

[Margin: Murad's manner]

XIX. It may be ſaid in his excuſe, that he intended by theſe things to ſearch more accurately into the nature and inclinations of man, and taſte the pleaſures of a private and rural life. But he is much more remarkable for his drunkenneſs, in which he exceeded all his predeceſſors that were given to that vice. Led to it by *Becri Muſtapha* (11), he was not content to drink wine in private, but

[Margin: His drunkenneſs.]

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from *Murad* himſelf, who could not refrain till the Muſician had done ſinging. For his ſake *Murad* order'd what captives were yet alive, not only not to be kill'd, but to be ſet at liberty. Afterwards *Murad* carried with him this Muſician to *Conſtantinople*, and greatly eſteem'd him. And indeed his *Perſian* muſical works, which in *Perſia* ſeem'd to be buried in the ruins of *Bagdad*, were reviv'd in *Turky*. This muſical inſtrument is much like a harp with ſix ſtrings each way, (from whence the name *Sheſhdar* or ἑξαχόρδιον,) and is accounted the chief of muſical inſtruments, invented as 'tis thought by *David*, though few at this day know how to play on it well.

(11) *Becri Muſtapha*] The *Turks* unanimouſly agree, that this man gave *Murad* the firſt occaſion of making himſelf drunk. How this was done is thus related. As *Murad* was once going about the market-place in diſguiſe, he accidentally lights upon this *Becri Muſtapha* wallowing in the dirt almoſt dead drunk. Wondering at the novelty of the thing, he asks his peo-
was drunk with wine, he wants to know what ſort of liquor that was, of whoſe effects he was yet ignorant. Mean while, *Muſtapha* gets up, and with opprobrious words bids the Emperor ſtand off Aſtoniſh'd at the man's boldneſs, Raſcal, ſays he, doſt thou bid me, who am Sultan *Murad*, be gone? And I (anſwers *Muſtapha*) am *Becri*† *Muſtapha*, and if thou wilt ſell me this City, I will buy it, and then I ſhall be Sultan *Murad*, and thou *Becri Muſtapha*. *Murad* demanding where he would get the money to purchaſe ſuch a City, *Muſtapha* replies, Don't trouble thyſelf about that, for what is more, I will buy too the ſon of a bond-woman [for the Emperors are all born of captives.] *Murad* agrees to it, and orders *Muſtapha* to be taken out of the dirt and carried to the Palace. After a few hours, the fumes of the wine being diſpers'd, *Muſtapha* comes to his ſenſes, ſees himſelf lying in a gilded and elegant room, asks thoſe that attended him, what is the meaning of this, am I in a dream, or do I taſt Paradiſiacal pleaſures? The By Standers tell

† drun[k]

but compell'd even the Mufti's and *Cadiulaskers* to drink with him, and also by a publick edict, mention'd before, allow'd wine to be sold and drunk by men of all orders and degrees. As he was an immoderate lover of wine, so he was a mortal enemy to opium and tobacco, forbid both on pain of death, and with his own hand kill'd several, whom he found either eating opium, or smoaking or selling tobacco. However one *Tiriaki* a smoaker escap'd punishment by his wit. For as he could not help smoaking, he caus'd a deep pit to be dug under his tent, and cover'd with green turf to prevent a discovery. When he was one day in this pit smoaking, the Emperor comes, and inquiring for the man, he is betray'd by his people, and expos'd to the Emperor's view with a pipe in his mouth, who instantly drew his sword in order to kill him *Tiriaki* seeing his danger, humourously cries out, Go to, thou son of a bond-woman! Thy edict extends above not under the earth. By this saying he not only sav'd his life, but obtain'd new honours, with the sole licensce of smoaking tobacco. He is also reported to say to his people by way of advice, If you will be merry, drink wine, and not eat t—rd

ty. XX. From this vice sprung another, no less destructive to Governors than to the state, cruelty. He thirsted after innocent blood, breath'd nothing but slaughter, and seem'd as it were to be nourish'd by it. Very often at midnight he stole out of the women's apartments through the private gates of the palace with his drawn sword, and running through the streets barefooted with only a loose gown about him, like a madman, kill'd whoever came in his way. Frequently from the windows of the higher rooms, where he us'd to drink and divert himself, he shot with arrows such as accidentally pass'd by. In the day time he ran up and down in disguise, and did not return till he had kill'd some unfortunate wretches for little or no cause. So great terror did he strike into the whole City, that no man dar'd even mention his name within his walls. Many weak persons, especially such as us'd to eat opium, fell into a swoon if they did but hear the name of *Murad*. For such he never spar'd, but either kill'd them all, or forc'd them to drink wine instead of opium. By these means he is said, during the seventeen years of his reign, to kill above fourteen thousand men, many of whom were generals of the highest rank.

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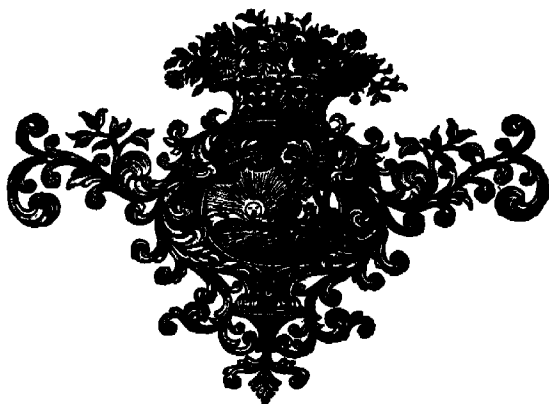
ble fright, as knowing *Murad's* fierce disposition, but necessity whetting his invention; he feigns himself dying, unless he could have some wine to revive his languishing spirits. The Keepers, that the man might not die before he is brought into the Emperor's presence, give him a pot full of wine, which he hides in his bosom. Presently after being sent for by the Emperor, he is commanded to pay so many millions as the price of the City. But he taking the pot out of his bosom, says, This, O Emperor, is what yesterday would have purchas'd *Constantinople*. And were you likewise possess'd of these riches, you would think them preferable to the Monarchy of the Universe. *Murad* asking how that could be? By drinking (says he) this divine liquor. The Emperor being perswaded, takes a large draught, which, as he was unus'd to wine, immediately makes him so drunk, that he fancies the whole world not able to hold him, con[illegible] mighty projects, and is fill'd with [illegible] and gladness, that he imagines the [illegible] crown are scarce comparable to it. Afterwards growing giddy, he is seiz'd with sleep, and in a few hours waking with the head-ach, sends for *Mustapha* in a great passion *Mustapha* instantly appears, and perceiving the case, Here (says he) is your remedy, and offers him a cup of wine, by which his head-ach is presently remov'd, and his former gladness restor'd. When he had done this two or three times, he was by degrees so addicted to wine, that he was drunk almost every day. *Becri Mustapha* his Tutor was admitted among the *Musabib* or Privy Counsellors, and always near the Emperor. At his death the Sultan order'd the whole Court to go into mourning, but caus'd his body to be buried with great pomp in a tavern among the hogsheads After his decease the Emperor declar'd he never enjoy'd one merry day, and whenever *Mustapha* chanc'd to be mention'd, was often seen to burst out into tears, and to sigh from the bottom of his heart. In a word, I have not read of so great favour gain'd by the precepts of virtue, as *Mustapha* acquir'd by the dictates of vice.

XXI. Besides these vices, he was adorn'd with great endowments of body and mind, so that he seem'd to be form'd by nature as an instance of a man excelling as well in vices as virtues. All bodily exercises requisite to a soldier were found in him. In the art of shooting with the bow, he had not his equal in the whole *Turkish* nation, except the famous champion *Tozcoparan*. There are now two marble pillars standing fifteen hundred cubits asunder, over which he is said to shoot an arrow. He was of all the *Othmans* the most expert horseman, and threw the *Jirid* with such dexterity, that no *Tartarian* arrow could go so far or with such exactness. He is reported to have been so swift of foot, that the fleetest *Arabian* horse could hardly outrun him. Nor did he want singular endowments of mind. In the first place he was steddy in the conduct of affairs, and desisted not from an undertaking till it was accomplish'd or frustrated. He was unshaken in all circumstances, so that if his years had been answerable to his greatness of mind, he would without much difficulty have acquir'd the monarchy of the universe. But the wounds with which the sword threaten'd others, were given him by drunkenness, and remov'd him out of the world, of which he was the terror.

Endowm. of body mind.

The End of the Reign of MURAD IV.

The

The REIGN of IBRAHIM, Eighteenth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK III. CHAP. XI.

Ibrahim proclaim'd Emperor
H. 1049
A C 1639
Asak taken from the *Cossaks*

I. SUltan *Ibrahim* was born in the year of the *Hejira* 1026, and three and twenty years after, his brother *Murad* being dead, and no other heir remaining of the *Othman* race, was with unanimous consent proclaim'd Emperor.

II. His first care after his accession to the throne, was to clear the *Black Sea* of the *Cossak* Pyrates, and render the passage safe and open for ships sailing to *Constantinople*. He perceiv'd this could not be done without great trouble and charge, whilst *Asak*, situated at the mouth of the *Tanais*, was in their hands, because he saw that City was convenient for exercising pyracy, and in case of a defeat would afford them a retreat. Wherefore he sends a numerous army to besiege it, and taking it after many assaults, puts all the garrison to the sword.

The *Maltese* take a *Turkish* ship, and carry her into *Crete*.

III. The *Pontus Euxinus* being thus clear'd, he resolves to do the same in the *White Sea*. All the Islands therein were now taken by the *Othman* valour, except *Crete* (1), which contemn'd the imperial power, and afforded a harbour to pyrates,

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(1) *Crete*] I shall insert here the History of this Island as deliver'd by the *Turkish* writers, if it were only to show their care in transmitting the actions of their countrymen. *Kritos*, which by a change of some of the letters, is by others corruptly call'd *Gerid*, is the chief of the Islands in the *Mediterranean*, and extended from east to west in length two hundred, and in breadth sixty, miles. It seems by nature herself to be created for the delight of man. The soil is every where fertile, and abounding with all sorts of grain. The fragrant fields are full of herbs, good as well for the food of beasts and birds, as for physical uses; among the last, particularly is the herb *Isti-*[illegible], whose wonderful virtues have been [illegible]ated by the antient Physicians. No [illegible] beasts hurtful to man or animals, as [illegible], foxes, serpents, are ever bred here, [illegible] brought from elsewhere can they live. The first inhabitants of this Island instructed the rest of the world in an elegant way of life. It was the constant opinion of the worshippers of graven images, that the Prince of the Heathen idols was born at *Crete*. From the same fountain flow'd musick and other arts tending to the delight and polishing of mankind. It had formerly many and very famous Cities, numberless villages and inhabitants, the softness of the air and temperature of the climate inviting new colonies from all parts. It was many years subject to the *Greeks*, afterwards it was conquer'd by the arms of the Musulmans of *Spain*. For in the year of the *Hejira* 204, when *Hakim*, son of *Hessam* of the family of *Umie* rul'd at *Corduba* in *Spain*, an insurrection is rais'd against him, which increas'd so suddenly, that a crowd of conspirators surrounded *Hakim*'s palace and attempted his life,

IBRAHIM,
Eighteenth Emperor of the Turks
in the Year 1640.
From an Original in the Seraglio.

pyrates, who plunder'd the *Turkish* ships. The frequent complaints brought by his subjects against the *Venetians* had before induc'd him to conquer this Island, and a late injury offer'd those that were going to *Mecca* and *Egypt* afforded him an occasion. *Kislar Agasi Sumbul aga*, being depriv'd of his office, receives a certificate of his freedom (2), and sails towards *Egypt* in company with the *Cadi* of *Mecca* and the *Molla* of *Prusa*, *Mehemed Effendi*. When they come near *Crete*, they are suddenly attack'd by six *Maltese* gallies. The *Turks* make a brave defense, the *Kislar aga*, *Cadi*, and commander of the ship fall in the battle, and the rest overpower'd with numbers are taken with their riches by the enemies. The *Maltese* with their prize immediately go into a harbour of

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life. The King bravely resists, and after a bloody conflict disperses the rebels, kills many of them, and pardons the rest, on condition they would depart and seek new habitations. The Musulmans being thus expell'd their antient seats with thirty ships sail towards *Egypt*, and arrive near *Alexandria*. Whereupon *Abdullah* son of *Tahir*, who then govern'd *Egypt* under the *Persian*, goes from *Cairo* with a great army, unexpectedly surprises and surrounds them. However pitying their condition, he sends them away, with a command to depart out of *Egypt* and never return again. Being unable to resist, they obey his orders, and going on board their ships steer directly to *Crete*. Allur'd by the fruitfulness and pleasantness of the Island, they resolve to fix there, and consult how to seize it. To effect this with the greater alacrity, they burn their ships, that all hopes of retreat might be cut off in case they suffer'd themselves to be beaten. Then they invade the Island, and quickly subduing it, fortify the castles with new works, and store them with warlike provisions The *Greek* Emperor *Michael*, hearing *Crete* was taken by the Musulmans (or *Saracens*,) sends a great fleet against them. The Musulmans are worsted in the first conflict, but soon after assembling all their forces, attack the camp of the *Greeks* with such vigour, that not a man escapes to carry the news into *Greece* The Musulmans acquaint the Emperor with what had happen'd, and withal offer peace, to which the Emperor, when he saw he could not prevail by force, readily consents The treaty being settled, *Umru* Prince of the Musulmans and his posterity quietly govern the Island eighty years Afterwards in the year 284, the *Greek* Emperor sends his General *Nicephorus Phocas* to *Crete* with a numerous army to dislodge the Musulmans. *Phocas* having landed his troops, attacks and vanquishes the Musulmans, takes all their towns and fortresses, and forces those he does not kill to submit to the *Greek* Emperor, who in process of time partly die and partly turn *Christians*, so that in some years there appear'd no foot-steps of the Musulmans. Some time after, *Alexius* his younger brother circumvents and seizes *Isaac* Emperor of *Constantinople*, and murdering him by putting out his eyes, mounts the throne. Not content with one fratricide, he endeavours to dispatch *Isaac*'s son of his own name, that he might have no rival. But the young Prince, warn'd of his imminent danger a few hours before the deed was to be executed, makes his escape and flies to the *Venetians*. There he stirs up almost all the west to his assistance, obtains a fleet of the *Venetians*, an army of the *French*, and thus prepar'd, sails towards *Constantinople*, in company with the Princes of *France* and *Spain*, with whom the *Venetians* were in friendship. With these he penetrates into the *Propontis*, and anchors over-against the City near a village call'd at present *Cadikioi* The Emperor *Alexius*, perceiving himself surpris'd, and unable to raise an army time enough to resist, privately withdraws from *Constantinople* in the fear of being serv'd as he had us'd *Isaac*. So *Alexius*, *Isaac*'s son, seizes the City destitute of a defender, and being confirm'd in the throne, gives the Prince of *Spain* for his services the Island of *Crete* for ever. In the year of the *Hejra* 510, the *Venetians* bought it of his successors with a large sum of money, and held it till *Ibrahim*'s time.

(2) freedom] *Kislar Agasi*, (that is the *Chief Eunuch*,) whilst he bears that office over the women in the Seraglio, though great honour is paid him by all, is reckon'd and call'd a slave. But when he is dismiss'd from his post, he receives a certificate of his freedom, which he would never desire, unless forc'd, for his authority is very great in the *Othman* Court. They are all, when displac'd, sent into *Egypt*, where they receive from the Emperor as a pension eight thousand *Para* a day, each of which is three Aspers. Several, whilst they are in their office, purchase estates in *Egypt*, on which they afterwards live very splendidly. This the Court freely allows, because their effects at their death fall to the Emperor.

Crete, and giving the Governor some share, are suffer'd to retire with all their captives and booty.

For which Ibrahim makes war on the Venetians.

IV. To let this injury go unpunish'd, seem'd the same thing as to expose the power of the *Othman* Empire to the contempt of its enemies, on the contrary, to revenge it, afforded a fair opportunity of subduing the so long desir'd Island. Wherefore *Ibrahim*, incourag'd by the advice of his counsellors, breaks the peace with the *Venetians*, and declares war against them as robbers and protectors of pyrates. To wage this war the more successfully, he prepares an army under the command of *Musah Pasha* and *Murad Aga*, *Kutkiethudasi* or Lieutenant General of the Janizaries, and a fleet under the conduct of *Capudan Yusuf Pasha*, whose valour he had tried, whilst he discharg'd the office of sword-bearer.

H. 1054
A. C. 1644

He takes Chanie
H. 1055
A. C. 1645.

V. The forces thus headed, in the year 1055, on the 4th of the month *Rebiul evvel*, sail from *Constantinople*, and the 20th of the following month arrive at *Crete*. The next day the soldiers being landed, *Chanie* is order'd to be closely besieg'd, which after a resistance of fifty four days surrenders to the Musulman army. The walls are immediately repair'd, and part of the army being left in garrison, the rest with the fleet adorn'd with laurels return to *Constantinople*. Shortly after, *Husein Pasha* is sent with fresh forces, and after several battles in this and the following year, subdues the whole Island, except only *Candia*.

Ibrahim's death and issue
H. 1058
A. C. 1648

VI. Whilst *Ibrahim* is making fresh and great preparations for the conquest of this City, he is on the 18th of *Rejeb*, in the year 1058, remov'd out of the world, and crown'd with martyrdom. He left nine sons, *Selim* and *Othman* born 1054, *Mahomet*, *Ahmed*, *Soliman*, *Murad*, *Ithangir*, born 1056, *Bajazet* and *Orchan* born 1058. Of these, *Mahomet*, *Soliman*, and *Ahmed* came to the throne, the rest were excluded by an untimely death.

His character

VII. The manners of this Emperor, as well as those of his predecessor *Murad*, though at the peril of their heads, are fully describ'd by the *Turks*. As *Murad* was wholly addicted to wine, so was *Ibrahim* to lust. They say, he spent all his time in sensual pleasures, and when nature was exhausted with the frequent repetition of venereal delights, he endeavour'd to restore it with potions and art. Every *Friday*, which is the *Turkish* Sabbath, he dedicated to *Venus*, and commanded a beautiful Virgin richly habited to be brought to him by his Mother, Prime Vizir, or some other Great man. He cover'd the walls of his chamber with looking glass, that his love-battles might seem to be acted in several places at once. He order'd his pillows to be stuffed with rich furs, that the bed destin'd for the imperial pleasure might be the more pretious. Nay he put whole sable skins under him, in a notion that his lust would be inflam'd, if his love-toil were render'd more difficult by the glowing of his knees. In the palace garden call'd *Chas*, he frequently assembled all the virgins, made them strip themselves, and himself naked, neighing like a stallion, ran among them, and as it were ravish'd one or other kicking and strugling by his order. Happening once to see by chance the privy parts of a wild heifer, he sent the shape of them in gold all over the Empire, with orders to make enquiry, whether a woman made just in that manner could be found for his lust. At last, they say, such a one was found and receiv'd into the women's apartment. He made a collection of great and voluminous books of pictures, expressing the various ways of coition, whereby he ever invented some new and before unknown posture. Thus the publick treasury, diminish'd by *Murad's* drunkenness, was quite exhausted by *Ibrahim's* luxury and lust, and the sinews of the Empire, which were applied by his ancestors to repulse their enemies and inlarge their dominion, were by him us'd to the destruction of his body.

The End of the Reign of IBRAHIM

The

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MAHOMET IV
Nineteenth EMPEROR *of y^e* Turks,
in the Year 1650.
From an Original in the Seraglio.

The REIGN of

MAHOMET IV.

Nineteenth EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK III. CHAP. XII.

I. IBRAHIM being crown'd with martyrdom, the Janizaries, in the year 1058, on the 8th of the month *Rejeb*, proclaim his son *Mahomet* (1), then but seven years old, and place him on the throne.

Mahomet succeeds. H. 1059. A C 1649.

II. In this tender age he gave very sensible proofs of his future greatness, and of the hopes the *Othmans* ought to conceive of him. The treasury, exhausted by his father's luxury, being replenish'd by the management of *Kioprili Mehemed Pasha* (2), and all intestine commotions appeas'd, he strangles his Grandmother

Transactions during his younger years

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(1) *Mahomet*] His mother was the daughter of a *Greek* Priest under Sultan *Murad*, (before the law by which the children of *Christians* were collected by way of tribute was abolish'd) brought from the *Morea*, and on account of her beauty receiv'd into the imperial Seraglio. When she came to be *Valide Sultana*, she caus'd her mother to be inquir'd after, and being found to live with her in the palace, she remain'd there many years, and could not by any offers be induc'd to turn *Mahometan* At last, dying in the profession of the Orthodox faith, to which she had always adher'd, her Grandson Sultan *Mahomet* order'd her to be carried out of the palace, and buried after the manner of the *Greek* Church by the Patriarch attended with his whole Clergy.

(2) *Kioprili*] The founder of the present most noble family, among the *Turks*, of *Kioprili ogli*. In the beginning of *Mahomet*'s reign, by reason of his poverty he liv'd a private and stoical life at *Constantinople*, in expectation of some even the smallest Bashalic Indeed he enjoy'd the name and honour of a Basha, but as he had not wherewithal to support his family according to his rank, he seldom appear'd in publick. About that time a *Persian* ambassador comes to *Constantinople* to congratulate *Mahomet* on his accession to the throne. The Sultan gives him a splendid entertainment, and orders every Basha to do the same. Accordingly he was so magnificently feasted by the Vizir and other Bashas, that it cost them each at least a hundred Purses. When it came to *Kioprili*'s turn, a certain *Jew*, who had often supplied his necessities, promises to find him money, and on the day appointed, prepares a splendid feast with Comedians and other diversions customary with the *Turks*. The next day, the Players come for their reward, and as they had made no bargain beforehand, are paid only two hundred Dollars, though they had been presented with four or five hundred by all the Pashas Whereupon *Lascares*, Head of the Company, a *Greek*, throws the money on the ground, declaring he would take nothing of such an *Oppordoz Pasha*, which in *Spanish-Hebrew*, signifies a vile pitiful fellow. The *Jew* gathers up the money, and tells *Mehemed Pasha* what had pass'd, who replies, since I am become so wretched as to be thus grievously affronted by an Infidel, without having it in my power to be reveng'd, I shall within few days either be happy or lose my head. The event answer'd the prediction.

Shortly

mother party to the rebellion of the *Janizaries*, puts many of their accomplices to death, recovers *Tenedos* and *Lemnos* from the *Venetians*, takes and beheads the rebellious Basha of *Aleppo* with his associates, sends the Vizir *Kioprili Mehemed Pasha* against *Janova*, which after a siege of few days is taken, and subjected to the *Othman* power. With the same success he wages war in *Hungary*, where in the year 1070, *Ali Pasha* assaults and takes *Varadin*. In the year 1074, Vizir *Fazil Ahmet Kioprili ogli* (3) subdues *Uivar*. He likewise declares war against, and vanquishes *Racotius* †, (who died of a mortal wound receiv'd in the battle,) and overrunning *Transylvania*, appoints *Michael Apaphi* Prince of that country under a certain tribute

H. 1070.
A. C. 1659.
H. 1074.
A. C. 1663.
† *Ragotski*

He makes peace with the *Germans*.

III. The Emperor of *Germany*, terrified at the progress of the *Othmans*, sends ambassadors to the Vizir, suing for peace, and promising to relinquish whatever the *Turks* were possess'd off. The Vizir not thoroughly understanding the Emperor's intention, carries the ambassador with him to the Port, who inclining his head, wipes the dust of the sublime threshold with his face (4), and by his intreaties obtains the desir'd peace of twenty years on the Sultan's conditions

Renews the *Cretan* war

IV. The peace being solemnly sworn by the ambassadors of both Princes, the Sultan resolves to renew with more vigour the *Cretan* war, which on account

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Shortly after, the *Spahi* raise a sedition at *Constantinople*, and murder the Prime Vizir and all the Pashas, only *Mehemed Pasha* escapes by his obscurity. The fury of the sedition being appeas'd, *Kislar Agasi* and the *Selictar*, with the other Court-officers, seeing no other Pasha alive, whom they could advance to the honour of Prime Vizir, send for old *Kioprili*, deliver to him as a plain man, the imperial signet, as a token of his new office, bidding him always remember by whose means he was rais'd from the lowest state to the highest degree of honour. *Mehemed* promises whatever they desir'd, and at first consults them by letters in all affairs. As they sent back their opinions in writing, *Mehemed* carefully preserves all the papers, and after some time privately sending for some of the Generals of the *Spahi*, shows them the letters, complains of the haughtiness of *Kislar agasi*, *Selictar*, and the rest of the Court-officers, and advises the soldiery not to suffer the reins of so large an Empire to be in the hands of such men, and to prevent so great a disgrace whilst it should be in their power. The *Spahi*, mov'd at the indignity of the thing, flock together again, and petition the Emperor to deliver up to punishment *Kislar agasi*, *Selictar*, with their accomplices, as disturbers of the publick peace, and authors of the former sedition. These being put to death, *Mehemed Pasha* is confirm'd in his post, and by degrees destroys all the *Spahi* who had taken arms against the Emperor, so that in two years not one of the rebels was left. After seven years enjoyment of his office, he was seiz'd with sickness, and when near his end, was visited by Sultan *Mahomet* [illegible], who after some discourse about the [illegible] affairs, tells him, he should make but little account of his past services, unless he would declare whom he thought worthy to succeed him. The sick Vizir answers, he knew no one more worthy of that dignity than his son *Ahmed*, as well for his prudence, as gravity Of such weight was the father's recommendation, that the son immediately after his death, though a young man, was made Prime Vizir.

(3) *Kioprili ogli*] Son of *Kioprili Mehemed Pasha*, whose story I have just related. He was Prime Vizir seventeen years, and is very famous among the *Turks* for learning, prudence, fortitude, and steddiness They certainly ascribe the *Cretan* victory, chiefly to his invincible mind and his eloquence, in which he is said to excell all of his age, and confess, if he had not been General of the expedition, *Candia* could never have been taken He is call'd by the *Turks* the Vicar of God's shadow, the light and splendor of the most beautiful and sweetest Nations, Inspector and Keeper of the true laws, and of good and holy manners, Breaker of the Bells of the straying and blasphemous Nations, the terrible Leader, most learned, most merciful, &c He was the only Vizir who receiv'd that dignity from his father, and transmitted it as it were by hereditary right to his son and grandson.

(4) *face*] These and the like pompous expressions are us'd concerning *Christian* ambassadors by the *Turkish* Historians, in honour of their Empire, and in contempt of the *Christians*. For though an ambassador, when he comes into the Sultan's presence, must pull off his sword, and held by two *Capuji bashi*, thrice bow his head, yet he never performs any other marks of submission.

of

of other affairs had hitherto proceeded but slowly. It was begun against the *Venetians* by his father *Ibrahim*, who had taken *Chanie* with the neighboring castles, and expell'd almost all the antient inhabitants of the Island. The only place remaining to the enemies was *Candia*, where nature and art seem'd to demonstrate what could be produc'd for the destruction of the assaulters. The Musulman forces had made frequent attempts, but had ever been repuls'd with loss: and the possession of the Island was not deem'd sure, as long as a port was open to the enemies to invade it whenever they pleas'd. *Mahomet* resolves to employ the forces of the whole Empire to remove this rock, on which the *Othman* fleet had often miscarried, and entrusts the expedition to *Ahmed Kiuprili ogli Pasha*, who had signaliz'd his conduct in the late war with the *Germans*.

His speech to his Vizirs and others.

V. Wherefore three days after the confirmation of the treaty of peace, he assembles *Sheikhul islam* (or chief Mufti) with the Vizirs and Generals to consult about the state of affairs, and commanding silence, is said to make the following speech: "In order to make them the rule of my actions, I have enquir'd into the methods by which my ancestors gain'd, preserv'd, and inlarg'd "this happy and everlasting Empire, and find there were two principal causes "of so many victories, their care of the citizens, and their own invincible "fortitude against their enemies. Whilst to the citizens they extended justice "and clemency, and bravely defended them against all assaults, they not only "acquir'd the love of all their subjects, but also found them ready to assist in all "the vicissitudes of fortune. And whilst to the enemies they oppos'd the sword "of their unconquerable troops, they depriv'd them of courage, and render'd "themselves so formidable, that they frequently oblig'd them to sue for peace. "By these methods they not only re-establish'd the sinking Empire, but performd "such exploits against the most potent enemies as to posterity, were the proofs "not manifest, would appear almost incredible. They utterly subverted the "power of the *Romans* so long establish'd in *Greece*, wrested *Egypt* from the "*Chercassians** the most warlike Nation of the *Tartars*, subdued the best part "of *Hungaria* and *Persia*, struck terror into *Germany*, and moreover gave laws "and a Prince to the hitherto unconquer'd *Scythians*. By this means, they not "only strengthen'd the bounds of their Empire, but also so weaken'd the *Christians*, those enemies of our most holy religion, that there seem'd to be little "or no obstacle to their entire conquest. In this happy situation, the *Venetian* "commonwealth alone, which compar'd with the *Othman* dominions, scarce "deserves mention, dar'd to despise our power, and sometimes even to insult us. "To say nothing of their late injuries to us, their treacherous seizing of *Tenedos*; "by which and their frequent pyracies on the *Asiatic* and *European* coasts, "they have as it were shut up the port of *Constantinople*, I shall only insist on "the chains with which they bind the Musulmans, who by a divine impulse "cross the *Mediteranean* sea to visit the sacred relicts of our most holy Prophet, "just as if they were to be doom'd to eternal punishment, whilst they are seeking their own eternal salvation, and the happiness promis'd by our Prophet. "If the blood of these martyrs does not inflame your minds, its cries will raise "our forefathers from the dead with all the martyr'd heroes, who will upbraid "you for suffering the glory and majesty of the *Othman* Empire, acquir'd with "so much blood and toil, to be sullied by the wantonness of a few weak robbers. Our shame and disgrace will be increas'd, if we call to mind that "our enemies are expell'd from almost all the Islands of the *Mediterranean*, "that *Crete* too is taken, and only *Candia* has not been attempted, nor felt the "force of the *Othman* sword, whose edge penetrates to the very soul of an "enemy. If you say this City is strong, and fortify'd by nature and art, know, "the *Othman* courage and force are stronger, before which I have seen castles "lofty as the skies fall to the ground. For this cause, if you are against assaulting the city, and despair of success, when it is the refuge of pyrates "and magazine of robberies, it will be deem'd the same thing as if you "advis'd a peace with the *Venetians*, and a resignation of the dominion of the "sea, which how dishonorable it would be to the conquerors of the world,

"I need not say. Wherefore, Thou who art our Prime Vizir, *Lala Ahmed* "*Pasha*, show thy self the worthy offspring of thy father, take courage, assemble the troops, and make the necessary preparations for the siege of *Candia*; "down with that shelter of league-breakers, blunt the edge of the infidel sword, "and surmounting the walls by the divine aid and thy own valour, vanquish "the robbers, and expel them the Island. If thou proceedest with due diligence, "doubtless by our most holy Prophet's intercession, the enemies will quickly "be routed, and their den demolish'd. And be assured, thou shalt not only be "highly honour'd by me, but also amply rewarded by God as the publisher of "our law." All that were present, mov'd with the Emperor's speech, unanimously approve his advice, and promise to advance the design to the utmost of their power.

The Vizir lands his forces in Crete.

H 1066.

A. C. 1655.

VI. The Vizir himself, without delay, takes a view that winter of the ports and magazines, builds store-houses at proper places, fills them with provisions, and with great care prepares every thing requisite for a long siege. In the spring of the year 1066, he assembles all the forces, and on the 5th day of *Sheval* departs from *Constantinople*. The Emperor himself accompanies him to *Adrianople*, and there after reviewing the army, sends him upon the expedition. *Ahmed Pasha* halts at *Stife* to give the soldiers time to refresh themselves after their march, and prepare for their sea-voyage Then he embarks his forces at *Termes* (5), and arriving in the port of *Chanie*, lands his army, places them in winter quarters, and carefully makes what warlike preparations were still wanting.

Besieges Candia;

VII. When he thought all things necessary for a long siege were ready, the next year on the 18th day of *Zilcade*, he sails from *Chanie*, and arriving near *Candia*, lands his men without opposition at the village *Caulochor*, and marks out the place to incamp. On the morrow, the army being drawn up with very great pomp and inconceivable gallantry, he views the places about the City, as well to know where he might best make his assaults, as to terrify the enemies with a show of his forces. On the third day, he assembles all the officers and others, who had long been experienc'd in warlike affairs, and bids them every one give his opinion of the manner of besieging and assaulting the City. At last it was decreed to undermine the *Red Tower*, batter the walls, and make the first attempt upon the City on that side.

storms it, and forces it to surrender

VIII. Wherefore the same year, in the latter end of the month *Zylhije*, the ramparts are thrown up, the City invested, and a siege begun, the like whereof had not been, nor perhaps ever will be, seen. The strength of the whole *Othman* Empire is applied, many years preparations are employ'd, fresh troops supply the place of the slain, the soldiers declining the danger, are compell'd by threats and blows to renew the charge. For the besieged there fought the difficulty of the place, and all the brave men of the nations believing in the *Messiah*, who were assembled with a resolution to conquer or die. Thus they fought incessantly twenty nine months, being frequently reliev'd with fresh supplies by the *French* and *Venetians*. Every inch of ground is gain'd on both sides with the blood of many heroes; when the walls are batter'd down and mounted, new walls are instantly rais'd by the besieg'd, and by that means the *Othmans*, who in mounting the breaches, imagin'd to find the reward of their toil, suddenly beholding new obstacles, are almost reduc'd to despair. At last, the enemy's valour is forc'd to give way to the *Othman* power and fortune, and what could hardly be effected by arms, the *Othmans* being now tir'd and spiritless, is brought about by *Panaiot* (6) the *Terjiman* † of the Court, who by an artful speech

† Interpreter.

ANNOTATIONS.

(5) *Termes*] A poor town in *Thessaly*, on the coast of the *Archipelago*, call'd by the *Greeks* Θέρμας. It was also call'd Θέρμα by the antients, and gave name to the *Sinus Thermaicus*.

(6) *Panaiot*] Παναγιώτης. Though the thing is not related in this manner by any *Christian* Historian, it will however be worth the while to insert here the account of the taking of *Candia*, as I had it from those, who were at that time in the secret of affairs. The Sultan perceiving the obstacles

ſtacles that would occur in the ſiege of *Candia*, had order'd the whole army to be told, that not a man of them ſhould appear in his preſence alive, unleſs the City was taken. But this, inſtead of incouraging the ſoldiers, (as it was intended,) had like to have prov'd the deſtruction of the whole Empire. For the troops, fatigu'd with ſo many labours, with the ſummer heats and winter colds, when they ſaw they had made little progreſs after twenty nine months continual toil, began to murmur, affirming it to be unjuſt, that the ſtrength of the whole Empire ſhould be waſted in the ſiege of an impregnable City, undertaken ſeemingly for no other reaſon, but the entire deſtruction of the Janizaries. As the Vizir could not, by reaſon of the Emperor's order, comply with the intreaties of the ſoldiers, and raiſe the ſiege, he oblig'd them to their duty, ſometimes with threats, ſometimes with preſents, promiſes, but chiefly he appeas'd the ſeditious minds of the ſoldiery by his eloquence, (in which he excell'd all the *Turks* of his age) and inſpir'd the reſt with courage by his words and example. Whilſt he was thus furiouſly aſſaulting the City, news is brought that the *French* were coming with a fleet and army to the relief of *Candia*, and were now above half way. Whereupon the Vizir entirely deſpairs, for he had plac'd his ſole hope of ſucceſs in famine and the want of neceſſaries to defend the City, from which he not only ſaw himſelf fallen, but had alſo to fear a freſh mutiny of the Janizaries, with a thouſand other almoſt unſurmountable difficulties. Whilſt he was muſing on theſe things in his tent, and could not think of any means to remove ſo great obſtacles, *Panaiot* the Court-Interpreter comes in, and paying him the uſual obeyſance, asks, (as he was in great favour with him) the reaſon of the ſadneſs he ſaw in his face. Being told, "Lay aſide, "ſays he, the care that diſturbs you, and "ſhow your ſelf chearful to the ſoldiers. "For this melancholy becomes not your "noble and invincible mind, nor have we "cauſe to deſpair of taking the City. "Nay the ſtars declare it to be at hand, "provided their influence be aſſiſted by "human policy. If therefore you will "give me leave to act without making "any perſon privy to our deſigns, I dare "promiſe the ſurrender of the City in a "few days. But hear the means I pro-"poſe. The coming of the *French* fleet, "unleſs reveal'd from heaven, cannot yet "be known to the beſieged. For the "City, inveſted on every ſide, is ſo ſtrict-"ly watch'd, that a mouſe cannot enter "without our knowledge. And it is my "deſign to deceive them by the very thing, "whereby they would free themſelves "from danger. For I have projected to "invite *Moroſini* the Governor to a pri-"vate parley, and admoniſh him as a "friend, not to truſt to the *French* fleet, "becauſe their deſigns are worſe than "thoſe of the *Turks*. I ſhall eaſily gain "credit, as well by my known pro-"feſſion of the *Chriſtian* Religion, as by "my feign'd zeal for the welfare of Chri-"ſtendom, and hope to inſpire him with "the purpoſe of ſurrendering the City." The Vizir gives his conſent, and commits the affair entirely to the Interpreter's faithfulneſs and management. *Panaiot* ſends his truſty ſlave *Maxud* (an *Arabian* name ſignifying *deſire*, ſuch as is generally given to their ſlaves by the *Chriſtians*, who have any thing to do in the *Othman* Court, becauſe the *Turks* ſeldom uſe the names of *Chriſtians*, without the epithet, *Gaur*, and *Kiafer*, *Infidel*, *Blaſphemer*) with a letter to *Moroſini* the Governor, and feigns a ſtrong deſire, out of his *Chriſtian* zeal, to have an opportunity of acquainting him by word of mouth with ſome things of the utmoſt conſequence to the *Chriſtian* affairs. *Moroſini*, a man of great policy, imagining a ſnake in the graſs, heſitates ſome time whether he ſhould give him a meeting; at laſt, after maturely debating the matter with the *Greeks* and *Venetians* in the City, he reſolves to hear what he had to ſay, and accordingly diſmiſſes the meſſenger with the appointment of time and place of meeting. *Panaiot* the next evening, as if he was going to view the centries and guards, which he had us'd to do by the Vizir's order, approaches one of the gates of the City. *Moroſini* in diſguiſe quickly comes too. For ſo it was agreed, that the garriſon might not be privy to what ſhould be tranſacted. When *Panaiot* comes into his preſence, "I am ſorry, (ſays he) and "greatly grieve to ſee the daily decay of "*Chriſtians*, eſpecially of thoſe both of "my Nation and Religion, and on the "other hand, the continual growth of the "*Turks*, whoſe infidelity and tyranny "threaten'd to the whole world, juſtly "raiſe our indignation. No doubt this is "inflicted on Chriſtendom by God's judg-"ment for our own and the ſins of our "fathers, but ſince we know it to be uſu-"al with God to chaſtiſe his children, "and afterwards deſtroy the inſtruments "of his vengeance, we hope, through the "divine goodneſs, that will ſhortly be "the caſe. Mean while, we muſt quietly "bear the misfortunes ſent us by heaven, "yield to the times, and not reſiſt the di-"vine pleaſure." When by theſe words he thought he had gain'd credit, in order to deceive the Governor more effectually, he binds him by oath not to reveal what he was going to communicate. For he pre-

[...]ded to fear, that some one accidentally [ta]ken prisoner by the *Turks*, might be compell'd by torture to divulge what he through a divine zeal was about to tell him; and so his good intentions to the *Christians* might be turn'd to his destruction. *Morosini*'s mind being thus prepar'd, "You must know, (says he) there was "a letter of the *French* Admiral given me "yesterday to be interpreted, which ran "thus: By the command of the most "*Christian* King my master, I am failing "towards *Crete* with a good fleet and ar-"my. But since I think it dangerous to "both sides to acquaint you by letter "with the design of this expedition, I "have order'd the bearer my Secretary, "to inform you of all matters. The "Secretary being brought into the Vizir's "*Oba* or inner Tent, spoke thus in his "master's name, no man being present "but my self. We have now learn'd by "long experience, that the *Venetians* are "the old and mortal enemies of *France* "Whenever our dominions have been in-"vaded, they have always assisted our "enemies with counsel, money, and arms, "and threaten'd us with many evils, tho' "the event has never answer'd their pur-"poses. On the other hand, when they "have found themselves oppress'd, they "have constantly had recourse to fraud "and deceit, and pretending and boasting "their friendship, implor'd our aid. "Thus at this very time, when they saw "the arms of the *Othman* Empire heavy "upon them, they sent ambassadors to "our King, and by the Pope's interces-"sion begg'd to be freed from danger, "and to move our King the more easily, "offer'd, 1. If only *Candia* should be de-"liver'd from the siege of the *Turks*, it "should remain hereafter in our King's "possession · for they should willingly "and gladly yield it to a *Christian* King "rather than see it in the hands of the "*Turks*. 2 But if the *Turks* should be "driven by their united forces out of all "*Crete*, half of the Island with the Me-"tropolis should remain to the *French*, "and half to the *Venetians*. Our King in "appearance agreed to these terms, but "deeming it unjust to weaken his amity "with the *Othman* Court, and shake the "deep foundations of their friendship, be-"sides having got an opportunity of chas-"tizing the audaciousness of deceitful and "inconstant men, order'd a fleet to be "equipp'd, and commanded the Admiral, "when he should enter *Candia*, to send all "[the] *Venetians* prisoners to *France*, and "[surre]nder the City to the Vizir. For "[our] King holding so spacious and flou-"[rishing] a Realm, does not want a fo-"[reign] and so remote a Kingdom, which "would be a perpetual bone of conten-"tion. Wherefore the Vizir has nothing "to fear about the arrival of our fleet. "For the Admiral if he enter'd the City, "which he hopes would be the next day, "will show the King of *France*'s orders "under his hand and seal, and declare the "whole affair. Thus far the Secretary. "But I, desirous the thing should happen "otherwise, and to the advantage of Chri-"stendom and my religion, have rack'd "my invention, and can find no way to "avert the danger which threatens all "*Christians*. If you exclude the *French* "from the City, they will in conjunction "with the *Turks* act against you as con-"temners of their aid, and as publick ene-"mies, and so you will not only lose the "City, but also, since you have no proofs "of their treachery, be branded with "eternal infamy among *Christians*. On "the other hand, if you admit the ene-"mies coming under the colour of friend-"ship, what calamities may befall you "and your whole commonwealth, may, "without my rehearsing them, easily be "conjectured. In this City is assembled "not only the flower of the *Venetian* No-"bility, but the best part of the army, "and should they be destroy'd or taken "prisoners, it will not be difficult for "*France* to overrun all the *Venetian* domi-"nions. Besides seeing the *French* do not "account it dishonest to impose upon "and deceive others, I really believe they "will prove treacherous as well to the "*Turks* as you, and expelling both from "the Island, seize this so ample and re-"nown'd Kingdom, which, when once "they are masters of it, I deem it im-"practicable ever to recover out of their "hands. Since then the City can hold out "no longer, but must necessarily fall into "the power either of the *French* or *Turks*, "I leave you to judge which is most eli-"gible, to be deliver'd up to *French* bon-"dage, and with the City lose perhaps the "whole commonwealth, or to surrender "*Candia* to the *Turks* upon honorable "terms, from whom, when they shall "hereafter be involv'd in other wars, you "may very easily wrest it again? My "zeal for the *Christian* Religion, and the "safety of my countrymen, has induc'd "me to discover these things to you at the "hazard of my life, and the no small honour "I now enjoy in the *Othman* Court. It is "your business to see what may or ought "to be done for the good of your coun-"try." Upon saying these words, *Panaiot* retir'd into the camp. But *Morosini*, though he had sworn not to reveal what had been told him, that very night however assembles the general officers and other chief men, in whom he most confided,

ded, and laying before them *Panaiot*'s informations, asks what was to be done. They after maturely weighing the thing, unanimously resolve to surrender the City to the *Turks*, if they could procure honorable terms, and declare it preferable to a long and tedious captivity. *Panaiot* goes the next morning to the Vizir, tells him what he had said to *Morosini*, and to take all courage from the already dishearten'd garrison, perswades him to send out of the port that evening with all possible silence, twelve of the largest ships with orders to steer towards *Cyprus*, but after twenty leagues sailing, to return again under *French* Colours. The Vizir approving this device, orders the ships to sail out in the night with a fair wind, to meet which, when they are returning, as many more are sent out, and as soon as they come in sight, salute each other according to custom, which done, the Squadron under *French* colours, with the other under *Turkish*, come again into the port. The centinels plac'd in the Watch-Towers, when they see *French* colours at a distance, believing the *French* fleet to be come to their relief, tell the news to the City, and fill the inhabitants with joy. When they behold a *Turkish* Squadron going out to meet them, they imagine their entrance into the Port would be disputed, and therefore anxiously wait the issue of the battle. Presently after perceiving both fleets to approach without any hostilities and with mutual salutes, they are all astonish'd, not knowing on what design the *French* acted so friendly with their enemies. But *Morosini* and the rest to whom he had communicated what was said by *Panaiot*, throwing off all doubt, publickly divulge what they had heard; and since there was no other way to preserve life and liberty, perswade the soldiers and people to surrender affirming it safer to trust enemies than faithless allies. So *Morosini* dispatches that very day two men in a little boat with white wands to the Vizir, desiring him to send to a certain place between the City and camp some of his principal officers to meet some of his, who should offer the terms of surrendering the City. The Vizir consents to his request, and instantly appoints *Ibrahim* Basha of *Aleppo*, *Kulkiet budasi Zuulficar Aga*, and Basha *Teskiereji* first scribe, *Ishak Effendi*, with Interpreter *Panaiot* to settle the affair. They meet the *Venetian* ambassadors in tents under the White Tower, who after a long debate promise a surrender on condition that every person, whether soldier, citizen, *Greek*, or *Frank*, with his whole family should have liberty to retire to his own country with all his effects. When the Vizir had ratified this in the beginning of the month *Jemazuil evvel*, in the year 1080, (of Christ 1669,) *Morosini* departed and left the City, not only destitute of soldiers but of citizens, to the Vizir. If these things are very differently related by *Christian* writers, I dare not contradict them, but yet do not see why this account should be absolutely rejected. He that considers the usual industry of the *Venetians* to conceal their designs, and especially the affairs which have prov'd unfortunate, will not wonder, that though they knew the truth, they did not care to divulge it, to the disparagement of their so much boasted prudence. The report of the coming of a *French* fleet, though it was not so much as prepar'd, was sufficient to deceive both *Turks* and *Venetians*. For the latter, closely invested, could know nothing of what was transacted elsewhere; and the former, as they have no accounts of foreign transactions, but what come from their ambassadors, a rumour, though false, might very easily deceive them. As for me, I have a very credible voucher, namely *Maxud* himself, *Panaiot*'s messenger, who perform'd faithful service twenty four years in the Court of my Father *Constantine Cantemyr*, and Brother *Antiochus*, and at length arriv'd to the dignity of *Postelnic* or *Master of the Court*. I imagin'd it would not be unacceptable to the lovers of History, to insert what I heard from his mouth. As for *Panagiotes*, he was of so great credit in the *Turkish* Court, that no *Christian* before him ever did, or ever will, it is believ'd, enjoy the like. In giving counsels, and removing obstacles upon any great emergencies, he was to the Vizir what *Achitophel* was to the *Hebrews*, or *Ulysses* to the *Greeks*. For whether he gave his opinion of what was to be done or judg'd of the success of affairs, he was observ'd never to be mistaken. What a twenty four years fierce war, what the effusion of so many torrents of blood, and even the strength of the whole *Othman* Empire could not effect, was by his subtle advice and stratagem brought to pass, namely, the conquest of *Candia*, and *Morosini* both the bravest and wisest General, (whose conduct sufficiently shone in the last war between the *Venetians* and *Turks*) perswaded to surrender the City. By these means he acquir'd such favour with the *Turks*, that he even ventur'd to dispute about the law by the imperial mandate before the Prime Vizir *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha*, with *Vanli Effendi* the most learned of the *Turks*, and no less skill'd in the *Christian* than *Turkish* Law, formerly Tutor to Sultan *Mahomet*. Since the time of *Soliman* I, when, as I have related, the preference was given to the *Christian* Law before the *Turkish* in a publick disputation by a learned *Turk*, no man had been permitted to do this, but on the contrary it was made capital and forbid

speech perswades the Governor (7) of the City to surrender on certain conditions the last but strongest fortress, to which the garrison had retir'd. The Vizir, in the beginning of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, in the year 1080, takes possession of *Candia* deserted by the *Venetians*, erects on the walls the *Turkish* Standards, and converting the churches into *Jami*, orders *Ezan* and *Namaz* to be perform'd. By this means a City, renown'd for many ages, the eighth wonder of the world, which nature itself seem'd to have fortified against all assaults, after a war of twenty four years (8), wherein, according to the best and still living *Turkish* historians, above two hundred thousand *Othmans* were kill'd, is annex'd to the *Othmanic* Empire.

H 1080
A. C 1669

IX. Whilst

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bid by a publick edict. *Vanli Effendi*, confuted and inrag'd, accuses *Panagiotes* to the Sultan as a Blasphemer, and sues for his life: but is said to receive this answer from *Mahomet*: "Did not I tell thee, thou couldst "not dispute with this infidel? for the future let him alone, for he is necessary "to our Majesty." I think it needless to repeat here the whole dispute, since it is publickly sold printed at *Venice*, and may be read in *de la Croix*'s Commentaries on the eastern Church. Besides this, he is still famous among the *Turks* for his skill in astrology, and knowledge of futurities. When the Vizir was yet employ'd in the siege of *Candia*, *Panagiotes* comes running to him one day, and begs him to leave his tent immediately, for his life would be in imminent danger, if he staid in that place. The Vizir obeys, and leaving his cloak on the cushions which he was sitting upon, goes, though it rain'd very hard, to another tent. He was hardly got there, when a cannon-ball shot from the garrison passes through the Vizir's tent, strikes the place where he sate, pierces the cloak and cushions, and so gains credit to *Panagiotes*'s prediction. In the expedition to *Camenec* he foretold the taking of the City on the 10th day, which all that knew the situation of the place, thought absurd. But it was verified by the event. As his life, so was his death, remarkable. For when the Vizir *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha* lay encamp'd in *Sakche**, he merrily asks him, why since all his predictions were answer'd by the event, and none had prov'd false, he could neither foreknow nor foretell any thing of himself? *Panagiotes* replies: "If the Vizir "would vouchsafe to come to his tent, at "the sixth hour of the night, he should "behold a strange thing, though not "without sorrow and grief." The Vizir wondering what it should be, goes about midnight to *Panagiotes*'s tent. In the very entrance he hears the cries and lamentations of the servants, and coming nearer, finds his beloved *Ulysses* breathing his last. One of the servants says, he was enjoin'd by *Panagiotes* before his death, to desire the Vizir, for all his services to the *Othman* Court, to grant him the favour to carry his body and bury it at *Constantinople*, (an honour granted to the Sultans alone, and denied to every man else, even to the Prime Vizir himself) to which the Vizir is said to answer: "I grieve for *Panagiotes* in one "respect only, because, having minded "the *Othman* affairs more faithfully than "could be requir'd of a *Christian*, and "also excell'd all the Musulmans in fideli-"ty and policy, he could not be brought "at his death to a due obedience to God "and the Prophet, otherwise he would "have deserv'd to have had his Coffin car-"ried a whole mile on my own Shoulders. "Wherefore, though perhaps for his infi-"delity he will be shut out of Paradise, I "think it just, in order to his having some "reward of his services, to grant his last "request, and not deprive him of his de-"sired burial." He bids therefore his servants convey the body to *Constantinople*, and gives them a *Chatisherif* to the *Kaimacan*, to order the *Constantinopolitan* Patriarch to bury with great pomp the deceased in the place he had appointed in his will. Accordingly all the *Greeks* and Foreigners residing at *Constantinople* being assembled, the body is carried to an Island in the *Propontis*, and buried in the Monastery of *the Holy Trinity*, which had been repair'd by him.

(7) Governor] This was *Francisco Morosini*, more known by the last *Venetian* war with the *Turks*, than to need much to be said of him here. After he had subdued the *Morea*, he was created *Doge* of *Venice*.

(8) twenty four years] Had this war happen'd in the time of the antient Poets, it would doubtless have been render'd much more famous than the *Trojan*. For whoever weighs both in a just balance, will easily perceive the *Cretan* battles to be more bloody than the *Trojan*. Certainly all the time it lasted, there were continual battles, never-ceasing torrents of human blood, not only in *Crete*, but also in the whole *Archipelago*, and in all the borders of the *Turkish* and *Venetian* dominions. Besides the *Turks* themselves, who carefully conceal

IX Whilst the *Othman* army was yet employ'd in the siege, Sultan *Mahomet*, under the pretense of hunting, departed from *Adrianople* to *Temishehr* (9), that by being near he might both incourage his soldiers and better provide against any emergencies. Here ambassadors from the *Sari Camysh Cossaks* (10) come and humbly offer in the name of their countrymen, themselves and province to the Emperor. Among these was the *Hetman* himself, *Doroshenko*, whom the Sultan graciously receives, presents with a robe, and dismisses adorn'd with a *Tug* (11), and *Alem Sanjak* in token of dominion, with a command to put an end to the robberies committed sometimes by the *Cossaks*, even in the suburbs of *Constantinople*, to remain faithful to the *Othman* Empire, and turn their arms, hitherto very often pernicious to the Musulmans, against their enemies. On the other hand, he promises, in case of a war between them and the *Poles* or *Muscovites*, to assist them with all his forces, and protect them from all hostilities.

Mahomet takes the Cossaks into protection.

X. When these things were declar'd at his return by *Doroshenko* to his people, it fill'd them with joy, but their neighbours with terror. The *Cossaks* had hitherto been of service both to *Poland* and *Russia*, as well by their daily ravaging the *Othman* borders, as because their country, abounding with streights and morasses, was accounted the bulwark of both kingdoms, which being remov'd, they had cause to fear they should suffer from them no less damage than the Musulman provinces had formerly done Wherefore the King of *Poland*, to whom they were before subject, in order to eradicate their due obedience to the *Othman* Empire, before it could be deeply rooted, first sends a great army against them, and by the assistance of those that still favour'd him, enters their country, and makes great devastations

Which the King of Poland resenting,

XI These things seem'd to be a sufficient motive to proclaim war against the *Polish* King, had not the equity of the Sultan thought it requisite to admonish first the peace breaker. To this end, he sends by a *Chaush**, a letter to the King to this effect, "We hear that thou first breakest the peace settled between thy "kingdom and our Majesty, and hitherto religiously observ'd on both sides, by "invading the *Cossaks*, whom thou knowest to have taken refuge under the "shadow of our wings. We might indeed by the precept of our holy law, in-

is first amicably admonish'd by Mahomet,

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ceal their other losses, confess that in *Crete* alone were lost above two hundred thousand of their men, in which computation those are omitted, who are not included in the list of the soldiers, of whom perhaps a no less number was slain. How many *Christians* these drew with them to the shades below, may be easily judg'd The *Venetians* own this war cost them above a hundred millions of gold Crowns.

(9) *Temishehr*] So *Larissa*, a noted town of *Thessaly*, at present the Metropolis, is call'd by the *Turks*.

(10) *Sari Camish Cazagy*] *Cossaks of the yellow reed.* So are call'd those that dwell between the *Borysthenes* and the *Tyras*, formerly subject to *Poland*, now vassals partly of the *Poles*, partly of the *Russians*. They have several times chang'd their names among the *Turks*. For after *Doroshenko*'s submission, they were by their *Hetman*, *Doroshenko*, call'd *Cazagy*, and when he revolted to the *Russians*, *Sirke Cazagy* from *Sirco* also their leader After the first peace with *John Sobieski* King of *Poland*, by which they remain'd under the dominion of the *Turks*, Sultan *Mahomet* annex'd them to the principality of *Moldavia*, and order'd *Duca*, then Prince of *Moldavia*, to be call'd also *Hetman* of *Ukrania*, the town of *Nemirow* being appointed for his seat. But after the *Vienna* defeat, when *Duca* was taken by the *Poles*, the *Turks* restor'd, by the peace of *Carlowitz*, to the *Poles* all that region with *Cameniec* I have often heard the *Turks* saying, they have heard *Chuthe* and *Ezan* in those places, and therefore God cannot be pleas'd to suffer that country to remain in the power of the *Christians*, for which reason it ought to be recover'd the very first opportunity.

(11) *Tug*] Horse-tail. This was afterwards, when the country was granted to *Duca*, taken away, because the Vizir, as he said himself, would not adorn an infidel with three *Tug*, (though *Ieremias Mogila* Prince of *Moldavia* formerly obtain'd that privilege) and so make him equal to himself. However the *Sanjak* or Standard still remain'd with him as the ensign of his dominion.

"stantly

" ftantly declare thee an enemy, and make thee fee what it is to dally with the " appeas'd lion, but pitying thy weaknefs, we think proper firft to admonifh " thee to withdraw thy unjuft hand from the *Coffaks*, recall thy troops from " their borders, and beg our pardon. If thou refufe to do this, and haft any " thoughts of defending thy iniquity by arms, know that our law denounces a-" gainft thee, death, againft thy kingdom, devaftation, againft thy people, bonds: " and the whole world will impute the caufe of thefe calamities entirely to thy " perverfe and obftinate mind."

and then invaded by him

XII. But the *Polifh* King relying on his own ftrength and the deceitful promifes of the *Germans*, defifts not from his undertaking, and dares to give farther provocation to the *Othmans*. The Sultan perceiving that a light correction was of no force with an obftinate man, refolves to be reveng'd with fire and fword, and therefore publickly declares war againft the treacherous *Poles*, affembles his forces, and makes all the neceffary preparations, with orders alfo to the *Tartars* to attend him in the expedition.

Mahomet marches towards *Poland*. H 1083 A. C 1672

XIII. Wherefore on the 8th day of *Sefer*, in the year 1083, the Emperor himfelf with a great army goes from *Adrianople* againft the *Poles*, runs a bridge over the *Danube* at *Sakche** (12), paffes his forces, and with long marches, going through *Moldavia*, incamps on the banks of the *Tyras* near *Chotim*. Then he orders a ftrong party to pafs over in boats, who in the firft affault take *Zwaniecz*. Being now join'd by the *Tartars*, headed by their Chan *Selim Gierai* (13), he orders a fpacious bridge to be built over the *Tyras*

The Prince of *Moldavia* depos'd.

XIV. In this work *Duca* (14) Prince of *Moldavia*, behaving remifsly, and retarding it fome time by refufing timber, caufes the Emperor greatly to fufpect him. Upon examination, he is difcover'd privately to favour the *Poles*, and to be brib'd by them to delay the building of the bridge. Wherefore he is depos'd, pardon'd as to life, but ftript of all his treafures. In his place a Prince call'd *Peter* is chofen by the *Moldavian* nobility.

Camenic befieg'd

XV. At laft all obftacles being furmounted, he paffes the *Tyras*, and on the 3d day of *Rebiul achyr*, appears with his army before *Camenic*. This City lies three hours from the *Tyras*, ftrongly fortified both by nature and art, and very difficult to be affaulted. It is furrounded by the rapid torrent *Smotricz*, the banks whereof every where full of fcraggy rocks, afford a ftrong bulwark to the City. Befides thefe, a caftle ftands in the middle of the town, environ'd with walls of a great height, and not to be fhaken. The *Poles* depending on thefe fortifications, and hoping to blunt the firft fury of the *Othmans* with this fiege, appear'd not in the field, only plac'd a ftrong garrifon in the caftle, with every thing neceffary for a long fiege. But the Sultan being incamp'd, calls a Council of all the experienc'd officers, and by their joint opinion orders the City to be invefted, trenches to be dug, and affaults to be made from all parts. He commits one fide to the Vizir *Ahmed Pafha*, and the *Aga* of the Janizaries

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(12) *Sakche**] Formerly *Oblucicza*, a town on the South bank of the *Danube*, not far from *Galacz* in *Moldavia*. The very old buildings, found here, demonftrate its antiquity. But by whom built, there appears no fign either on the walls or foundations. However it feems to be the work of the *Roman* Colonies in *Dacia*, or perhaps of the *Daci* themfelves, as are *Tulcza*, *Babadagy*, *Carafu*, and other very ancient towns of that region.

(13) *Selim Gierai*] The moft famous Chan of the *Tartars* of the prefent age, a Prince of equal prudence and bravery.

(14) *Duca*] He was by nation a *Greek*, of a province of *Rumelia*, at firft the fervant of a Merchant at *Jaffy*, afterwards made one of his Chamberlains by Prince *Bafilius*, then rais'd to a Baron by his fon *Stephanus*, and married to the daughter of *Euftathius* Prince of *Dabiza*, laftly by money and friends he obtain'd the principality. He was illiterate, but in managing affairs, of great prudence, and reckon'd among the moft excellent of his age. He was thrice Prince of *Moldavia*, and once of *Walachia*. At length, in his latter days, inclining more to tyranny than a juft government, he is deliver'd up by the Barons to *Polifh* captivity, and ended his life at *Warfaw*.

with the *European* forces and Janizaries; another to the second Vizir *Musahib Mustapha Pasha*, with the *Asiatic* forces, and a third to the *Caimacam Cara Mustapha Pasha*, with the *Caramanians* and the rest of the troops.

XVI. The generals thus dispos'd, emulously carry on the siege, and so vigorously batter the walls, that in ten days, strong as they were, they are by the violence of the balls thrown down, and the breaches every where mounted. The garrison seeing themselves unable to sustain the assault, relinquish the outer walls, and retire into the inner castle. But finding themselves unsafe even there, offer to surrender on condition of life and liberty, which being granted, they depart with their *Hetman* into *Poland*, with the melancholy news of their loss. *Mehemed*, on the 3d of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, taking possession of the City, turns the larger Churches into *Jami*, and the lesser into *Moschs*, and repairing the walls, leaves there *Halil Pasha* with a strong garrison.

and forc'd to surrender

XVII. The consternation *Poland* was under for this loss is inexpressible. A fortress, thought capable of holding out many years, was taken in ten days, and less time seem'd to be requir'd to ravage the whole kingdom. To confound the enemies the more, the Sultan sends *Caplan Mehemed Pasha* Governor of *Aleppo*, and the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, with the light armed forces to take *Leopolis*, whilst he himself intending to follow with the main body of the army, incamps near *Buchach**. *Caplan* with his men marches to *Leopolis*, ravaging the country as he passes, closely besieges the City, and makes several assaults.

Troops are sent ag[ainst] *Leopolis*

XVIII. In this distress, when the town was now reduc'd to extremities, the *Poles* repenting of their proceeding, send ambassadors to the Chan of the *Tartars* in his camp, who in the name of the King and Kingdom implore his intercession for them to the Sultan, to incline him to peace, for which they were willing to deliver up forty eight towns and villages in the territory of *Camenieс*, pay an annual tribute (15) of twenty thousand Rix Dolars, account as friends the *Cossaks* under *Doroshenko*, and never more quarrel with them.

The *Poles* sue for peace

XIX. *Selim Gierai Chan*, having heard the offers of the ambassadors, instantly sends them to the Emperor, who duly weighing the state of affairs, grants a peace on the terms propos'd, and confirms the same with new writings according to the antient form of treaties between the *Poles* and *Othmans*. These being exchang'd, he disbands the army the beginning of the winter, and in the month *Shaban* in the year 1083 returns victorious to *Adrianople*.

which is concluded

This was the last victory from the year of the *Hejira* 611 to 1083, by which any advantage accrued to the *Othman* state, or any City or Province was annex'd to the antient bounds of the Empire. There have ensued especially under the reign of *Leopold* Emperor of *Germany*, terrible slaughters, such as posterity would hardly believe, were

H. 1083
A. C. 1672

ANNOTATIONS.

(15) tribute] The *Poles* themselves do not deny this was promis'd, but was never paid, and besides in process of time was abolish'd by the peace made at *Zuranno*.

they not warranted by publick authority, and the ſtrength of the *Othmans* has been weaken'd by the deſtruction of ſeveral Kingdoms and Provinces; the loſs of whole armies, and inteſtine wars and diſſenſions. All theſe things which have happen'd to ſo ample an Empire even in our times, ſhall with the ſame faithfulneſs as the former tranſactions, be related in the Second Part, in the words of the *Turkiſh* Hiſtorians

The END of the HISTORY of the GROWTH of the *OTHMAN* Empire.

Addition.

Additions and Corrections to Part I.

N. B. (n) ſtands for Annotations and (b) for the right hand Column where the Page is divided into Columns.

PREFACE, p. v. l. 3. *Ruznâmche* read *Ruznameh, Nameh* ſignifies (according to *D'Herbelot*) in the *Perſian* Language, *Book, Letter,* and is the Title to many *Perſian* and *Turkiſh* Writings, as *Carman Nameh, Kiar Nameh, Eskender Nameh,* &c.

ibid. l. 9. *Iſtrajadaghy* read *Iſtranjadaghy.*

ibid. l. 14, and l. 21. dele, *the,* it being expreſſed by the Article *ſi* at the End of *Effendiſi,* which is the ſame as, *the Effendi.*

ibid p. vii l. 17 *Tajuttevarich.* This word is in *Arabic* ſpelt *Tag' altavarikh,* i. e. *the Crown of Hiſtories* or *Chronicles* being the Title of the *Othman* Hiſtory written in elegant *Turkiſh,* by *Sâad eddin Mohammed Haſſan,* who died *Mufti* at *Conſtantinople* in the year of the *Hejira* 1008. This Hiſtory begins with *Othman* and ends with *Selim* I. *Tag'* is a *Perſian* word ſignifying in general a *Cap,* and particularly a *Crown.*

ibid. l. 44 *Nîmetullah,* or a large *Perſian* Dictionary explain'd in *Turkiſh,* drawn up by *Khalil Sofi,* commonly call'd *Baba Nîmet ullah.* The word *Nâmat allah* ſignifies *the Grace of God.*

ibid. l. 3. b. *Shich Saadi* read *Sheikh Saadi,* a *Perſian* Poet, commonly called *Sheikh Moſlehedin Saadi AlShirazi,* being born in the City *Shiraz* Capital of *Perſia,* properly ſo called in the year of the *Hejira* 571. He was taken priſoner by the *Chriſtians* in the *Holy Land,* and redeem'd by a Merchant of *Aleppo* for ten Gold Crowns, who gave him his Daughter in marriage with an hundred more. But this woman was ſo great a plague to him, that he could not help diſcovering it in his Works, eſpecially his *Guliſtan,* which word ſignifies in the *Perſian* Language, a *Garden of Flowers.*

ibid. p. viii. b. l. 3, and 4. *Vilurmiſin* read *Billiurmiſin.*

ibid. l 36. *Erzer* read *Erzerum* on the *Euphrates,* about ſixty miles from *Trebiſond,* a great thorough-fare for the Eaſtern Caravans

ibid. l 57. *Philippolis* read *Philippopolis.* So p. 33 l. 7, &c

ibid. p ix. l. 30. *Alothman* read *AliOthmân.* And ſo in other places.

ibid.

ibid. p. xi. b. l. ult. *Erzengo*] The Author has explain'd this name by *Azerbejan*, but it seems rather to be a corruption of *Erzengian*, a City in *Anatolia* not far from the *Euphrates*, where *Soliman Shah* made his first stay after leaving *Machan*.

ibid. p. xii. l. [illegible] b. *Alisujuk* read *AliSuljuk*.

ibid. p. xiii. l. 27. *Jundogdi* read *Giundogdi*

ibid. p. xiii. b. l. *Suguchick* read *Suguchik**.

ibid. p. xiv. b. l. 10, &c. *Aljenghizians* read *Alijenghizians*.

Page 1. l. 4. *Alothman*, Let it be obferv'd once for all, that this word wherever it occurs, muft be read *AliOthmân*. So likewife *Alijenghiz*.

p. 2. n. b. l. 2. Inftead of (from the *Arabian* into the *Perfian*) read (from the *Perfian* into the *Arabian*) the firft reading being a miftake in the Manufcript.

p. 2. n. b. l. 13. *Aliffan* read *Ali Shân*.

p. 3. n. b. l. 6. read *Lonicerus*, a *German* Profeffor at *Marpurgh*, born 1499.

p. 3. n. l. 40. *Shah*] This word alfo fignifies the *King*, at *Chefs*, a Game we have received from the *Perfians*, who probably had it from the *Indians*. Hence *Shah mat*, which we exprefs by *Check mate*, and the *Italians* by *Scatto Matto*

p. 4. n. b. l. 11. read here and elfewhere, *Gierai*, note *g* is to be pronounced before *e* or *i* as in the *Englifh* words *give*, *eager*

p. 4. n. b. l. 34. read, and the Mouths of the *Nile*.

p. 4. n. b. l. 35. *Azerbejan*, *Shirvan*, and *Biladuljebal*, are three diftinct Provinces of *Perfia*. *Azerbejan*, where it is faid the firft Dynafty of the *Perfian* Kings was eftablifh'd, and the fire-worfhip inftituted by *Zoroafter*, contains part of *Media*, *Syria*, *Armenia major*, and its principal Cities are, *Tauris*, *Ardibal*, *Selmas*, *Nakhfhivan*, *Merend*, &c. The Province of *Shirvan*, part alfo of *Media* lies along the weftern Shore of the *Cafpian* Sea, and is parted from *Azerbejan* and *Daghe∫tan* by the Rivers *Aras* and *Cur*, that is, the *Araxes* and *Cyrus*. The chief Cities are *Baku* in the latitude of 39. 30. *Shamakhie* the Capital, both on the *Cafpian* Sea, and *Berâah* on the *Cur*.

p. 5. n. l. 9. *Erzengian*, read *Adherbigian*, for fo is *Azerbejan* called by *D' Herbelot*, and not, as by miftake is here faid, *Erzengian*.

p. 5. n. l. 13. *Sheg* read *Sheikh*. *Ricaut* ufes *Sheg* inftead of *Sheikh*

ibid. n. l. 14. *Bir* or *Elbir* is a different place from *Jaber*, and lies higher up on the *Euphrates*.

ibid. n. l. 22. *Ebubekir* Succeffor of *Mahomet* lies buried at *Medina*, the *Ebubekir* buried here was Founder of the *Tekkie* or Convent, and only a *Sheikh*.

ibid.

ibid. n. b. l. 22. read *Abulfaragius*. He was Son of a *Christian* Physician, Native of *Melitene* in *Asia minor*, Author of an universal History, intitled, *Mokhtassar al dual*. He lived in the thirteenth Century. *Pocock* has publish'd the *Arabic* Text with a *Latin* Translation.

p. 8. l. 8. *Jundogdi*, read, here and elsewhere, *Giundogdi*.

ibid. n. l. 18. *Jun* read *Giun*.

p. 9 l. 4, &c. read *Saruyat*.

p. 10. l. 22. *Junguz* read *Giunduz*. So p. 15. l. 11, &c

p. 15. l. 16, &c. read *Tengishehri*.

ibid. l. 24. read *Nicomedia*, a City of *Bithynia*

p. 17. l. 29. read *Engiyesi*, and *Hekeji*.

p. 24. l. 11. *Iznigmid*] it is by *D' Herbelot* writ *Iznimid*.

p. 28. l. 22. read *Ayasolonia*.

p. 30 n. b. l 10. Empress *Valida*, read *Valide*-Empress. *Valide Sultana*, is the Mother of the reigning Emperor, or as we say, the Queen-Mother, of whose Prerogatives, see the Author's Note in the second Part of this History.

p. 34. n. b. l. 40. dele *the*, and in every place where it stands before a word with the Article (*si*) annex'd to it.

p. 35. n. l. 18. *Sham Beglerbegi*, when an (*i*) is thus added to the End of a word, it shows that the foregoing word answers to our Genitive Case, as *Churzem Shahi*, that is, the *Shah* of *Churzem*. So here *Sham Beglerbegi*, *Beglerbeg* of *Sham* or *Damascus*.

p. 36 n. l. 20. *Shich* read *Sheik*.

p. 38. n. l. 29. read *Silahdar*.

p. 38 n. b. l. 32. one hundred, read, a thousand and one.

p. 39. l. 2. *Dervises*. This word is writ *Dervishe*, and signifies in general both in *Persian* and *Turkish*, a *Poor Man*, like *Fakir* in *Arabic*. But in particular these two Words mean a Religious, or Monk.

p. 39. n. b. l. 49. *Kupruli* read *Kioprili*, and so in other places. *Note*, the (*i*) after the (*k*) in these and the like words, makes but one Syllable with the following Vowel, and is therefore often omitted.

p. 40. l. 3. *Shich*, this word wherever it occurs must be read *Sheikh*.

p. 41. l. 22, &c. *Germian*, read *Giermian*.

p. 42. l. 15. *Arnaud*, by this name the *Turks* call *Macedonia* and *Albania*. *D'Herbelot* writes it *Arnauth*.

p. 42. n. l. 12. read *Lasvilaieti*. *Vilaieti* signifies a Country.

ibid. l. 14. read *Meninskius*.

p. 44. n. l. 15. *Hall*, read *Court*.

p. 47. l. 13. read *Sarasker*.

p. 47. n. b. l. 6. read *Bessarabia*.

p. 48. l. 17, &c. read *Jassij*.

p. 48. n. b. l. 2. dele Semicolon after (him.)

p. 50. n. l. 16. read *Ymani.*
p. 52. n. b. l. 3. *Myrs* read *Mysr.*
ibid. l. 15. *Mehemed* read *Mahmùd.*
p. 54. n. l. 18. read *Kush caladsi.*
p. 60. n. b. l. 35. read Governors.
p. 66. l. 5, &c. read *Kiorshah Muliuk.*
p. 68. n. l. 20. *Saracen.* This Word is by some derived from *Shark,* which in *Arabic,* signifies *the East.*
p. 71. l. 5. read *Ali Pasha.* It must be observ'd that the *Turkish* Letter *Be* with three points under it, is pronounced like our *P,* for which reason the word which we usually write *Basha,* is always read in *Turkish, Pasha.*
p. 71. l. 12. read *succeeding.*
p. 73. l. 21. read *Severin.*
p. 75. n. l. 24. *mans* read *Romans.*
p. 76. n. b. l. 20, 42. read *Selámun aleikium.*
ibid. l. 21. read *Aleikium esseliam.*
ibid. l. 24, &c. read *Gieldiniuz.*
p. 81. n. b. l. 15. after *Sword* read *by.*
p. 85. n. l. 26. read *Beglerbeglics.*
ibid. n. b. l. 9. *propose,* read *publish.*
p. 88. l. 21. *rout* read *root.*
p. 90. n. l. 24. after *Side* read *of.*
p. 102. n. b. l. 7. read *Mikiumed.*
p. 106. n. b. l. 26. instead of (commit the care and attendance of the women) read (send the orders of the women to be executed)
p. 107. *Trebisond*] In the year 1204, the *Greek* Empire was subdivided into three parts. At *Constantinople* reign'd, *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*; at *Adrianople, Theodorus Lascaris*; and at *Trebisond, Alexis Comnenus,* who had under him *Cappadocia, Paphlagonia,* and *Pontus,* with some other Provinces. After eight Successions, *David* the last Emperor of *Trebisond* or of *Nice,* as some call him, was subdued by *Mahomet* II. as well as *Theodorus* and his Brother *John,* at *Adrianople.* See *Atlas Hist.*
p. 109. n. l. 26. *Hall* read *Court.*
p. 112. n. b. l. 21. *Lotherius,* read *Lothonus.*
p. 113. n. l. 19. read *Gieras.*
ibid. n. b. l. 43. *Galga Sultan* and *Murraddin.* These offices are explained by the Author in Cap. I. of his Second Part.
p. 115. n. l. 3. read *Palæologus.*
p. 117. n. b. l. 18. Purgatory, call'd *Aráf,* the Plural of the *Arabic* word *Orf,* and both signify a place between the *Mahometan* Heaven and Hell. The Musulmans are not agreed about the quality of the persons in this place. But generally they place there such Musulmans, whose good and bad actions are so equal as that they deserve not to enter Paradise nor be cast into Hell.

One

One of their Punishments is the Sight of the *Blessed*, and earnest Desire to be with them, which cannot be till the day of Judgment, when prostrating themselves before the Face of their Creator, that act of Adoration shall cause their good works to outweigh their bad, and then it shall be said to them, "Enter into "Paradise, where your fears and cares shall be at an end." *Saadi* says of the *Arâf*, that it appears a *Hell* to the *Blessed*, and a *Paradise* to the *Damn'd*.

p. 119. n. b. l. 4. read *ustun*, the *Turkish* name of the vowel *e* or *a*.

p. 127. n. 34. dele *so*.

p. 130. l. 28. *Myrza*, says *D'Herbelot*, is a contraction of *Emir Zadeh*, which in *Persian* signifies, Son of a Prince, and was particularly us'd by the Family and Posterity of *Tamerlane*, and very common at present among the *Tartars*.

p. 133. n. l. 6. dele *the*.

p. 135 l. 6. *Ismail*] He was Son of *Sheik Haidar*, whose Mother was Daughter of *Uzuncassan* first Sultan of the Dynasty of the *Turcomans*, call'd *Baiandurieus* or *White Sheep*. *Haidar* is one of the Titles of *Ali*, and signifies *Lion*. Hence the Family of *Sheik Haidar* pretends to derive their Origin from *Ali* by his second Son *Hussain*. *Haidar* being slain in battle by the King of *Shirvan*, his Family, which was very numerous, was almost wholly destroyed. However *Ismail* one of his Sons escaped, and afterwards founded the present Dynasty, which now reigns in *Persia*, with the Sirname of *Sophi*. The *Persians* say *Haidar* was the first Inventor of a red covering for the Head with twelve Folds round a Cap, and caus'd all his people to wear it. It is call'd in *Persian*, *Haidar's Tag* or *Crown*. Hence it is that the *Turks* call the *Persians*, *Kizylbash* or *Redheads*.

p. 138. n l 5. *Souh*, read *Sovuk*.

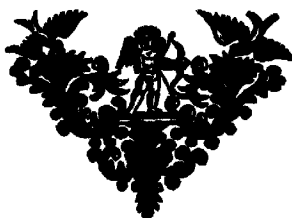
p. 139. n. b. l. 1, and 2. dele *and which*.

p 156 l. 35. seiz'd all *Egypt*.] These *Circassians* reign'd in *Egypt* about two hundred and eighty years in fourteen successions, and were what we corruptly call the *Mamalucs*, from *Mamluk* the Plural of *Memalik*, which in *Arabic* signifies a *Slave*.

p. 165. l. 12. read *Gaza*.

p. 167 l. 21 *Sherif* of *Mecca*] *D'Herbelot* says the *Arabian* word *Sherif* signifies in general *Noble*, or High in *Birth* or *Dignity*, and is a Title given particularly to the Descendents of *Mahomet* by *Ali* his Son-in-law and his Daughter *Fathima*. They are also called *Emir* and *Seid*, i. e. *Prince* and *Lord*, and distinguished by green Turbans. There have been several Dynasties of these *Sherifs* in *Africa*. The *Edrissites* were *Sherifs*, and the Race which now reigns at *Fez* and *Morocco* bear the name of *Sherif*. The Sherifs of *Mecca* and *Medina* are still left by the *Turks* with a sort of Sovereign Power.

p. 175.

p. 175. l. 12. read *Maſtaba.*
p. 178. l. 17. read *from a Tyrant.*
p. 183. n. b. l. 22. dele Comma after (is.)
p. 198. l. 20. *Giurjiſtan*, that is, the Country of the *Georgians*, for *ſtan* or *iſtan* ſignifies Country, ſo *Kurdiſtan*, the Country of the *Kurdi*, &c.
p. 202. n. l. 3. *Arabic*, read *Arabia.*
p. 202. n. l. 32. *the*, read *that.*
p. 214. n. l. 3. *Jizair*] This name according to *D'Herbelot* is writ in *Arabic*, *Gezair* or *Keſſair*, which he makes to be a corruption of the *Latin*, *Cæſarea*, and *Algiers* to be the antient *Julia Cæſarea*, Capital of that part of *Mauritania*, call'd by the *Romans*, *Cæſarienſis*, to diſtinguiſh it from the two other *Mauritanian* Provinces, namely, *Tingitana* and *Sitifenſis.*
p. 226. l. 13. *Minarè* or Towers much like the Monument in *London.*
p. 227. l. 9. read *Chalkulvadi.*
p. 230 n. l. 17. *Jemiji* read *Giemiji.*
ibid. l. 21. read *Chingiane**.
ibid. l. 35. read *Peintrji.*
p. 233. l. 23. *Var*, read *Van.*
p. 244. n. l. 3. *or*, read *and.*
p. 247. n. b. l. 36. read *Sijili.*
p. 256. in the Margin, read *Ragotski.*

THE HISTORY OF THE OTHMAN EMPIRE.

PART II.

THE HISTORY OF THE Decay of the *OTHMAN EMPIRE*, FROM THE Reign of *MAHOMET* IV. TO THE Reign of *AHMED* III. BEING THE Hiſtory of the AUTHOR's own Times.

Written Originally in LATIN,
By DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR, late Prince of *Moldavia*.

Tranſlated into ENGLISH, from the Author's own Manuſcript,
By N. TINDAL, M. A. Vicar of *Great Waltham* in *Eſſex*

Adorn'd with the HEADS
Of the TURKISH EMPERORS, Ingraven from Copies taken from ORIGINALS in the Grand SEIGNOR's Palace, by the late SULTAN's Painter.

LONDON:
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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Decay of the *OTHMAN EMPIRE.*

PART II.

The REIGN of

MAHOMET IV.

Nineteenth EMPEROR of the *TURKS.*

BOOK IV. CHAP. I.

I. THE War in *Poland* had succeeded to *Mahomet*'s wish. In one and the same Campain the strongest Bulwark of that country had been taken, the forces of the enemy vanquished, *Podolia* laid waste, *Leopolis* reduced to the utmost extremity, and the very heart of the kingdom struck with such terror, that the inhabitants thought it not only prudent but even necessary to compound for their lives and fortunes with the loss of their honour, and were obliged to acknowledge the *Tartars* for their Deliverers, whom they had always found to be their capital enemies. For the Emperor being prevailed upon by the entreaties of the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, had granted them peace, while he lay encamped before † *Buchach**, and imagined that the remembrance of the overthrows, they had suffered, and their own weakness, would restrain them from violating their engagements, or making any attempt contrary to the conditions of the peace he had granted them. In this belief, in the month *Shaban*, as I before observed, he returns to *Adrianople*, and disbands his army, which had been fatigued with so many labours and marches.

Sultan *Mahomet* returns victorious to *Adrianople*

† *Burzacz*

II. While amidst the rejoycings and applauses of his people, he is expecting the *Polish* Ambassadors, who were to bring the promised tribute of twenty thousand Rix-Dollars, and to ratify the conditions of peace in the name of the whole kingdom,

The States of *Poland* reject the peace made by their King with the Sultan

kingdom, he is informed, that *Doroshenko* † General of the *Cossaks* had revolted, and with a large body of men, was laying waste the borders of the *Othman* Empire, and that his party daily increased. There appeared no great difficulty to extinguish this flame, while things were quiet in *Poland*, when fresh advice is brought, that the *Poles* began to repent of the peace, and animated by the promises of the Emperor of *Germany* and the Pope, were preparing again for war. This report was not long after confirmed by Letters from the High Chancellor of the kingdom to the Vizir *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha*, in which he signified, that the States of *Poland* considered as null and invalid the conditions of peace, to which the King had submitted without their consent, and would rather suffer death, than the infamy of being said to pay a farthing by way of tribute.

The Vizir presses the Ambassador of *Poland* with threats to stand to their promises.

III. The Emperor hearing this, saw himself deceived by the *Poles*, and extremely regretted, that he had suffered himself to be prevailed upon by an unseasonable regard to the *Koran* (1) and the promise of tribute (2), to abandon the war, and order his forces to return, since they would have undergone less hardship in their winter-quarters in *Podolia* and *Moldavia*, than in their march home. However being actuated by a spirit of resentment more than fear, he determines to take a severe and memorable revenge for the injury offered him. The Vizir answers the letters of the States of *Poland* with terrible threats, reproaches them for their perfidiousness, in refusing to observe the conditions of peace, by which the Emperor had been so gracious to save them from immediate destruction, and for daring to declare it to the most powerful Monarch, and by that means incur his indignation. He added, it was in vain for them to pretend the dissent of the kingdom, since what had been done by the King and the Senators of the first rank, must necessarily be agreed to by the rest. Lastly, he advised them immediately to perform what they had promised, and to divert the Emperor's resentments from themselves by a speedy and just submission, which

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) to the *Koran*] The Reader will not perhaps wonder, that a regard to the *Koran* should be assigned among the causes of making the peace of *Buchach**, when he is informed that the *Turks* are excited to a perpetual enmity with the *Christians*, by no other ground of their Superstition so much as by that mass of Blasphemy. But though they are commanded by the precepts of the *Koran* to make war upon the *Christians*, even when there is no other cause for it but the propagation of *Mahometism*, yet that law determines the manner in which peace may and ought to be made. For first it permits to make a truce, if the enemy be stronger than the Musulmans, that these may have time to augment their forces, and to heal their wounds, if they have received any. And it commands, that a firm and lasting peace be made, when the enemy embraces *Mahometism*, the enlargement whereof is the sole end of a just war, or promises to pay an annual tribute. For in such a case, he cannot be compelled further to *Mahometism*, nor be hurt any way unless he revolts. And if any one commits hostilities upon such a tributary, he shall be punished as severely as if he had attacked a Musulman's house or lands. For the *Fetvah* answers upon that point *Anlerun mali bizum mali muz gibi jane jan, gioze gioz*, &c. Such a man's substance and riches, are as our substance, his soul as our soul, his eye as our eye, *&c.*

(2) promise of tribute] I justly assign as another cause of the conclusion of the first *Polish* war, the promise made by the King of *Poland* of paying tribute For the *Turks* aim at nothing more, than to have an enemy bound to pay them a small sum of money, which they may easily call a tribute. That once obtained, they do not want contrivances to increase that sum daily, and reduce it to a real tribute; and so make countries, that intended only to put themselves under their Protection, entirely subject to their dominion Instances of such frauds, are not only the *Christian* Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, but also the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, who is himself a *Mahometan*, and of the same religion, whose ancestors enjoyed much larger privileges when they submitted to the *Turks*, than their Descendants do at present.

† This name is variously written by the Author, as *Doroshenko*, *Doroshensko*, and *Dorosh enski*, which last seems [illegible]

if they refus'd to do, he threatens them with a war more fierce than the former, and with the total destruction of their kingdom.

IV. But when these remonstrances had no effect upon the *Poles*, the Emperor orders all the forces possible to be raised in the Empire, and an Army not inferior to the former, meet at *Adrianople* early in the spring. All things being ready in the month *Rebiul achyr* of the year 1084, he marches out of the City with great pomp, against the *Poles*, flattering himself with the hopes of being able by one effort to subdue them, weakened as they were by the last year's ill success, and to annex *Poland*, now destitute of defence, to his Empire. But the *Poles* had turned even their misfortune to their advantage, and composed their domestick dissentions, which had opened the way to the *Turkish* victories the foregoing year, they assemble all their forces; and before the Emperor could reach them with his army, pass the *Tyras* at *Chotin* under the conduct of *John Sobieski*; thinking it more adviseable to invade their enemies, than to drive them from their own walls.

The Sultan marches his forces into *Poland*
The King sends his army under the command of *Sobieski* to the borders
H. 1084
A. C. 1673

V. A few days after, the Emperor likewise advances with his army, and finds the place, where he designed to pass over, seiz'd by the enemy. He is surprized at the boldness of a people lately vanquished, and imagining that they, led by their evil genius to destruction, had shut themselves up between the *Tyras* and *Danube*, reminds his own army of their former victories, and the glory of the *Othman* name, and commands them bravely to attack the enemy. The *Poles* resolving to wipe out the disgrace they had incurred the last year, draw up their troops, animated by the speeches and example of their General. The two armies ingage, and the battle proves fierce and bloody, lasting with doubtful success till the evening.

A fierce battle at *Chotin*

VI. While both sides fight with great ardor, *Petreczeicus* (3) Prince of *Moldavia*, and *Gregory* (4) the Son of *Gika* (5) Prince of *Walachia*, desert from the

The Prince of *Moldavia* and *Walachia* go over to the *Poles*, who obtain the victory.

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(3) *Petreczeicus*] A *Moldavian* by birth, and of a noble, though not famous, family, in that province. He was raised to the highest honours by *Eustratius Dabiza* Prince of *Moldavia*, six months after whose death, *Ducas* being deposed, he obtained the principality. At *Chotin* he revolted from the *Turks* to the *Poles*, as has been mentioned in this History, which was the cause of the defeat of the *Turks*. After the victory, not being able with the assistance of the *Poles* to preserve his principality, he retired with them into *Poland*, where he continued till his death, which happened in 1684. Not long after the defeat of the *Turks* at *Vienna*, he returned into *Moldavia*, and with the assistance of his Relation *Bainski*, took Prince *Ducas*, but upon an irruption of the *Tartars* was forced to withdraw a second time into *Poland*, and not without loss. But the King of *Poland* granted him the town of *Jazlovecz* with some villages, and a yearly pension of one hundred thousand *Zolots*, this he enjoyed till his death, and dying without heirs, the same favour was granted to his widow, till her second marriage with a *Polander*.

(4) *Gregory*] Prince of *Walachia*, son of *George Gika*, Despot of that country. A man truly great, and adorned with many virtues, had he not sullied them by his treachery to his father. Twice he revolted from the *Turks*, and twice was received into favour. The first time was to the *Germans*, at the battle of St. *Gothard*, under the Vizir *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha*; and the second, to the *Poles* at the battle of *Chotin*. In his last revolt, the *Turks* endeavoured to secure him to their obedience by detaining his Wife and Children as hostages, but, notwithstanding that, he showed a *Christian* courage in the very heat of the battle, despising all his goods and riches. After the battle, he retired through *Poland* to the Emperor of *Germany*, by whom he was created Prince of the Empire, but not receiving there so handsome an allowance as the Emperor's Ministers had made him expect, he resolved to return to *Constantinople*. To that end he writes a letter to his old friend *Panagiotes Nicusius*, a person then in very great credit at the *Othman* Port, wherein he gives an account of his ill fate, and entreats him to obtain his pardon from the Sultan. *Panagiotes* writes him an answer, and assures him, he could easily have him restored to the Sultan's favour, if he would but come himself and implore his clemency. Upon the receipt of this letter, *Gregory* desires the Emperors leave to return, which not being able to obtain, he pretends a design to spend the remainder of his days in *Germany*, and embrace the *Romish* Religion, if he could but have a dispensation

Turks to the *Poles*; upon which the left wing commanded by *Ibrahim Pasha*, crying out they were betrayed, quit their ranks, and refuse to obey the orders of their leader. The right wing likewise is soon broken by the valour of the *Poles*, and at first indeed retreat gradually, but the enemy's troops pressing upon them with vigor, they quickly take to flight, and abandon not only the field of battle, but also their cannon, with all their warlike provisions. The Emperor, (who had remained behind about four hours march,) when he sees his soldiers flying in disorder, full of indignation, at first endeavours to re-animate them by his speeches, and to lead them back to the battle, then uses threats, kills some of the foremost run-aways, calls upon the rest, to reflect upon the law which they professed, and choose rather to die valiantly fighting, than by the hands of the executioner, and by that means lose the promised crown of martyrdom. At last when he finds, that neither his words nor sword have any effect, he is forced to save himself also by flight from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The death of the King of *Poland* prevents the further progress of the General

VII. The *Othman* army being thus defeated, there appeared nothing to prevent the *Poles* from not only recovering what they had lost, but even extending the limits of their kingdom. *Caminiec*, which they found to be a check to their progress, was pressed with a severe famine, which would probably soon force the garrison to abandon that fortress. But all these hopes were suddenly destroyed by the death of *Michael* King of *Poland*, which happened shortly after, and which occasioned the Nobles to prosecute their affairs more remissly, being drawn off from the care of the war to the election of a new King.

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pensation from the Pope to marry another wife. This pleasing the Emperor, he gives *Gregory* not only a safe-conduct, but also a recommendation to the Pope. With these he comes to *Rome*, kisses the Pope's toe, tells him, that though he had a wife alive in confinement among the *Turks*, yet he could not conquer the lusts of the flesh, and therefore was obliged to marry a second wife whilst his first was alive, and desires a dispensation for that purpose. but promises at the same time, that if his request was granted, he would publickly profess himself a member of the *Roman* Church. The Pope demurred at first, and consulted the Cardinals, what was most expedient for the Church to do; either strictly to observe the rigid law of the Gospel, which forbids Polygamy; or by this indulgence to bring a Schismatical, but otherwise an illustrious, Prince, into the bosom of the Church After long deliberation, the last opinion was preferred to the first, and a licence for marrying a second wife was given to *Gregory*, who thereupon made publick profession of the Catholick Faith. *Gregory* having thus gained credit, pretends to have received a letter from *Venice*, wherein he was informed, that there was in that place a young Lady of the noble family of the *Justiniani*, who would not disdain to marry him. Upon showing this letter, he received a recommendation from the Pope to the republic of *Venice*, and departed for that place. There he spent some months, under pretence of making preparations for his wedding, and transacting other affairs, but at last changing his dress, he went on board a Cypriot ship, and set sail for *Constantinople*. Having thus deceived both the Emperor and the Pope, he lay concealed for some time at *Constantinople*, in his friend *Panagiotes*'s house, till he had obtained from the Sultan a full pardon, and an oblivion of all that was past After which he made a publick entry into *Constantinople*, and obtained not only the enlargement of his wife and children, and the restitution of all his goods but also a promise of being restored to his principality within three months But he died forty days after, either of the piles, or of poison given as he confessed on his death-bed by *Timon* a Physician, said to have been bribed by the *Cantacuzeni*

(5) *Gika*] He was an *Albanian*, born in the village *Kioprili*, from whence originally came the famous family of the *Kioprili ogli*. In the time of *Stephen*, surnamed *Burduze*, i e. the Fat, Prince of *Moldavia*, he was *Capu Kiehaia*, or Resident at the *Othman* Port, but, upon *Stephen*'s rebellion, he was appointed his successor Three years after, he was translated from *Moldavia* to *Walachia*, but was afterwards deprived of that dignity by the indirect practices of his son *Gregory*, of whom I have already spoken. For when *Gregory* resided at *Constantinople*, he told the Vizir, that his father was old, and sometimes had not the use of his senses, by which means he got him turned out, and was appointed Prince of *Walachia* in his room.

V After

VIII. After long deliberation the crown is conferred upon *John Sobieski*, great Marshal of the Kingdom, who besides the nobleness of his Family, and his own personal merits, by his late victory against the *Turks*, had procured the votes of the States of the kingdom.

John Sobieski is chosen King of Poland.

IX. This choice was by no means agreeable to the *Othman* Court, since he, who, when General of a subdued nation, had defeated their victorious army, being now King of Conquerors, seemed to threaten the vanquished with some greater calamity. The Emperor therefore prepares a very powerful army to oppose him; and besides the remains of the former slaughter, which he had placed in winter-quarters in *Moldavia* and *Dobruja*, he raises new forces in *Asia* and *Europe*, and to the usual number of Janizaries adds twelve thousand *Serden Giechdi** (6), appointing each eleven Aspers a day. In order likewise to enlarge and strengthen his army, he sent his commands to *Selim Gierai* (7) Chan of *Tartary*, and directed him to bring with him two men out of every *Cazan* (8) of the *Bujac* and *Crim Tartars*.

The Sultan makes greater preparations for war against the Poles.

X. The

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(6) *Serden Giechdi**] This name, as to its Etymology, signifies, one that does not value his head, or that has devoted his life and head to the Sultan's service. This kind of militia is not perpetual, but is raised, and disbanded, at the Sultan's pleasure. For when there is any great expedition in hand, or a fortified place to be besieged, the Sultan orders so many thousand of *Serden Giechdi** to be raised, with the pay of about ten Aspers a day. When this order is notified, as many of the Janizaries as prefer a zeal for religion to their life, are listed among the *Serden Giechdi**, till the number appointed by the Sultan is made up. And thus if a new Janizary, whose pay is about three Aspers a day, lists himself among the *Serden Giechdi**, he will receive afterwards thirteen Aspers as long as he lives. Their business is, to be the first either in attacking an enemy's camp, or scaling the walls of a town, without complaining of the danger and difficulty of the place, or thinking any thing too hard. Their assaults are certainly very fierce, because they run into the fire, and against the enemy's swords, not like men, but like wild beasts void of understanding, and do not desist from their attacks, till they are either recalled or killed. For this reason, when the expedition is over, very few, out of the whole number, come safe home, but such as escape return to the *Oda* or *Chamber*, out of which they had been chosen, and cannot be compelled to serve in the same manner a second time. But if they chuse to be *Serden Giechdi** another year, they have an addition to their thirteen Aspers a day of ten more, which they enjoy all their lives. If such a *Serden Giechdi** is either grievously wounded, or loses a hand or leg in battle, so as to be disabled from going to war, he has an allowance of ten Aspers a day, and sometimes more or less according to the Sultan's pleasure, and with that is sent home under the name of *Oturak* or Sedentary, enjoying that pension to his death. Not only the *Oturak* or wounded persons, but also the veteran Janizaries, who have served twenty or thirty years, and are unfit any longer to bear arms, have leave to return home as the *Oturak*, and are gratified with the same allowance. If these stay at *Constantinople*, they are sometimes consulted upon important affairs, and their opinion is delivered to the Sultan by the *Aga* of the Janizaries. Very often they follow the camp of their own accord, and are not obliged to fight, but only, if a siege or some expedition is proposed, they are desired to deliver their opinion about it. There are Horse-*Serden Giechdi** chosen from among the *Spahi*, in the same manner, and are dismissed as the *Oturak*.

(7) *Selim Gierai*] Chan of *Crim Tartary*, a man very famous both in war and peace, a most excellent historian, in the knowledge of military affairs superior to most, and hardly second to any. The *Turks* themselves own, that every time they despised or neglected his advice, they ran into shameful errors. Three years before the taking of *Camenec*, he was made Chan; twice he was deposed, and as often restored; at last under Sultan *Mustafa* II. he abdicated the throne, and went in pilgrimage to *Mecca*. He died at his country-house near *Constantinople*, and his sons now succeed one another in the office of Chan. As for the dispute between the families of *Choban** *Gierai* and *Selim Gierai*, I have given a full account of it in a former note.

(8) *Cazan*] Or more elegantly *Cazgan*: as to its Etymology, it signifies a *Caldron*, or *large Kettle*, in which several Companions may boyl their victuals together. From whence the families of the *Crim* and *Bujak Tartars* are named *Cazan*, each of which may contain about ten souls, more or less.

The

[illegible] Poland [illegible] on account of the vigorous proceedings of their King.

X. The King of *Poland* suspecting what was really the case, that he was to engage with an enemy stronger and better prepared, applies himself to his affairs with no less attention, raises troops from all parts, and admonishes the states of his kingdom to assemble all their forces, and confirm the victory, they had gained in the last expedition. But they were deaf to his advice. Flushed with their late victory, they contemn the enemy, and give out that the *Othman* power, broken by the loss they had sustained, could scarce recover itself in many years, that the forces already raised were sufficient, and that the treasures of the kingdom ought not to be fruitlesly consumed. These were the publick pretences of the Nobles, but the true reason was, their fear lest the King, whose boldness and heroical virtues were well known, when he found the whole kingdom united under his command, should oppress them, exhausted and weakened with a long war, and make the crown, which had been conferred on him by election, hereditary in his family. Besides they were very loth to obey a person, who but a few days before had been their equal.

The *Poles* besiege *Camenec.* The *Turks* hasten to its relief.

XI. However the King, to perform the duty of a father of his country, and to overcome the enemy by art, since he could not by force, through the envy of his countrymen, had sent what soldiers he had ready, to block up *Camenec*, and reduced that City to such streights, that the garrison had scarce provisions enough for a few weeks. But the Emperor being informed of their distress, assembles his forces with greater speed than before, and about the end of the month *Rebiul evvel*, in the year 1085, passes the *Danube* at *Sakie*, and marches with such diligence, that ten days after the foremost of his troops appeared about *Chotin*.

H. 1085.
C. 1674.

The *Poles* being struck with terror, abandon the siege.

XII. The *Poles*, who had scarce expected the *Turks* within a month or two, being surprized with the news of the Sultan's approach, and imagining that a body of light-armed men were sent before, dispatch certain persons (9) skilled in the *Turkish* language to the *Othman* camp, to observe more exactly the number and strength of the enemy. When these report that the Emperor and Vizir were incamped with a powerful army not far from *Chotin*, the *Poles*, seized with a panic, fly away, and abandon the siege

The Sultan recovers *Chotin*, and takes *Human.*

XIII. The Sultan, who had determined to pass the *Tyras*, being informed that the siege of *Camenec* was raised, turns his arms to *Chotin*, and recovers that city in a short time. After this, passing the *Tyras*, he encamps under the walls of *Camenec*, and supplies the city with provisions and ammunition, which began now to be wanted, and waits some days for the enemy. When he finds no enemy approaching, he takes *Human*, a town of *Podolia*, and applies himself to settle the affairs of the province, which he had subdued, thinking it necessary to confirm his present acquisitions, before he made farther progress.

The rebellious Cossaks offer the *Turks* assistance, but are rejected.

XIV. While, intent on these things, he remains in those parts, *Doroshenko*, Hetman of the *Cossaks*, with four thousand of his countrymen, comes uncalled to the assistance of the Sultan, and offers him his whole army. But *Mahomet*, either thinking it needless to march so great forces against so inconsiderable an enemy, or suspecting *Doroshenko*'s integrity, commands him to return home with

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The *Mirza*'s count their Subjects by *Cazan*, and when they are to go upon any expedition, the Chan tells them how many soldiers they are to bring with them out of each *Cazan*. There are said to be about seventy thousand of them in *Crim-Tartary*. But this number is not always the same, being sometimes more, sometimes less. For if the master of one *Cazan* marries the heir of another *Cazan*, both the *Cazans* are contracted into one. And, on the other hand, if a Father has more sons than can conveniently live in one house, they part, and each make a *Cazan*

(9) certain persons] It is said that one of these spies was taken and brought to the Sultan; to whom ingenuously confessing the cause of his coming, he was ordered to be carried about the camp, and then sent away with a present of twenty gold crowns.

his

his men, alledging for reason, that he had no occasion for the assistance of the *Cossaks* against the *Poles*.

XV. This highly exasperated *Doroshensko*, and proved afterwards very detrimental to the *Othman* affairs. For there was no other cause of the *Cossaks* revolting some years after from the *Turkish* obedience, and submitting to the *Czars* of *Russia*, as will be more amply related in its proper place.

Doroshensko Duke of the *Cossaks* upon this repulse, offers to surrender his people to the *Czar* of *Russia*

XVI. But the Emperor seeing he could not be secure of the possession of *Cameniec*, whilst inhabited by *Christians*, since they might not only inform the enemies of every thing done there, but likewise put them in a way to take the city, commands all the inhabitants of the territory of *Cameniec* to be removed beyond the *Danube*, and mount *Hæmus* into the province of *Kyrk ekklesie* (10), and lands to be assigned them. But he divides their country among two thousand *Spahi's*, who were before seated in the territories of *Bender*, *Akkierman*, and *Kili*. The season appointed for warlike expeditions being spent in these affairs, the Emperor leaves *Shishman Ibrahim Pasha* (11) with a strong garrison at *Cameniec*, and returns himself with the main army to *Adrianople* in the beginning of the winter.

The Sultan transplants the *Polish* colonies into *Thrace*

He marches his forces back to *Adrianople*.

XVII. There despising now the enemy, of whom he had before been a little afraid, he devotes all the next year to his pleasures, having commanded *Shishman Ibrahim Pasha*, governor of *Cameniec*, to observe the motions of the *Poles* with some regiments of Janizaries. In the mean while he solemnizes with great pomp the circumcision of his two sons, *Mustapha* and *Ahmed*, and the nuptials of his daughter, upon which occasion he amasses a greater treasure (12), than the half of the revenue of the whole Empire would amount to.

At *Adrianople* he solemnizes the circumcision of his two sons, and the marriage of his daughter.

XVIII. On the other hand the *Poles*, who had prepared rather to repell the enemy, than come to a battle, imagining the long silence of the *Turks* to be only a stratagem, were cautious of making any attempt, so that except some

The King of *Poland* wages war against the *Turks*

ANNOTATIONS.

(10) *Kyrk ekklesie*] A province and town formerly called τεσσαράκοντα ἐκκλησίαι, the *Forty Churches*, because there were formerly in it so many *Christian* Churches. It is distant eight and thirty hours from *Constantinople*, and twelve from *Adrianople* At present it has neither walls nor churches, and but very few *Christian* inhabitants. For it is almost entirely possessed by *Jews*, transplanted thither from *Podolia* by Sultan *Mahomet*, by whom the same corrupt *German* is still spoken as in *Poland*. Their chief produce is butter and cheese, which is sent to the *Jews* living at *Constantinople*, after it has been marked with the *Chacham*'s seal, to denote that it is clean and made by *Jewish* hands.

(11) *Shishman* &c.] A brave *Turkish* General against the *Poles*, and renowned for many actions, but so thick and fat, that he was sirnamed *Shishman*, i. e. *the Fat*. It is said of him, that he kept a *French* Surgeon, who opened his belly, and took out the fat, every year, in the months of *June* and *July*, when he could hardly breathe, and was in danger of his life. But, at last, his fat increasing to such a degree, that it could no longer be taken out, he burst like another *Judas*, so that his bowels gushed out. Whether this be true, or only a story invented by the *Turks*, I cannot say; but this I know, that it is constantly affirmed by the *Turks* that were about him.

(12) treasure] Whenever the Sultans solemnise the circumcision of their sons, they dispatch orders to all the *Vizirs*, *Bashas*, *Begs*, *Sanjaks*, *Wewodes*, and others that have any office within their dominions, and even to their courtiers, to send them large presents. From this no one can be excused; and even those that are appointed to guard the borders of the Empire, tho' they cannot come themselves to the solemnity, are forced to send presents by their servants. If the port is at peace with the Emperor of *Germany*, and the King of *Persia*, the ambassadors of those courts are also invited, and they cannot appear without large presents. That I am not mistaken in saying, that the Sultan amassed then as much treasure, as half the yearly tribute of his whole Empire would amount to, the reader may judge by this one instance. Out of the single principality of *Moldavia*, there were sent him as presents, twenty thousand dolars, two sable-skins, and two ounce-skins, one hundred cubits of gold and silver-cloth, called by the *Turks*, *Sheb meran*, two gold crowns set with diamonds, each of which cost fifteen thousand rix-dolars, besides other things of less value.

light skirmishes between the scouts on both sides, there was nothing worth notice done this whole year. But in 1087, as if the destinies demanded a debt due to them, torrents of human blood are shed with greater profusion. The King of *Poland*, discovering the true reason of the inactivity of the *Turks*, resolves to turn their negligence to his advantage. He lists therefore new soldiers, rather by the hopes of the spoils of the *Turks* and *Moldavians*, than by any just and usual pay, and passing by *Camenie*c, which upon the decease of *Shishman Ibrahim Pasha*, was without a governor, penetrates directly into *Moldavia*, in order, as he declared, to attack the *Turks* within their own territories. Sultan *Mahomet*, who charmed with the pleasures and diversions of the preceding year, had laid aside all thoughts of war, and resigned himself wholly to luxury and hunting, upon the death of *Shishman Ibrahim Pasha*, sends *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha* (13), invested with the dignity of *Seraskier* (14), with an army against the *Poles*, who at his coming offer him battle. But he, as he was a man of great policy, and well skilled in military affairs, at first amuses the King with pretences of peace, renders the enemy more negligent, and then after breaking off the treaty upon some slight cause, circumvents the *Polish* army by a thousand artifices, and renders all their efforts ineffectual, and at last on a sudden invests the King so closely in his camp, that he could neither send a messenger into his kingdom, nor receive any from thence.

H. 1087. A. C. 1676.

He offers peace to the *Turks*.

XIX. The King with his whole army would undoubtedly have perished since he laboured under an extreme want of provision, if divine providence had not permitted the *Turks* to be deceived by the same artifices, they themselves had used. For affairs being reduced to the most desperate situation, the King of *Poland* sends some persons into the *Turkish* camp, to try whether the former treaty of peace might be renewed. *Ibrahim Pasha* would scarce have consented to their desires, if he had not discovered, that there was a mutiny just breaking out in his own camp. The Janizaries, who were uneasy at the quick marches, they had made to reduce the King to those straits, threw out seditious expressions not only against their General, but also against the Emperor himself and publickly declared it great injustice to be obliged to contend with the enemies and seasons, whilst the Sultan diverted himself with hunting wild beasts (15) and

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(13) *Shaitan* &c.] A very famous man among the *Turks*, called *Shaitan*, i. e. *Devil*, by his soldiers, on account of his cunning, and skill in military affairs. After he had defeated the *Poles* at *Zorauna*, and made a peace with them, he was at his return to *Constantinople*, named *Melek*, i. e. *Angel* by Sultan *Mahomet* IV. but he still retained in the army the old name of *Shaitan*. The Vizir *Cara Ibrahim Pasha* made him, after the defeat of the *Turks* at *Vienna*, *Seraskier* (or General) against the *Germans*, in which command, he put in great danger the *German* army, that was then besieging *Vivarium*, but having been defeated at *Strigonium*, and being accused of carelessness and bribery, he was put to death.

(14) *Seraskier*] vulgarly, *Bashbog*, the Head or General of the whole army. A *Seraskier* may be chosen from among the Bashas of two or three *Horse-Tails*. But if one of two *Tug*, or *Horse-Tails*, is *Seraskier*, there can be no Basha in the same army privileged with three; and if any such comes, he must either be *Seraskier*, or the Vizir must send a third *Tug* to the first person. Any Basha that is once made *Seraskier* must indeed communicate his designs to the rest of his companions, but he hath the supreme authority in the execution and can command or forbid whatever he pleases in the camp. If the chief Vizir is appointed *Seraskier*, he can alter all designs and undertakings, though contrary to the opinion of the rest of the Bashas, and arbitrarily command, what is, or is not, to be done. When an expedition is at an end the name and power of *Seraskier* ceases, till another expedition. But this title the Basha of *Silistria* always bears, whose business it is to defend *Babadagy* and the frontiers of *Poland*.

(15) wild beasts] When the Sultans are too much addicted to hunting, they always incur the hatred of their people and soldiers. For the *Turks* believe, that a man too intent upon taking birds and wild beasts can neither govern itself nor the commonwealth, nor hearken to sound advice. This opinion is grounded upon a common *Turkish* saying, *Kushbazi Cumarbazi ulduren olucazi*, *He that kills a lover of birds* (which name

and rowled in other pleasures; that they, who had been the chief instruments of founding and extending the Empire, were now put under the command of a *Seraskier*, and treated as if unworthy to fight under the conduct of the Emperor, or Vizir, according to the antient and usual custom. On the other hand the Chan (16) of *Crim Tartary*, perceiving he lost more than he gained by this war, did not cease to perswade the *Seraskier* to peace, representing that the conditions, which would now be offered by the King of *Poland*, were not to be slighted, for he did not doubt, the *Poles*, to rescue themselves from imminent danger, would consent to whatever should be demanded, but it was to be feared, if they were longer pressed, despair would inflame their courage, and cause them to make an irruption, by which if they did not entirely defeat the *Othman* army, they would at least revenge their own deaths with the slaughter of thousands of their enemies, he added, that the winter was now approaching, and the *Othman* soldiers, unaccustomed to that season, would afford an easy victory to the enemy. *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha* being moved by these and other remonstrances, approves the advice, and demands of the King of *Poland* several nobles to be sent as hostages to his camp. The King sends to the *Seraskier* six under the title of ambassadors, and receives the same number from the *Turks*. Immediately the report of peace was spread through both camps, upon which the *Turkish* Soldiers imagining, there was nothing to fear, and being pleased with seeing at last an end of their labours, grow remiss, and carelesly guard the passes.

The King escapes out of danger, and attacks the Tartars

XX When the King of *Poland* sees this, he takes with him a select body of his army, leaving the weakest part to guard the camp, privately retires, and unexpectedly attacking some thousands of *Tartars*, who had encamped under *Mohilow* (17), easily puts them to flight. An account of this misfortune is immediately brought to *Ibrahim Pasha*, who was then at dinner talking with the ambassadors. Struck with the news, he severely reproaches the ambassadors for their treachery and breach of the law of nations, and immediately sends his cavalry to the assistance of the *Tartars*. These troops, on the 19th of *Rejeb*, in 1087, find the *Poles* under *Zorauna*, and full of resentment and revenge rush upon them The battle was long doubtful, with great slaughter on both sides; and would have lasted still longer, if night had not put a stop to their ardour. For the evening coming on, when the *Turks* perceive nothing could be done on account of the darkness, they retire to their camp, which is readily permitted them by the weary *Poles*, who also strongly entrenched their own camp against the irruptions of the *Tartars*, fear supplying them with strength

H 108[illegible]

A C 16[illegible]

A peace concluded

XXI. The two camps being placed opposite to each other, skirmish for seventeen days without intermission, sometimes the *Poles*, sometimes the *Turks*,

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name comprehends also one that is too fond of hunting,) *and a player at dice, is to be reckoned a Hero* This was the occasion of all the calamities that befel *Mahomet*, and his son *Mustapha* II in our times, and the chief reason of their being deposed. For when, notwithstanding the repeated admonitions that were given them, they would not refrain from hunting, the people did not cease to hate and despise them, till they had wrested the scepter from their hands. But such Emperors as do but seldom and moderately use that recreation, have never been censured for it by their subjects,

(16) Chan] Though the Chan of *Crim-Tartary* be subject to the *Turkish* Empire, and has hitherto continued faithflu, yet, for his own advantage, he does not desire that all *Poland* should be under the *Turkish* yoke. Not to mention the many presents he privately receives, almost every year, out of *Poland*, that kingdom may not improperly be called the store-house of the *Tartars*, in which they can make continual incursions, and draw very large sums from thence, for the redemption of the great numbers of captives they carry away. But if *Poland* was tributary, or entirely subject, to the *Turks*, the *Tartars* would be debarred from exercising their usual robberies, and therefore they endeavour to hinder it all the ways they can.

(17) *Mohilow*] A town of the *Polish Ukrania*, lying on the eastern side of the *Tyras*, twelve hours distant from *Soroca*, and about the same from *Camenec*.

being

being worsted. At last, after many labours, peace is concluded in the midst of arms; and signed the 6th of *Shaban* by ambassadors of both parties. The instruments of peace being exchanged, the *Polish* ambassadors, presented by the *Seraskier* with bred horses, are dismissed; and the *Turkish* hostages also return to the *Othman* camp. The *Poles*, when they come home, summoning an assembly of the States on the 19th of *Zilcade* the same year, and notwithstanding the endeavours of the Emperor of *Germany* to the contrary, ratify the conditions of the peace, and send to *Constantinople* the Palatine of *Culm* as ambassador extraordinary to the Port. But how prejudicial an unseasonable pride is in the management of publick affairs, appeared in the following instance.

The absurd demand of the *Polish* ambassador.

XXII. The ambassador, before he entered the city, demanded by a letter what had never been done, that the Vizir should meet him at the gate of *Constantinople*. This being refused, he would not enter the city (18), and retired towards the west to *Daud Pasha* (19), a village about an *Italian* mile from *Constantinople*. By these and the like delays, the negotiation is protracted from the 26th of *Rejeb* 1688, to the 16th of *Sefer* the next year, when the peace is at last confirmed in *Daud Pasha*; and on the first day of the month *Rebiul evvel*, in a publick council the instruments of it were delivered to the ambassador, drawn up in such a manner as the Vizir thought proper (20). By these articles

H. 1688.
A. C. 1677.

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(18) the city] This obstinacy and pride in the ambassador would have put an end to all hopes of peace, had not the Vizir, who was now meditating the *Vienna*-expedition, endeavoured by all means to keep every thing quiet on that side, and for that reason yielded a little to the ambassador, and permitted the *Reis Effendi* to conclude the peace at *Daud Pasha*. For, otherwise, the *Turks* are more scrupulously exact than any other Nation in observing the rites and ceremonies used of old by their Court, and they had rather see the whole world turned upside down, than that the least point of honour due to them should be omitted.

(19) *Daud Pasha*] A place on the west-side of the City, and not above an *Italian* mile from the walls. There are to be seen stately palaces belonging to the Sultan, some houses for the courtiers, and stables built of stone, all which are very handsom edifices. Besides these, there are no other houses, nor any inhabitants, except the *Bostandji*, who take care of the adjoining garden. The name of it seems to be derived either from the founder, or from the over-seer of the structure. Whenever the Sultan travels from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*, he takes up his first quarters there. This *Daud Pasha* must be distinguished from another *Daud Pasha Mekiemesi*, built in the middle of *Constantinople* by *Ilderim Bajazet*, whilst the *Greek* Emperors were yet masters of that City.

(20) thought proper] Because it is of great importance to know the particulars of this treaty, it will not be amiss to set them down here as they are extant in the History of the war between the *Poles* and *Turks*, by *Monsieur De la Croix*. They are to this effect.

Being desired by the ambassador of *Poland*, to insert some articles among the *blessed* capitulations which we have with that kingdom, we have granted, and will, that the contents of them be observed and made publick.

1. If the *Lipkensian Tartars*, who live in *Poland*, are willing to retire into the provinces that are subject to us, they shall have a whole year allowed them to do it; nor shall the *Poles* in any wise hinder them from moving their children and effects where they please.

2. Whereas all *Podolia*, according to its antient bounds, is subject to our imperial Majesty, we will, that the *Polish* garrisons, which have hitherto possessed *Buar* and *Mejibos* evacuate those places, leaving behind them all the cannon, that was found there when they were taken But if any have been brought thither, since that time, out of *Poland*, they may be carried away. The inhabitants of those places, shall either remain there, or depart elsewhere, without any molestation

3. The bounds of *Podolia* shall be settled by old inhabitants of that province, who are men of approved integrity, and known experience; and the limits they shall appoint, shall for the future be the true and certain bounds of *Podolia*.

4. When the bounds are thus settled, all the *Polish* Noblemen, who have long possessed villages in *Podolia*, and are willing to stay there, shall pay to the *Othman* port, tribute, tenths, and other customs imposed upon goods. A part of those villages shall be left to them for their maintenance, and they and their posterity shall enjoy it for ever, being confirmed by our privilege

articles, the *Poles* not only renounced all claim to *Camenіec*, which had been taken by the *Turks* in the former war, but likewise engaged to give up all authority

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privilege in their dignities, and exempted from the tribute on children, provided they attempt no hostilities.

5. The Churches that are not yet converted into *Moschs*, shall remain in their possession, and they may, without interruption, perform divine service after their own way.

6. We will that *Ukrania* according to its old bounds be yielded to the *Cossaks* that are subject to us, except the towns of *Bialocerkiew* and *Pauolocz*, which, out of our special grace, we have granted, with their territory, to the *Poles*. Further than this let them not extend themselves so much as one inch, nor any way molest our subjects the *Cossaks*.

7. We shall send commissioners to determine the bounds of these towns, as hath been already ordered with relation to *Podolia*.

8. We confirm the religious, who dwell at *Jerusalem* in time of peace, in their possessions there, which they have enjoyed for a long time, and we charge all persons not to dare to disturb them.

9. We command our armies of *Crim* and *Bujak Tartars*, *Cossaks*, and *Transylvanians*, from this day forwards for ever not to enter *Poland* without our orders, not to plunder it, nor exercise any hostilities therein: and if it can be proved, that such a breach of peace hath been committed, those that have received any damage shall have restitution for the same

10 At the request of the most sublime Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, we remit to the *Poles* the tribute of twenty two thousand dolars, which they have paid us for a long time. Besides this remission, and the towns of *Bialocerkieu* and *Pauolocz*, which we have freely granted them, we will, that the *blessed* capitulations of *Bujak* be inviolably observed.

11. The Judges appointed on the borders, shall pass sentence, not only upon the immoveable goods of our subjects, but also upon other affairs of less moment.

12. The inhabitants of *Camenіec*, who were expelled after the taking of that fortress, shall be at liberty to return into their own country, and of living in *Podolia* if they chuse it

13 And because the inhabitants of *Camenіec* have forsaken their country, for no other reason, but because they have no Churches, one Church shall be restored to those who have remained there, or are willing to return: in like manner we grant one Church to the *Christians* of the *Latin* *Communion* in the fortress of *Buar*, and if it is destroyed, it may be rebuilt.

14. The same thing shall also be observed in *Yaslovez* and *Mejibos*, after we have chosen such as are to be converted into *Moschs*

15 The prisoners that have been taken during the war, shall be exchanged on both sides. There shall be but one Basha in *Podolia*, and the other officers shall not be chosen from among the *Lipkensian* or any other *Tartars*.

16 The *Lipkensian Tartars*, that are near the frontiers, shall be obliged to remove their habitation further from the borders.

17. If there are in antient treaties any articles contrary to these, we annul them, but confirm the rest; and promise, that as long as the King of *Poland*, with the great men and officers of his kingdom, make no attempt against the fortresses, neighboring cities, towns, villages, and territories under our government; they shall no way be molested or injured by our victorious armies, Bashas and officers, whether *Moldavians*, *Tartars* of *Dobruje*, *Alkierman*, *Daben*, and of the *Boristhenes*.

18. The *Poles* shall pay the usual tribute to the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*: And if it is paid according to antient custom, he shall be obliged on his part to maintain peace, friendship, and correspondence with them, and not to suffer them to receive any damage or injury The same shall be observed by Sultan *Galga*, and other *Tartarian* officers.

19. If any enemy declares war against the King of *Poland*, the Chan of *Tartary* shall be obliged to come to his assistance with an army. We will moreover, that in case we want any *Tartars* for our service, they pass no other way through *Poland*, than what they have hitherto used.

20 All prisoners that shall be brought out of *Poland*, by the *Tartars* or *Moldavians*, after the conclusion of this *blessed* treaty, we declare to be unjustly taken, and we forbid the selling them within our dominions: requiring that the same be observed in *Poland* with regard to our subjects.

21. If we happen to have war with any infidel King, and our imperial Majesty is pleased to go in person, or to send a *Seraskier* with our armies, or the Princes of *Transylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*; the King of *Poland*, by reason of the sincere friendship, and strict union and correspondence he has with us, shall give our enemy no assistance, nor furnish him with men, or money; neither shall he suffer our enemies to raise soldiers in his dominions, nor publickly

authority over the *Cossaks* of *Podolia* as subjects, and resign it to the *Othman* port; to the *Lipkensian Tartars* (21), who had till then been subject to *Poland*, they gave leave to depart; in short, the whole treaty was so worded, as if it was not a king treating with a king, but a lord with his vassal. However, even this did not cure the pride of the *Polish* ambassador. For that he might not seem to have brought so magnificent a retinue with him to no purpose, when the peace was confirm'd, and he had received the writings on the emperor's part, he desires and obtains leave of the vizir to make his publick entry.

His ostentation, and the Vizir's sayings upon it

XXXIII. In this entry, besides other marksof magnificence, he orders his horses to be shod with silver, and the shoes to be fastened with only two nails, that they

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publickly or privately, give leave to any Palatine or colonel to raise any.

22. The princes or governors of *Transylvania*, who are also kings of *Hungary*, being subject to us, and living under our government, because that province has descended to us by hereditary right from our ancestors; we will that the king of *Poland* live in a friendly manner with them, on account of their loyalty.

23. But if they should rebell against us, the king of *Poland* shall, neither directly nor indirectly, give them any assistance. And if any Palatine of *Transylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*, or any other rebellious prince should fly into *Poland*, the king shall be obliged to detain him, and send him to the auspicious Port. So shall he be an enemy to our enemies, and a friend to our friends.

24. If the king of *Poland* shall continue in amity with our *Port of Felicity*, we command those princes to observe the same correspondence with *Poland*, as they have hitherto done.

25. We order, the prisoners taken during the war, and since the treaty of peace has been on foot, to be released without ransom.

26. We order also, that such prisoners as have been formerly taken, in case they have not embraced the *Mahometan* Religion, be released, upon repaying the money they were sold for, which their master shall be obliged to declare upon oath.

27. Merchants on both sides shall be freely allowed to traffick by sea and land, and to come into all our harbours, and elsewhere, only upon paying the customs appointed in each place.

28 They shall no way be molested or injured: and if any of them dies within our dominions, his goods shall faithfully be delivered to the master of the *caravan*, in order to be conveyed to the relations of the deceased; and we will, that the same be observed with respect to our subjects in *Poland*.

29. The Ambassadors, with their retinues, that shall come to preserve a correspondence [illegible] shall have free passage through our dominions, and shall have the necessary attendants allowed them, and we desire that the same regard be paid to those we shall send into *Poland*

30 If *Armenian*, or other infidel merchants, are willing to pass through *Moldavia*, in order to trade in our *happy* dominions, they shall be obliged to travel through the publick roads, and not through byways and if they are ill-used in the publick roads, we will, that the offender be found out and punished.

31. We will and command, that all the articles contained in this treaty of peace be punctually, exactly, and faithfully observed, may their duration be equal to that of our empire, which is to last as long as the world, to the end this peace and mutual correspondence may be eternal

32. We promise upon our imperial oath, and protest before God the creator of h[illegible]ven and earth, and by the miracles of *Ma[illegible]t Mustapha*, the great prophet, the sun of two ages, on whom rest the peace of the divine majesty, that we shall transgress none of these articles, nor clog them with any difficulties, but that the peace and union now made and confirmed, shall last as long as our glorious empire, provided the king of *P[illegible]* his palatines, generals, and other sub[illegible] do nothing contrary to the said pea[illegible] [illegible]d union, and honour and value the rig[illegible]t of peace and friendship. Therefore we command, that credit be given to this noble signature of ours, and do notify to the whole world, that we will have this treaty to be firm and indissoluble, according to the tenor. May all the inhabitants and subjects of *Poland* enjoy profound peace under the shadow of our protection At *Daud Pasha* the 16th of the moon *Sefer*, 1089.

(21) *Lipkensian Tartars.*] *Lipka* is the *Turkish* Name for *Lithuania*, from whe[illegible]ce the *Tartars* that live in *Lithuania* are called *Lipca-Tartars*. They all profess the *Mahometan* religion, and tho' they pretend to be derived from the same stock as the *Crim-Tartars*, yet they are naturally weaker and more infirm than they.

might

might the easier fall off in the streets, which were paved, and strike the *Turks* with admiration at the riches of *Poland*. But what he had designed for his honour, turned to his disgrace. For the vizir, when one of these shoes was brought to him, is reported to have said, that the infidel had indeed shoes of silver, but a head of brass; since it was incredible, that any person in his senses could be guilty of such a ridiculous extravagance as to shoe his horses with silver. The same vizir, when inform'd by the *Seraskier*, that the ambassador of *Poland* was coming with seven hundred attendants, and desired provision for so large a retinue, he is said to have sent word to the *Seraskier*, to tell the ambassador, that if he meant to use so numerous a band to take *Constantinople*, his followers were very few; but if he intended to salute the lofty threshold of the sublime port, he had brought too many with him, and was afraid it would be polluted by the kisses of the *Poles*, however, that it was not more difficult for the sultan to entertain as guests, seven hundred *Poles*, than to maintain seven thousand peasants of that nation, condemned to the imperial gallies. But to return from this digression.

A war with Russia
H. 1090
A. C. 1679.

XXXIV. Peace being now settled and confirmed with the *Poles*, in the same year 1090, a fresh war broke out between the *Othman* port and the *Russians*. *Doroshenko*, *Hetman* of *Sari Camysh Cazagy*, (22) as I have observed, had voluntarily submitted, with all his people, to the *Othman* Port; but afterwards, when he desired to be a partner in the *Polish* expedition, meeting with a repulse, he resolved to revenge this affront by a revolt. But he found, that unless he called in the assistance of some more powerful ally, he should be incapable of executing his designs, and that his efforts for the delivery of his country, would rather involve it deeper in oppression Having well weighed these affairs, he sends, by private letters, for the officers of the *Cossaks*, and others, whom he knew to have the greatest influence over the people, and represents to them what he had hitherto done for the preservation of their quiet and liberty, and by what methods he had endeavoured to assert and secure it. "I imagined (says he) that, oppressed and contemptuously treated by the *Poles*, we might find a sure refuge under the protection of the *Turks*. They were so remote from our borders, that there seemed no reason to fear them; and their name so formidable to their enemies, that a ship under their colours seemed to be as safe as in the very harbour To these considerations were added the promises made to us, such as we could scarce have asked for; namely the enjoyment of our civil and religious liberties, freedom from tribute, and a large share of the booty which we should gain in their service. That they would perform these promises I was inclined to believe, chiefly because they seemed the more desirous of our friendship, as they had more than once found us formidable enemies. But how little sincerity is to be expected among infidels, is sufficiently evident from what we have seen with our own eyes. When, to demonstrate my fidelity, I marched in the *Polish* war to their assistance with a good part of the army; I was not only not received with due honour, but even treated with contempt, and, like a traytor, commanded to return home. They were jealous of our being eye-witnesses of their conduct, and apprehensive less the sight of our churches, turned into moschs, contrary to the most solemn engagements, and the transplanting the inhabitants into barren lands, should open our eyes, and teach us what we were to expect. When a peace was concluded with the *Poles*, they freed us indeed from the yoke of that nation; but so freed us, that they have laid a heavier on our necks. Hence they voluntarily resigned to the *Poles* the chief bulwarks of our country, *Bialocerkiew* and *Pawolocz*. Hence they, who at other times upon the slightest injury breathe nothing but fire and sword, pass over in strange silence, the prohibition of commerce, and

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(22) *Sari Camysh Cazagi.*] The *Cossaks* of the yellow reed: which of them are so called, has been shown in a former note.

"other *Polish* arts, by which we are daily exhausted, and the best part of our blood
" sucked out, that weakened and deprived of our strength, we may be rendered
" incapable of making any resistance, whenever they shall think proper to im-
" pose their tyranny upon us. These were the artifices of the *Othman* Princes,
" by which they founded, and immensely enlarged their Empire; to overcome
" *Christians* by *Christians*, to subdue both, when exhausted by a long war, and
" when subdued, to treat them at first with lenity, and afterwards by degrees
" to lay so heavy a yoke on them, that the weight of it may at last stupify the
" bearers. If any should doubt of this, or imagine I speak out of envy to the
" *Turks*, he will have a convincing proof in the Princes of *Moldavia*, who were
" not subdued by the *Turks* with arms, but allured by mild speeches and pro-
" mises of liberty to a voluntary submission, and yet are now oppressed with the
" same servitude as the rest of the *Christians*, under the *Othman* dominion.
" Taught by these examples, I too late lament our error; however it is not so
" late, but a remedy may be applied to the wound, if you will show your selves
" worthy your name and ancestors. But resolution alone is not sufficient;
" strength is required, in order to defend our religion and country, and to rescue
" our selves from unjust servitude, strength, I say, without which, resolution is
" nothing but a head without a body. Since we are not equal to the burthen
" of bearing both the *Turkish* and *Polish* war, it is necessary for us to desire the
" assistance of our neighbours, but of whom, it is our business to consider. We
" have already made sufficient trial of the *Poles*, and I imagine, none of you will
" ever think of putting yourselves again under their yoke The *Hungarians*
" and *Germans* are more sollicitous about their own, than the affairs of their
" neighbours. In short, there remains only the *Czar* of *Russia*, to whose father
" my predecessor *Bogdan Kiemuelniski* (23), many years since promised fidelity,
" but we were afterwards obliged by force of arms to abandon our engage-
" ments. If the word subjection appears disagreeable to any person, let him

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(23) *Bogdanus Kiemielniski*] *Hetman* of the *Cossaks*, who was a terror not only to the *Poles*, but also to the *Turks* and *Tartars*. The *Turks* call him *Chmil*, and have not yet forgot the ravages he committed on the coasts of the *Euxine-Sea*. He was slain in a battle with the *Poles*, in which he dispu-ted the victory with them, to his last breath. He had two sons; *George*, of whom we shall give an account in the fol-lowing note; and *Timush* who married *Rox-ana*, daughter of *Basilius* Prince of *Molda-via*. This *Basilius* having been driven out of his principality by *Stephen* sirnamed *Bur-duze*, retired to his Father-in-law *Kiemiel-niski*, who lent him fourteen thousand *Cos-saks*, under the command of *Timush*, to re-cover *Moldavia* and *Soczava*. (in which place he had left his wife, son, and treasures with a good garrison.) But three days be-fore he came to *Soczava*, that town had been, through the governor's treachery, delivered to *Stephen*; who had seized *Basi-lius*'s treasures, and sent his wife and son prisoners to *Jassij*. *Basilius* with his *Cossaks* prepares to besiege the place, but were unsuccessful. For *Timush*, in contempt of the enemy, pitches his tents under the ve-ry walls of the town, and begins drinking [illegible] and millet-ale very plentifully, as if he had been already master of the place.

This being observed by a *German* gunner, who was in the garrison, he levels a can-non at the careless general, and shoots off his leg *Timush* dying a few hours after of the wound, the *Cossaks* are struck with such a panic, that they raise the siege, and take to open flight. But few of them es-caped into their country For the *Molda-vians*, who favoured *Stephen*, perceiving the flight of the *Cossaks*, pursue them, kill many, and drive more into the *Tyras*. This *Bogdanus* is reported to have been so much addicted to drunkenness, that when *Basilius* came to him, he could not for seven days meet with an opportunity of speaking to him, by reason of his being perpetually drunk. At last on the eighth day, send-ing for *Kiemielniski*, when he was going to give him an account of his misfortunes, he gave him a large cup full of wine, and told him: Drink this medicine, which cures all the sorrows of the heart, and makes a man forget all his misfortunes. Upon which *Basilius* turning to his attendants is report-ed to have said. I once thought, that the *Cossaks* were men, and begotten of men but now I see that our common say-ing is true. The *Cossaks* have been either turned from bears into men, or bears have been turned from *Cossaks* into beasts.

" consider that liberty once lost, if it cannot be restored to its former lustre, will
" inquire, not where it may be freed from all, but where it may enjoy the ea-
" siest, conditions. We have nothing to fear as to our churches from a Prince
" of the same religion with ourselves, nothing as to our fortunes from a King,
" who possesses much more by right, than he can take from us with injustice.
" He is at present master of the best part of our country, and having amassed a
" vast treasure during a long peace, he can easily defend us against any enemy
" whatsoever. That we should fly to his protection, we are obliged by justice,
" and the fidelity promised him by our fathers; and induced by the necessity of
" our affairs, and the remembrance of his former gentle dominion over us.
" Nor is there the least doubt, but he will both receive us with open arms as
" lost sons, and defend us as the bulwark of his kingdom against our enemies."

XXV. This speech had so great an effect upon the whole assembly, that they declared their abhorrence of the treaty made with the *Turks*, and unanimously determined to submit themselves and their fortunes to the *Czar* of *Russia*. Upon this *Doroshenko* immediately dispatched a trusty person, *Theodorus Alexias*, into *Muscovy* with letters to the *Czar*, in which he assures him, that himself and countrymen are sorry, that without any regard to their obligations, they had dishonorably subjected their province to the *Turks*, but now they repent of their conduct, and intreat his Majesty to receive them again under his protection, and defend them against the enemy, and in return they will readily venture their lives and fortunes in the defence of him and the kingdom of *Russia*. Nothing could happen more agreeable to the *Czar*, since he found, that by this means not only *Ukrania*, which was always liable to the incursions of the *Cossaks*, was secured, but likewise his territories extended beyond the *Borysthenes*, and his army increased with above sixty thousand men of approved valour. He returns therefore immediately an answer to *Doroshenko* full of civility, in which he commends his design and fidelity to him, pardons the former revolt, exhorts him for the future to atone for the treachery of his countrymen by a firm and constant attachment to the Princes of *Russia*, and on his part promises assistance against all their enemies, whenever there should be occasion.

The *Cossaks* submit to the *Czar*

XXVI. This news being brought to *Constantinople*, not only hastens the peace with *Poland*, but strangely disturbs the designs of the *Othman* court. The Emperor saw, that unless he would suffer his own and the *Othman* Empire's honour to be trampled upon, he could not avoid revenging this breach of faith, and proclaiming war against both the *Cossaks* and the *Czar* of *Russia*, under whose protection they had put themselves. On the other hand he foresaw, that the war would prove very difficult, not on account of the *Czar's* power, (for at that time the *Russians* were despised by the *Turks*) but because he found, that his army would suffer more from the narrowness of the passes, and hunger, and cold, than from the enemy. To avoid therefore the war, if possible, and by policy recover the *Cossaks* to his obedience, he releases *George Kiemielniski* (24), son of *Bogdan*, formerly Hetman of the *Cossaks*, who had been kept close

The *Turks* appoint *George Kiemielniski* Hetman of the *Cossaks*

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(24) *George Kiemielniski*] The eldest son of the foresaid *Bogdan*, who being slain by the *Poles*, *George* was advanced by the *Cossaks* to the post of *Hetman*, in which he behaved with great reputation for three years, though in wars all the time with the *Poles*. At the end of these three years, *George* perceiving that the *Cossak* forces were daily diminished by their skirmishes with the *Poles*, and being afraid of falling like his father, a sacrifice to the enemy, he resolved to quit his dignity, and embrace a monastic life. For that purpose he changed his name and dress, and travelled through the deserts of *Ukrania*, without acquainting any one with his design, towards a Monastery in that province dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*. In his journey, whilst he was endeavouring to conceal himself from his countrymen, he fell among some parties of wandring *Poles*, by whom he was stripped, and miserably beaten. Out of their hands he was rescued by a body of *Tartars*, who not treating him more kindly, carried him into *Crim-Tartary*, and gave him to the Chan. The Chan guessing by his countenance, that he was not a person of so mean a condition as he pretended, endeavoured

close prisoner in the Seven Towers, and appoints him Hetman in the room of *Doroshenko*, hoping, that the *Cossaks*, as well out of affection to the family of the *Kiminiski*'s, as the remembrance of *Bogdan*'s merits, would readily submit to his son.

He in vain sollicits the *Cossaks* to a revolt.

XXVII. *George* by the Vizir's command immediately sends his friend *Stamatellus* to his countrymen, and informs them by letters, that the *Othman* port hearing of *Doroshenko*'s revolt, had made him Hetman of the *Cossaks*, in hopes, that they, who had been drawn off by that traytor from their due obedience to the *Othman* Empire, when they saw their lawful General and Hetman would return to their duty, and repent of their proceedings, in which case the Emperor would forgive what was past, and confer new favours upon them. But the *Cossaks*, who had found the *Turkish* yoke too heavy to be willing to submit to it again, resolutely reject the Sultan's offers, accuse *Stamatellus* of imposture, alledging, that their lawful Hetman *George* had been long dead in *Tartary*, and give out that a stratagem was contriving against them under the name of their deceased Hetman.

The Sultan proclaims war against the *Cossaks* and *Russians*

XXVIII. The Emperor seeing the *Cossaks* unmoved with words, thinks it necessary to use force, and accordingly sends *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha*, *Seraskier* of *Silistria* (25), with his whole army to re-instate *George* in the country of the *Cossaks*,

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endeavoured by all means to prevail upon him to embrace the *Mahometan* superstition. But neither promises nor threats being able to make him renounce the *Christian* faith, he came to be known by a *Cossak*, who had formerly served his father, but who being taken by the *Tartars*, had abjured Christianity, and was raised to considerable honours in the Chan's court. *Nicolaus* or *Ali* (for that was the renegado's name) fearing, least the favour which the Chan showed to his prisoner, should turn to his own disadvantage, made known *George*'s condition to the Chan. Whereupon the Chan sent *George* to *Constantinople* to the *Othman* port, where he was immediately after his arrival thrown into the prison of the Seven Towers, and very narrowly watched. After a few years, some *French* ships happened to anchor under the very walls of the prison. When they were preparing for their return, *George* having an intimation of it, endeavoured to escape. Having found a bar of iron in the inner yard of the prison, he forced open the grate of his window. But the place being so high, that he could not leap down without danger, he cut in long pieces the carpet, which served him instead of a bed, and tying them together like a rope, let himself down; but not having exactly guessed at the height of the place, the noise he made in falling down, awaked one of the *Bostanji*, and alarmed the prison. *George* in the mean time, knowing he should be pursued, takes courage, climbs up to the top of the outward wall, and from thence throws himself headlong into the sea. But having hurted his head very much in his fall, and losing his way in the dark through his fear, he hid himself between two rocks, which stood above water. There he was found the next morning half dead, by persons sent after him by the keeper of the prison. And after he had been cruelly beat, he was more closely confined, tyed neck and heels, fettered, and manacled. In this confinement he remained from the year 1670 till 1677, and so accustomed was he to bear misfortunes, that he could then hardly be prevailed upon by persons sent to him for that purpose, to exchange his fetters for the office of Hetman of the *Cossaks*, which was offered him. After having accepted the Hetmanship, he used all means imaginable to engage the *Cossaks* to his side, but in vain; for most of them said he was only a pretended son of *Bogdan*, and not their own General. Three years after, being sent into *Ukrania*, to cover workmen that were going to build a fort at the mouth of the *Nieper*, he was slain in a battle by *Circo* a captain of some troops of *Cossaks*.

(25) *Seraskier* of *Silistria*] All the Bashas who are entrusted with the defence of the northern provinces of the *Othman* Empire against the *Poles*, are indeed named Bashas of *Silistria*, but they have their residence at *Babadagy*. *Silistria* is a City on the south-side of the *Danube*, opposite to *Walachia*, well known in our modern maps. It is even to this day called in *Greek*, δρύςα, and hath a *Greek* Metropolitan. It contains a few *Turkish* inhabitants, great numbers of *Christians* chiefly Slaves, *Bulgarians*, and *Walachians*. But *Babadagy* lies nearer the *Euxine* Sea, about twenty hours from the *Danube*, directly below *Sakzen*, called by the ancients *Obluczıza*. That both these places are very antient, we may guess by the

Cossaks, with particular orders to endeavour to make himself master of *Chebrin* *, the metropolis of the province, and the seat of the Hetman. *Ibrahim* immediately obeys the orders; and passing the *Danube* on the 6th of *June*, in the year of Christ 1678, by long marches goes through *Moldavia* and *Podolia*.

XXIX. When he comes to *Chebrin* *, he finds sixty thousand *Russians* and *Cossaks* strongly intrenched; is surprized at the unexpected sight, (because by the *Czar*'s command all the merchants or others, who were preparing to go into *Turkey*, had been detained at *Nisna*;) (26) and perceiving, that by reason of the fewness of his troops, (for he had scarce forty thousand men) he could not possibly attack the enemies thus fortified, resolves to wait for the *Tartars*, who were three days march from his camp. But by the vigilance of the *Russians*, he was disappointed; for hearing of the approach of the *Tartars* to join the *Turks*, the *Russians* plant themselves in an advantagious post between both, and attack the *Tartars* as they draw near with such vigour, that in a few hours the field of battle is covered with the blood of the enemy. There fell in the action, besides the Chan's son, eight *Mirza*'s, and above ten thousand common soldiers, the rest are either taken prisoners, or dispersed. The *Turks*, when they see such a slaughter of their confederates, throw away their arms, with their courage, and in the fear that the *Russians*, elated with their victory, would also fall upon them, fly with such precipitation, that they stop not till they have passed the river *Bog*. (27.)

The *Russians* defeat the *Tartars*. The *Turks* fly

XXX This ill success rendered the emperor still more desirous of peace. However, to prevent any blemish upon his honour, he sends an ambassador to *Russia*, not in his own, but in the Chan of *Tartary*'s name, amicably to persuade the Czar to make peace with the Sultan, to restore *Chebrin* *, which undeniably belongs to the *Turks*, and to abandon the *Cossaks* to their own evil genius. for he certainly knows the Sultan would rather wage a twenty years war, whatever should be the success, than lose one foot of land to which he has a right.

The Sultan desires peace of the Czar.

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the structure of the walls, which seems to be *Roman*, and not *Turkish*, whence it is probable, those cities were built by the *Romans*, to stop the irruptions of the *Barbarians* and *Scythians* Beyond the mountains *Chiange*,* in the way from *Moldavia* to [illegible], there appear the ruins of such another antient city, about four *Italian* miles in compass. This last is named by the *Turks Rosokiesre*, which is a corruption from the *Greek* word Ρωσσόκαςρον No historian, as far as I find, mentions it, but the *Greeks* at *Constantinople* have a story about the origin of it, which, whether it be true or false, I dare not determine. They say, after the irruption of the *Bulgarians*, an army of *Russians*, or perhaps of *Pacinacæ* or rather a band of *Pechenigi*,* passed the *Danube*, and made frequent incursions into the provinces subject to the *Grecian* Empire but being conquered by the *Grecians*, and penned up between the mountains, they laid down their arms, and, embracing the Christian religion, had not only their lives granted them, but also obtained a place to build a town. At last those *Russians* rebelling against the Emperor, their town was taken by the *Grecians*, after a bloody fight, and all without exception put to the sword.

(26) *Nisna*] A mart in that part of *Ukrania* subject to the Hetman of the *Cozacs*, situated in a very large plain, and near the river *Wustrow*, defended by no despicable castle. None but *Russian* soldiers are permitted to live in the castle, but the town is inhabited by merchants of divers nations, *Russians*, *Cozaks*, and *Moldavians*. The best part however consists of *Greeks*, to whom the former Emperors of *Russia* have granted many privileges, in order to encourage trade They have not only built there two churches, in which divine service is performed in their mother-tongue, but have also founded a *Greek* school, and a fraternity or society, into which some *Russian* Princes have not thought it beneath them to be admitted. All the *brothers* are obliged, by the laws of this society, to protect those that have once been incorporated into it; to promote their advantage, to assist one another in necessity; and especially, if any one dies, to take care that his goods descend to his right heirs.

(27) *Bog*] or *Bub*, formerly called *Hypanis*, a river well known, between the *Tyras* and the *Borysthenes*, near the town *Uzi*, vulgarly *Oczakow*, named by the *Greeks Olbiopolis*, discharges its self into the *Euxine Sea*. It abounds in *Cataracts*, and is for that reason unnavigable; tho' it is so deep as not to be fordable in any place This river must not be confounded with another *Bog*, a river of *Pocutia*, which riseth not far from *Leopolis*, or *Lemburg*, and discharges it self into the *Vistula* near *Warsaw*.

XXXI. But

The Czar sends an effectual letter to the Sultan.

XXXI. But the Czar of *Russia*, who was not ignorant by whom the ambassador was really commissioned, sends one of his court under the title of *Chaush** at least to *Constantinople*, with letters to the Emperor and Vizir, in which he advised them not to flatter themselves that he could be imposed upon by the same artifices as the *Poles*; since their example had made him more cautious, and taught him how to deal with them. They should desist therefore from an unjust war, and leave *Ukrania* undisturbed, to which he had acquired an undoubted right by *Bogdan Kiemielniski*'s resignation, confirmed lately by *Doroshenko*. But if they determine to prosecute the war, they might be assured, he would not agree to a peace till he had recovered the rest of *Ukrania*, unjustly taken from his ancestors, as far as the *Tyras*, and *Asovia*.

The *Turks* again declare war against the *Russians*

XXXII. Having read this letter, the Vizir sends for the *Mufti*, the *Caimacan*, the *Kadiuleskers*, and *Aga* of the Janizaries; and enquires what the law and reason prescribed to be done. Most declare for peace, since there was little hope that any thing of advantage to the *Othman* interest could be done in these difficult and remote parts. The Vizir *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, (28) alone opposed these pacifick advices, declaring so great a slaughter, which the *Russians* had made of the *Tartars*, ought not to pass unrevenged. The rest assenting out of complaisance to the Vizir, it is determined to renew the war with the utmost vigour, and to raise a more powerful army. Accordingly the *Russian* ambassador receives an answer, breathing nothing but fire and sword.

The Vizir marches with the army H. 1089 A. C. 1678

XXXIII. When the time appointed for the refreshment of the soldiers was expired, about the end of the month *Rebiul evvel* of the year 1089, the Emperor, attended with the Vizir, marches with his army to *Tatar Pazarjik*, (29) from whence he orders the Vizir, invested with a full command of the armies, to proceed. The Vizir, without any delay, passes through *Moldavia* by long marches, and in the following month reaches the *Bog*, where he spends some days in reviewing his army, and expects to be joined by the *Tartars* and *Cossaks*, whom *George Kiemielniski* had drawn to his party.

He besieges *Chehrin*

XXXIV. After their arrival, he marches with eighty thousand of his own soldiers, thirty thousand *Tartars*, and four thousand *Cossaks*, towards *Chehrin*,* and on the eighth of the month *Jemaziul evvel* comes in sight of the city. The *Russians* and *Cossaks*, who were in garrison at that time, were employed in building a new fort without the city, and perceiving the unexpected approach of the *Turkish* army, retire in confusion into the city, and inform their companions of

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(28) *Cara Mustapha.*] The same who afterwards became so famous for besieging *Vienna*. He was descended from an obscure family in *Caramania*, but being brought up in the court of the two *Kioprili's*, father and son, and having served both, he was first made Basha of *Silistria* and *Damascus*, then admiral, afterwards *Caimacan*; and at last, upon the death of *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha*, advanced to the dignity of Prime Vizir. He was the most covetous of all the Vizirs that ever were in the *Othman* Empire, and that failing rendered several of his designs unsuccessful, which otherwise would have been crowned with a good end. He was a man of great capacity, no less valiant than wise, warlike, ambitious, and daily invented a thousand artifices to raise new wars against his neighbours. No other reason can be assigned of his fall, but that being too much blinded with his riches and power, he would have erected a new Empire in the west. After his death, above three thousand purses were found in the foundation of his domestick bath, the builders whereof (who were some *Albanian* Christians, supervisors of the works for bringing water into the city) he caused to be all put to death, as soon as the work was finished. He left one only son, *Ibrahim*, who led a miserable life, till his relation *Amucjeogli Husein Pasha* came to be raised to the dignity of Vizir, who remembring the favours he had received from *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, did not only send *Ibrahim* with three *Tugs* to *Aleppo*, but restored to him all he had lost, and built him, at his own charge, a magnificent palace at *Constantinople*.

(29) *Tatar Pazarjik*] A pretty large town of *Thrace*, lying at the bottom of the mountains *Chenge*,* towards the north. It was built by colonies of *Asiatick Turks*, called at present *Chitak*,* and planted by order of the *Othman* court, round the mountains of *Hamus*.

the impending danger. The Vizir observing their disorder, instantly commands a body of men, under the conduct of his *Kiehaia*, (30) to attack the city, hoping by that means, the garrison would be struck with terror, and obliged to surrender. But though they fought for four hours with great bravery, they are forced to retire from the walls with dishonour, and the loss of their commander and two thousand Janizaries. *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, taught by this misfortune, that all attempts against so strong a fortress are in vain, unless it were invested in form, orders, before his soldiers had pitched their tents, the city to be surrounded, trenches to be dug, ramparts thrown up, and batteries to be planted. But when even this did not succeed, by reason of the sandy soil, by the advice of a *Pole* he causes bridges to be made on the other side, where the town was defended by a Morass, and commits the care of that work to *Kiorhassan Pasha*. But this also failed of the desired success.

The *Russians* defeat part of the *Turkish* army

XXXV. About the same time the *Russian* army, under the command of *Romodanowski*, was approaching, and had passed the *Borysthenes* before the Vizir could have any intelligence. To obviate their designs, the Vizir had sent *Cara Mehemed Pasha*, Governor of *Aleppo*, with great part of his army, and given him leave to fight if an opportunity offered. But as he could not draw the *Russians*, though superior in number, to a battle, the Vizir suspecting the matter, that the enemy designed to destroy the *Othman* army by delay, or to reinforce the garrison of *Chehrin**, commands *Caplan Pasha* (31) to encamp with the rest of the army between the city and the enemy. The *Russians* perceiving all communication with the town was cut off on the 22d of the month *Jemaziul achyr*, they attack *Caplan Pasha*'s troops with such vigour, that the foremost ranks being broken at the first onset, the rest fly for safety through the midst of the morass. *Caplan Pasha*, when he finds that neither intreaties nor threats have any effect upon his terrified soldiers, and that affairs are desperate, sets fire to the bridges over the morass, to prevent the enemy from pursuing and destroying the whole *Othman* army.

*Chehrin** is taken by the *Turks*.

XXXVI. At last, the Vizir, perceiving winter was now coming on, in order either to conquer or retire, causes three mines to be made under the walls of the castle, and springing them on the 21st of that month, commands his men to surround the city, and to enter the breaches. The garrison finding, there was no hope of defending the city, since the walls were demolished, fly out of the

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(30) *Kiehaia*] or more elegantly, *Ketchudabeg* the Vizir's deputy His office is the most considerable in the *Othman* Empire, and his authority very great. For nothing can be done, or ordered, but it must pass through his hands, and be confirmed by his letters And if a *Ferman* is sent to any Basha without his letter, it is immediately looked upon as counterfeit. For which reason, though he has not so much as one *Tug*, and is with the *Chaushbashi** to lead up under the arms to the Vizir such Bashas as are to be adorned with three *Tugs*, yet it is commonly said of him, the *Kiehaia* is a Vizir to me, the Vizir a Sultan, and the Sultan as one of the Musulmans. The Vizir cannot make a *Kiehaia* without the Sultan's consent, and whenever he is turned out, he must be appointed Basha of some place with three *Tugs*, but if he is dismissed with two, is looked upon as banished. Besides this *Kiehaia*, the Vizir and Bashas have another, who only takes care of their Court; and he must not be confounded with *Ketchudabeg*, whom they properly call *Ewkietchudasi*.

(31) *Caplan Pasha*] A general of the *Turkish* army, celebrated for his bravery in the *Polish* wars, and of so great authority among the *Turks*, that the Vizir, though his mortal enemy, could never destroy him. The name of *Caplan* seems to have been given him for his courage: for it properly signifies a Tyger. And though the *Turks* generally chuse to be called only after the names of the prophets, yet they do not reject the names of the two fiercest creatures, *Arslan*, Lion, and *Caplan*, Tyger; nay the Sultana-mother calls her son, notwithstanding he is Emperor, no otherwise than *Arslanum*, my Lion. For it is an affront from any one but the Sultan's father, to call him by his proper name. On the other hand, the name of *Padishah*, which is given him by all others, seeming to derogate from a mother's authority over her son, a middle way has been found out, and allowed only to his mother, namely to call him Lion.

[illegible]wards the *Borysthenes*, and leave to the *Turks* rather the ruins, than the [illegible] of the castle. However they had before laid a train under the magazine of [illegible]n-powder, by which means several thousand of the common soldiers, who [illegible] flocked together for plunder, were blown up.

Both armies return home.

XXXVII. The next day the Vizir, with the officers of the army, views the city, which had cost so much labour and blood; and as it appeared very difficult to repair, as well as to defend it, he commands the walls and houses to be levelled with the ground. Then giving his soldiers some days of refreshment, he endeavours to provoke the *Russians* to a battle; but they being unwilling to quit their trenches, and preparing for their return, he orders *Caplan Pasha* with some light-armed troops to follow, and attack them in their march, or in the narrow passes. But neither does this avail any thing, because the *Russians* retiring with close ranks, and defended by a chain of waggons, vigorously repel the attacks of the *Turks*. The Vizir himself therefore is obliged for want of provisions to return, and in his march loses, besides almost all his baggage and larger cannon, a greater number of men, than had been destroyed at *Chehrin** by the sword or fire of the enemy, so at his return to *Adrianople* in the beginning of the month *Ramazan*, the army appeared rather to have been defeated, than victorious.

The complaints of the soldiers on account of this fruitless expedition

XXXVIII. And indeed the victory at *Chehrin** was so far from inspiring the soldiers with courage, that they rather considered those who mentioned the renewing the war in *Ukrania* not only as enemies, but even as betrayers: and the remembrance of the death of thirty thousand of their companions, and the fatigues, they had sustained in their march, was too deeply fixed in their minds, to receive any satisfaction from having taken the ruins of *Chehrin**, and seen some hundreds of their enemy's heads placed round the Vizir's tent. The Vizir himself finding by experience, how difficult it was to carry on a war in places unknown, barren, and every where full of morasses and rivers, with little booty, and great danger, repented too late, that he opposed the motion for peace, and occasioned the loss of so many thousand men without any advantage.

The Vizir attempts to build a new castle.

XXXIX. He would have desisted from the war, if the perpetual incursions of the *Cossaks*, who laid waste all the country on the *Euxine*-sea with impunity, had not prevented his pacific designs. He resolves therefore to build a town and castle at the mouth of the *Borysthenes* not far from *Oczacow*, hoping by that means the ships of the *Cossaks* might easily be hindered from entring the *Euxine* sea, and the *Zaporovian Cossaks* be obliged by the want of salt to submit to the *Othman* Empire. He commits this affair to *Mimar aga* (32) for whose defence, till

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(32) *Mimar aga*] The chief Architect. His principal business is to oversee all the new buildings in *Constantinople* and the Suburbs, and take care that they do not exceed the height allowed. He hath the inspection of all common builders, usually called *Calfa* or *Chalife*; and can punish or fine them, if they bring out any building but a finger's breadth further than they should into the street, if they make an oblique angle, or build too slightly, even though the owner should not complain. It often happens that the *Mimar aga* knows not so much as what a cubit is, nor understands the least thing of architecture; for being a place of profit, it is given not to the best architect, but to him that is most [illegible] with the Vizir. A man cannot build what he pleases, unless he has first bribed the *Mimar aga* with presents. For, though the measure of all buildings be settled by orders from the Sultan, so that a *Christian*'s house is to be thirteen, and a *Turk*'s fifteen yard's high, yet as *Constantinople* is mostly built upon hills, the *Mimar aga* may, if he is well bribed, permit a building to rise to a very considerable height; namely, by taking the dimension from the brow of the hill, by which means, a house that will be on the back part according to the stated measure, may, on the fore-part rise to thirty yards, and more. The same method is used, when the *Christians* have a mind to rebuild their old Churches. For this being allowed them, but under such severe restrictions, that they can neither add a new stone nor piece of timber to the old materials, the *Mimar aga* is bribed with a good sum to reckon more stones and pieces of timber than there really

till the work was finished, he sends *Caplan Pasha* with six regiments of Janizaries.

XL. But this politick design of the Vizir is ruined by a sudden and unexpected accident. For when the first foundations were scarce laid, *Circo*, General of the *Zaporovian Cossaks*, returning from an expedition into *Tartary* with fifteen thousand men, by chance passes by the neighboring parts, and hearing that a new fort was building, and not knowing by whom, approaches to view it. When he finds them to be *Turks*, he surrounds them, and though they defended themselves with great resolution, kills all the workmen and their guards with *Kiemielniski*, who had been made Hetman of the *Cossaks* by the *Turks*, and pitching his camp upon the spot, immediately sends a messenger to inform the *Czar* of what had been done, who dispatches orders to *Dolboruki*, successor of *Romadonowski* in the command of the army, to join all his forces as soon as possible with *Circo's*, oppose all attempts of the *Turks* with their united strength and counsels.

It is demolished by the Cossaks, and the workmen killed

XLI. The Vizir being at last convinced by these things, that it was in vain to exhaust the strength of the *Othman* Empire in those countries, which might be employed in other parts to much greater advantage, agrees to a peace with the *Russians*, which was extremely desired by both parties. Thus was concluded a war, for the carrying on of which the *Othman* Emperor wanted neither inclination nor strength, but only an army inured to cold, hunger, and other hardships too severe for mortals. Besides fortune seemed now inclinable to abandon the *Othman* arms.

The *Turks* being weary of the war, desire peace.

XLII. But all this could not have diverted the *Othman* court from prosecuting their first design, if new commotions in *Hungary*, had not induced them to turn their arms that way, where they thought the war might be carried on with less difficulty, and more advantage. *Emeric Tekeli* (33) had about this time revolted from the Emperor of *Germany*, and in a few months engaged in his rebellion almost all the people in that part of *Hungary*, which still remained to the Emperor. But when he found himself unable to withstand the imperial arms,

Tekeli breaks the peace between the *Turks* and the Emperor of *Germany*.

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ally are, and so they make up his number by adding new ones. But when they have any considerable edifice to build, as a *Jami* or a palace, they make use of *Greek* or *Armenian* Architects. For these last are excellent workmen, whereas the *Turks* can seldom or never arrive at any perfection. Which is not owing to their natural stupidity: for, by their skill in the Mathematicks and other sciences, they plainly show, that they are, if not superior, yet at least no way inferior in understanding, to other nations, but the reason is, because the more noble *Turks*, or such as have been ennobled on account of their learning and courage, (for nobility is derived among them, not from ancestors, but from good and virtuous actions, as have been observed) though they apply themselves to the Mathematicks, yet abhor all handy-crafts, as mean, and unbecoming their nobility.

(33) *Tekeli*] This Prince's actions are so well known to the *Europæans*, that I need not relate them here. After having lost his estate in *Hungary*, he had a daily pension of eighty Leonines from the *Turks*; and being released from his imprisonment by *Aineji Soliman Pasha*, he was held in great honour among the *Turks* all the time they were engaged in war. Whenever Sultan *Mustapha* was in the camp, he took him along with him for his companion, and generally made use of his counsel. After the conclusion of the peace of *Carlowitz*, in which it was stipulated, that such persons as were inclined to raise commotions, should be hearkened to by neither party, he was sent away by the same Sultan to *Nicomedia*, where he was presented with a country house; and being very much afflicted with the gout, he died soon after in that place. He ordered himself to be buried in the suburbs of *Pera*, without the *Greek's* Churchyard, where the *Christian* ambassadors and their domesticks are usually buried. Whilst I was at *Constantinople*, I frequently used to converse with him, and have often heard him say: What can we do, my Brother? It has pleased God to make us subject to a master, who, by his actions, does very well answer his shield, that is the crescent. I have found their false prophet mistaken in almost every point, yet in this I believe he spoke with a prophetic spirit, when he gave his followers a crescent for their arms; for that very well denotes their inconstancy.

tus, without foreign assistance, (because the Emperor having made peace with the *French*, had assembled all his forces to extinguish this flame) he calls in the *Turks* to his aid, promising to pay them forty thousand rix-dollars a year by way of tribute, and to assist them with thirty thousand *Hungarians*, whenever there should be occasion.

XLIII. The *Othman* court long deliberated, whether the assistance demanded should now be publickly granted to *Tekeli*, or deferred till the twenty years truce made by *Kuprili Ahmed Pasha* in 1075 be expired; and till then, the rebels be only supported in a private manner. The latter opinion was approved by all the *Ulema*, (34) with the Sultana-Mother, declaring it to be unjust to wage war with a prince, who had given no cause of complaint, but had hitherto strictly observed the conditions of the truce. The Sultan and the Vizir were inclined to the former opinion, alledging, the iron ought to be struck whilst it was hot, nor would there happen again so fair an opportunity of propagating the *Mahometan* faith. *Hungary*, hitherto the strongest bulwark of the Christians, voluntarily offers subjection; *Germany*, exhausted with the *French* and *Swedish* wars, is scarce able to sustain the first shock of the *Othman* army; that country being subdued, nothing can prevent the rest of the nations, formerly subject to the *Roman* Empire, from being reduced to the obedience of the *Othman* power. The Sultan, that the war might not seem too heavy a burden upon his subjects, declares, he has ready for this design seventy thousand purses in his treasury, a compleat army, and all other necessaries for several expeditions, and promises willingly to employ them all in bringing over the *Christians* to the *Musulman* religion, in extending the bounds of the Empire, and defending those who had put themselves under his protection. The Janizaries, instructed by the Vizir, (35) and their officers of his party, demand a war, and publickly declare they had rather die, than suffer the Emperor of *Germany* to oppress with impunity the subjects of the *Othman* Empire. The Sultana-Mother,(36) (who had been of a contrary opinion, is gained by the Vizir, with

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(34) *Ulema*] This is the name used to denote all those who are distinguished with any ecclesiastical degree. What these degrees are, we have shewed in a former note, *Part*. I. They have a very great authority with the people, because it is believed they do nothing but what has been approved beforehand by the *Fetva*. And therefore if you see them join with the army in opposing any thing, you may assure your self it will never be done.

(35) by the Vizir] They who are best acquainted with the counsels of the *Othman* court at that time, affirm, that none but the Sultan and the Visir *Cara Mustapha Pasha* desired a war with the Emperor of *Germany* but when the Sultan perceived, his mother and all the *Ulema* were against it, he ordered the Vizir to bring over the Aga of the Janizaries, and the rest of the *Ojak Agalari*, by promises and other arts, to his opinion. For this maxim, *Cul sefer ister*, *The soldiers are for war*, is a sufficient reason for declaring a new war. For though the power of the Sultan and Vizir be very great in all affairs, yet if the Janizaries and *Ulema* join in opposing the Sultan's designs, it behoves him to yield to them, and if he persists in his resolution, a sedition immediately ensues. But if the Janizaries without the *Ulema* approve of the Sultan's design, or the *Ulema* without the Janizaries, the Sultan easily obtains his desires So very powerful is the union of the Janizaries and *Ulema*, that they can even depose the Sultan, and cut off the Vizir, or any other great man, as plainly appeared in the deposing of Sultan *Mahomet*

(36) Sultana-Mother] *Valide Sultana* This name is appropriated to the mother of the reigning Sultan, and she cannot be so called before her son is arrived to the imperial dignity, or after his deposition. because none but *Mahomet Fatih* and *Selim yavuz* have happened to mount the throne in their father's life time. The Sultans have always treated their mothers with great respect, in compliance with the divine precepts and those of the *Koran*. They can, not only introduce and change many things at pleasure in the *Seraglio*, but also the Sultan is forbid by the laws, to lye with any of the women kept there, without his mother's consent. Every day during the feast of *Bairam*, the Sultana-mother presents a beautiful Virgin, well educated, richly dressed, and adorned with precious stones, for her son's use; and though the Vizir and the rest of the Basha's send, among other things, young Virgins for presents to the Emperor, yet he touches none of them but what is brought him by his mother. If the Sultan has a mind to chuse

with the hopes, that out of the conquests her *Pashmaklyk* (37) would be increased to three hundred purses. After her consent, the Mufti also, who had long concealed his sentiments upon this affair, approves of the Emperor's designs by a *Fetvah*. However, the opposite party are not moved by his authority, but publickly defend their opinion, and disperse anonymous libels upon the *Divan*, advising the people not to consent to an unjust war, undertaken not only contrary to a peace confirmed by oath, but also to the anathema of Sultan *Soliman* (38).

XLIV. Notwithstanding this, the Vizir confiding in the disposition of his soldiers and the consent of the Sultan, and being blinded with too great a conceit of his own power, persists in his design, and determines upon war with the Emperor of *Germany*. However, some pretences seemed requisite, that the soldiers, satisfied of the justice of the *Othman* arms, might engage in the expedition with the greater alacrity.

The War is at last determined upon against the Emperor of Germany.

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chuse a concubine unknown to his mother, he may indeed do it without opposition, but he is reckoned to have acted contrary to the rules of the *Seraglio*, and against his mother's honour. Very often the Sultan communicates to his mother the affairs of state, as Sultan *Mahomet* is known to have done: and sometimes she has conferences with the Vizir and Mufti, under a veil, that she may not be seen, and recommends to them faithfulness to her son. Whenever she is sick, the *Hekim-effendi*, or chief physician, is brought into her bed-chamber, but he speaks to her through a veil hung round her bed, and if he must feel her pulse, it is through a piece of fine linnen cast over her arm, for it is reckoned as unlawful for any man to see the Sultana sick, as in health. Her revenues consist in above a thousand purses, raised out of the provinces of the Empire, and for the collecting of them there is an officer appointed, named *Kietbudu Valide Sultan*, which is a place of great honour. She does what she pleases with her money, sometimes, in a case of necessity, she lends money to the treasury, and at other times raises soldiers for the publick service, as the mother of the present *Ahmed* III. is reported to have done, during his war with the *Muscovites*. Of the Sultan's concubines, some are no more than concubines, and others are *Haseki*. Any one that has but once had the honour of lying with the Sultan, is immediately set apart from the rest of the young women, and has servants and eunuchs allowed her; but she cannot have access to the Sultan, unless sent for. But if the Sultan loves any of those women more than the rest, he can set the crown upon her head, and she is thenceforward called *Chaseki Sultana*. After having received the crown, she may go in to the Sultan whenever she will, without being sent for. A *Kiehaia* is also appointed for her, and a regiment of *Baltaji*, with their leader, who are to execute the orders given them by the *Kiehaia*. They have moreover revenues assigned them, according to the Sultan's discretion; but it must not be under five hundred purses. For which reason, though a Sultan may crown five *Chaseki Sultana's*, yet many Emperors, as the present *Ahmed* III. and his brother *Mustapha* II. for instance, have, upon account of that expence, and of the wars they were engaged in, made no *Chaseki* at all, but been satisfied with concubines. As to the Sultan's concubines, if they have only daughters, they may be disposed of in marriage by his successor, but do not thereby acquire more honour than those that are barren. If a son is born to them, though he should die as soon as he comes into the world, the mother is removed into *Eski Serai*, that is, the old palace, from whence she is never to depart. But those that have a son living, are greatly respected by all, both courtiers and foreigners, because they may come one day to be *Valide-Sultana*.

(37) *Pashmaklyk*] This is the usual revenue assigned to the *Valide Sultana*, and the other *Chaseki*. The name is derived from *Pashmak*, a *sandal*, because those revenues are said to be granted to buy sandals. In all towns taken by the *Turks*, some street is assigned for the *Pashmaklyk*, as in *Constantinople*, *Pera*. Hence it comes, that the *Valide-Sultana* has a very large *Pashmaklyk* almost throughout the *Turkish* Empire.

(38) of Sultan *Soliman*] The *Turks* in general firmly believe, that Sultan *Soliman*, after raising the siege of *Vienna*, bound all successors with a *Lanet*, never to lay siege again to that city, or enter its territories in a hostile manner. And for that reason, after the defeat of *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, they all cried out with one voice, that by a causeless breaking of the truce, and slighting the curses of *Soliman*, the divine wrath had been drawn down upon the *Musulmans*, and provoked to destroy their Empire.

The Turks pretend a just ground for the war.

XLV. The peace with *Poland* having indeed been disturbed by the Emperor, afforded a plausible ground of breaking the truce; but because this had been done underhand, and not by open hostilities, the Vizir found it necessary to urge some other reason more obvious to the publick. That the occasion might appear to be given by the Emperor, and not by the Sultan, letters are sent, in the Sultan's name, by a courier, to the Emperor, declaring that *Tekeli*, and the other Nobles of *Hungary*, had been forced by his oppression to subject their country to the *Othman* Empire, and had promised to pay tribute; for which reason the Emperor was required to recall his troops sent against them, and restore what he had taken from them, unless he would be considered as guilty of an infraction of the peace, and draw upon himself the punishment due to his rashness.

The Emperor of *Germany* sends an ambassador to the Port to confirm the peace.

XLVI. The Emperor suspecting the case, that the *Turks* were only seeking an occasion of war, sends Count *Albert Caprara* as ambassador extraordinary to *Constantinople*, and orders him to spare neither persuasions nor bribes that the truce may be continued, and the war diverted, which *Leopold* found himself incapable of supporting.

Tekeli, by the assistance of the *Turks*, takes several castles

H. 1093.

A. C. 1682.

XLVII. But the Vizir, without waiting the ambassador's arrival, in the same year 1093, sends *Ibrahim Pasha* (39) *Beglerbeg* of *Buda* with six thousand men to the assistance of *Tekeli*, and ordered *Apaffi*, Prince of *Transylvania*, to join his forces with the *Hungarians*. *Tekeli*, strengthned with these supplies, the same summer takes *Cassovia*, *Eperies*, *Leutsch*, *Levent*, *Lipschet*, and *Tillek*, the *German* garrisons retiring with design to reserve themselves for a more favourable opportunity, rather than by a difficult and fruitless opposition expose themselves to captivity.

The Sultan declares *Tekeli* King of *Hungary*.

XLVIII. The *Turks* imagining, from these beginnings, the expedition would prove fortunate, keep no farther measures, but, by the Basha of *Buda*, declare *Tekeli* King of *Hungary*; exhort all the Nobles of that Kingdom, who still continue faithful to the Emperor of *Germany*, to submit to their new Sovereign; and attack the island of *Sehutt*, though not with the desired success. Mean while, the Vizir amuses the Imperial ambassador with false hopes of peace, in order to retard the enemies preparations for resistance.

The *Turks* offer impossible conditions of peace

XLIX. At last, when he was informed of the success of *Tekeli*'s arms, he sends for *Caprara*, and acquaints him, that the Sultan would grant the Emperor peace on no other conditions, than the restoration of *Hungary* to the state in which it was in 1067, the payment of an annual tribute of five hundred thousand florins to the *Othman* port, the demolition of *Leopoldopolis* and *Gutta*; the resignation of *Neutraschinta* and *Ekolt*, with the island of *Sehutt*, and the fortress of *Muran*, to *Tekeli*, a general amnesty to the *Hungarians*, with the

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(39) *Ibrahim Pasha*, &c.] A man so very eminent among the *Turks* both in war and peace, that he is to be reckoned among the greatest men of his age. The first proof he gave of his virtues, was in the office of *Kiebaia*, which he discharged under the Vizir *Kioprili Mehemmed Pasha*. From hence being appointed Basha of *Aleppo*, under *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha*, he was with him at the siege of *Candia*, and was of great service to that Vizir in settling the articles for the surrender of the castle. When that expedition was over, the *Egyptians* rebel, and he being sent to quell them, not only restores, in a short time, that whole Kingdom to the *Othman* Empire, and to its former tranquillity, without any blood-shed, but also raised their annual tribute to one hundred and fifty purses; and so artfully did he manage the restless tempers of the great men of *Egypt*, that whereas formerly a Basha could hardly get out of their hands without the loss of his honour, the governors can live there now with more safety. By these actions he acquired so great reputation and esteem, that he was promoted to the best government in the whole *Othman* Empire, namely the *Beglerbeglic* of *Buda*. And here what he would have done (had not *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, blinded with too great an opinion of his own power, rejected good advice) did sufficiently appear from his counsels and designs, compared with the event. His life hath been very elegantly penned by a *Turkish* historian, in which he appears throughout a most perfect and excellent pattern of all virtues.

restitution

restitution of their estates and privileges. When he found these terms were disliked by the Emperor, he immediately proclaims war against him, and orders the horse-tails to be publickly set up before the palace in the month *Shevvel*, of the year 1093.

H 1093.
A C 1682.

L. A few days after the Vizir departs with great pomp from *Constantinople*, attended with the Mufti, *Cadileskiers*, and all the other great men, and goes to *Adrianople*, where he had determined to pass the winter, and prepare for the *German* expedition. He pitches his camp first about a mile from *Constantinople*, in a place called *Chirpiji* *, *Chairi* * (40), in order to give some refreshment to his retinue, that they might the better prepare themselves for the journey.

The Vizir marches from *Constantinople* with an army.

LI. The same night there happens a violent storm, and such a whirlwind, mixed with rain and hail, that scarce a man in the whole camp would venture to stir; and besides the tents of the other Bashas, the pavilions of the Sultan, the Prime Vizir, and the Mufti, were overthrown. Five days after this, when they encamped near *Syllebria*, under an hill, upon the sea-shore, another storm arises, and so great a torrent of waters rushes from the mountains, that not only the tents, but likewise the baggage, horses, cattle, and the very soldiers themselves, are overwhelmed, or carried away with the stream into the sea. These two accidents, almost under the walls of *Constantinople*, struck no small terror into the superstitious *Turks*, accustomed to form a judgment of their future success from the beginnings.

The unhappy omens to the *Turks*.

LII Those who had before secretly opposed the war, and declared this expedition unjust, interpreted publickly these calamities to be marks of the divine vengeance, and God's displeasure against the *Musulman* arms.

This occasions new complaints among the soldiers

LIII But the Sultan despises these as vulgar remarks, and unworthy a great mind; and having repaired the losses occasioned by the wind and waters, pursues his intended march, and comes to *Adrianople* about the end of the year 1093; and having, during the winter, supplied what was wanting to his warlike preparations, on the 27th of the month *Rebiulachyr*, in 1094, marches from thence with his whole army towards *Belgrade*, but on the way alters his resolution, and stops at *Hesarjic* (41), a town about eight hours from *Adrianople*.

The Sultan accompanies the Vizir towards *Belgrade*

H 1094.
A C 1683.

LIV Here, after a second review of his forces, he delivers the command of his army to the Prime Vizir, *Cara Mustapha Basha*, with *Mahomet*'s standard (42); exhorts

The Sultan having appointed the Vizir his general, returns from *Belgrade* to *Constantinople*

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(40) *Chirpiji* *, *Chairi* *] A very large meadow without the walls of *Constantinople*, near *Daud Pasha* It is so called, because the *Russian* old women are wont to wash their webs of cloth in the stream that runs through the midst of it, and afterwards dry them on the grass

(41) *Hesarjic*] A town on the road to *Belgrade* from *Adrianople*, from which last place it lies about eight hours; remarkable for nothing but this stay of Sultan *Mahomet* at the time of the *Vienna* expedition.

(42) *Mahomet*'s standard] It is a standard of green silk, long and large, after the form whereof all standards called *Sanjak* are made. The Christians thought they had taken it at *Vienna*, but they were mistaken For that standard was never known to fall into the enemies hands, though those about it have sometimes been almost all killed. Whenever the Sultan or Vizir command in person, this standard is carried into the camp, but never brought out in a battle, being carefully kept in the camp by *Nakybul Eshret*, who, if he sees the victory inclining to the enemies side, ought first to run away. However, at *Vienna*, *Cara Mustapha Pasha* himself took this standard, and would not part with it till quite out of danger. Whether it be *Mahomet*'s own standard, or another made in the same form, I cannot say: however this be, that which the *Turks* have is very antient, and much torn in many places. For which reason it is never all displayed, for fear the wind should tear it in pieces, but being rolled round a spear till the army is marching out of the city, it is carried to the Sultan with the usual ceremony, when they come to their first quarters, the standard is laid up in a gilt chest, in which is also the *Koran* and *Mahomet*'s robe, and being set on a camel, is carried before the Sultan or Vizir. As for inscriptions and marks, it has none, except *Alem*, which appears at the top of the spear. 'Tis said there was formerly written upon it, in black letters, the *Salavat*, or confession of the *Mahometan* faith; but these letters have been long effaced by time.

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exhorts him to fight valiantly against the enemies of the *Koran*, and gain, by his actions in this world, immortal honours, and glory, and paradise in the next. Having thus settled affairs, he returns to *Constantinople*, hunting all the way.

The Vizir calls a general council.

LV. After the Sultan's departure, the Vizir passing the *Save* at *Belgrade*, leads the army under his command to *Essek*, when *Emeric Tekeli*, lately made King of *Hungary* by the *Turks*, comes with about three hundred *Hungarian* Nobles to the *Turkish* camp, and is received with great respect by the Vizir, and honoured with considerable presents. A few days after, is held a council of the chief officers of the army, summoned by the Prime Vizir, though he had received, by the Sultan's *Chatisherif*, full power of acting as he pleased. But his view in this proceeding was, that if any thing should happen unexpected, and contrary to his mind, it might not be imputed to him, but to the authors of the advice; and that he might, by this condescension and modesty, gain the affections of his Bashas, and inspire them with a greater readiness to execute his commands.

Tekeli declares his opinion in the council

LVI. *Tekeli* is also called to this council, and as he was supposed to have a more perfect knowledge of the state of *Germany*, is ordered to deliver his opinion first (43), and to declare what part of it ought principally to be attacked, and whether the siege of *Vienna* should be undertaken this year, or delayed till the next. Whereupon he made the following speech. "To those who engage in great undertakings, most invincible Vizir, three things are absolutely necessary for the execution, money, men, and, above all, prudence, the directress of all actions. With the first, the soldiers are to be encouraged, and foreigners bribed, with the second, the enemy is to be routed, and all obstacles removed, and by the last, the too great ardor incident to heroic minds is to be moderated. With-

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(43) his opinion] I well know, most Christian writers ascribe the siege of *Vienna* to *Tekeli*'s counsels; and use such arguments, as may easily induce the reader to give their assent. For where is the improbability, that a rebel, bent upon freeing his country from a foreign yoke, should use any means which he thought tended to the growth of his faction, and the ruin of the lawful Prince; and give his associates counsels suitable to his designs. But the authority of many considerable men, whom I knew, and was intimately acquainted with in the *Turkish* court, hinders me from being of that opinion. Besides *Amuji Soliman Pasha*, who, when Vizir, publickly and evidently demonstrated *Tekeli*'s innocence; the principal are *Haznader Ibrahim Pasha*, at first treasurer to *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, then *Beg* of one of the gallies, afterwards ambassador extraordinary from the *Othman* court to the Emperor of *Germany*, and at last governor of *Belgrade*, with three horse-tails. He was present at all the consultations of those times, and if any secret resolution was taken, it was discovered to him by the Vizir, who had a great esteem for him, on account of his quick parts and readiness in giving advice. Whilst I lived at *Constantinople*, I used often to invite him to my house, and did so gain his goodwill by treating him with wine, of which he being, though privately, an insatiable lover, that he would open his whole mind to me. I happened once, upon such an occasion, to talk familiarly with him about the fall and death of *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, and declared, I could not sufficiently wonder how so great a man, who had for seven years discharged the office of Vizir with praise, should so easily hearken to *Tekeli*, a rebel, who did not favour one Kingdom more than another, since probably he aimed at nothing more, than, under pretence of friendship and service, to impose upon the *Othman* court, and incite them against the *Germans*, on purpose, that, after they had both exhausted their strength, he might render himself absolute master of *Hungary*. To whom *Ibrahim Pasha* replied with a common *Turkish* saying, *Eger dinumuz airi ise Allahumuz bir dur*; i. e. "Though we have a different law, we have but one and the same God, and therefore must speak the truth. They who say that *Tekeli* was the adviser of that undertaking, accuse him falsly. For my part, I know, he not only was against the siege of *Vienna*, but advised very different things (those mentioned by me in the text,) which, if my master had followed, he would not have brought so great a dishonour upon the *Othman* Empire, nor been deprived of his dignity and life." The same was told me afterwards by *Tekeli* himself, who complained, the calumny was invented by *Maurocordatus*, and the Vizir *Cara Ibrahim Pasha* provoked by the same person to imprison him.

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" out prudence, the greatest treasures and forces have often proved unsuccessful; and " with it, small armies have frequently overthrown extensive kingdoms, as sufficient- " ly appears in the *Alothman* Empire: and in our present debate we want that " alone, since the *Othman* Empire has raised so great treasure and forces, that they " seem to surpass even fame, which, upon this occasion, forgetful of herself, " may justly be credited. There are two expeditions proposed to the *Othman* " soldiery, both equally glorious, but not equally practicable and advantagious " to the Empire, namely, the siege of *Vienna*, and the conquest of the whole " Kingdom of *Hungary*. If I should reject the former, or rather declare it great- " ly detrimental to the *Othman* interest, I shall perhaps to the generallity seem ab- " surd, but not to those who thoroughly understand the situation of the *European* " affairs, much less to this august and wise council, before whom I now deliver " my sentiments, in obedience to the most invincible Vizir's command. *Vienna* " is too remote from the borders of your Empire, and though it may not be so " strong, as to be impenetrable to the *Othman* valour, yet it will be in vain to expect " to take it at the first assault. Before you reach it, you must pass through the ene- " mies country, in many places defended with considerable castles, the garrisons " of which will never cease to annoy you, and, whilst they dare not face your " army, will still intercept parties, till they are entirely subdued. If by the " bravery of the garrison of *Vienna*, which I presume will not be weak, the siege " shall be prolonged, the *Othman* Empire will be exposed to greater danger, than " any since the taking of *Constantinople*, and the establishment of its dominion " in the west. The provisions for such an army for several months cannot possi- " bly be brought at one time; and consequently will be intercepted by the " enemy, who will also plunder your baggage, and, by their sudden incursions, " so weary the army, and reduce it to such extremities, that it must either perish " with hunger, or abandon the siege with great loss and dishonour. But if this " expedition should be attended with better success, and *Vienna* surrender to " your arms, unless you shall think proper to abandon it of your own accord, " (which I hardly believe you will do) it appears to me, that your Empire will be " involved in a more dangerous war: for that city is reckoned the bulwark of " Christendom, and the Christian faith would be thought entirely ruined, if *Vienna* " remained in your hands. To rescue it therefore from destruction, all the princes " professing Christianity will, at the first rumour of the siege, undoubtedly unite; " and, forgetting their private quarrels, take the most proper measures to stop " the progress of your victories. The King of *France* is your ally, but not so " far, as to suffer the Christian religion to be utterly extirpated. He permits the " Emperor of *Germany* to be pressed, but it is with no other view than to en- " large his own dominions, and prevent that prince from having it in his power " to hurt him. He is very far from desiring to have you, who are more power- " ful and opulent, in his neighbourhood. The *German* princes frequently re- " fuse their Emperor aid, or contribute not so much as they can, lest the Emper- " or should receive too great an accession of power, and make an attempt upon " their liberty. But if they shall see their own dominions exposed to the utmost " danger, they will unite all their forces in their defence, and oppose your designs. " Besides, if they shall find there is no other hope of safety, and their distressed " country cannot be otherwise protected, they will voluntarily submit to the King of " *France*, and declare him Emperor, and if he join even the remains of the *Ger-* " *mans* to his own army, I am afraid he will become more formidable than you " imagine. You ought therefore to be cautious, lest, while you endeavour to " suppress a weak enemy, you raise up against you another much more powerful, " and furnish him with arms, without being sensible of it. If you consider these " things, most invincible Vizir, and weigh them in the balance of your pru- " dence, known to the whole world, you will clearly perceive how difficult and " dangerous this expedition is, and will turn your thoughts to some other scene " of action, in which the *Othman* valour may exert it self with less hazard and " more advantage. That scene is *Hungary*, a large and fertile Kingdom, which, " after frequently repelling your arms, and, what no other province has done,

"obstructing for two ages your victories, now voluntarily submits to your laws,
"and even earnestly sues for your assistance. The states of this kingdom, for
"the most part, follow my banner; the rest, who are still subject to the Emperor of
"*Germany*'s tyranny, wait only for an opportunity to shew how weary they are
"of the *German* yoke; which opportunity if you grant them, I do not see what
"method you can take more advantageous to the *Othman* Empire. For when
"all *Hungary* is once subdued and settled, there will be no obstacle to your re-
"duction not only of *Vienna*, but of all *Germany* in one campain. That King-
"dom will supply you with plenty of provisions, which may be safely conveyed,
"when the enemies garrisons are destroyed; and will prove a perpetual and sure
"magazine for expeditions to any quarter. If therefore I may be allowed free-
"ly to declare my opinion, I think that nothing can be more beneficial to the
"*Othman* affairs, than to employ this whole year in subduing and settling the
"Kingdom of *Hungary*, taking the castles, still possessed by the *Germans*, forti-
"fying them, and furnishing them with garrisons and stores for two or three
"years, so that they may be secure from the enemy and famine; and, withal, in
"gaining the affection of the *Hungarians*, and confirming them in their obe-
"dience. If these measures be taken, I am in hopes that next winter I shall
"have above eighty thousand of my countrymen in my camp. But because it
"would be needless that so great an army should be fatigued in marches and
"sieges, it is my advice, that the Vizir himself, if he thinks proper, encamp about
"*Buda* or *Belgrade* with the greater part of the army, and by his presence restrain
"the rebels, or those who endeavour to throw off their subjection, march a-
"gainst the enemy, if their troops should appear, and defeat them; if they re-
"tire into the cities and castles, send the *Tartars* and other light-armed troops
"into the neighbouring provinces of *Germany*, *Austria*, *Moravia*, *Bohemia*,
"and *Silesia*, with orders to lay waste these countries, to destroy the standing
"corn every where; to carry away, or if that cannot be done, to burn all that
"is laid up. By this means the enemy's army will be dispersed without difficulty
"or danger, and will not be able to subsist either this or the next year for want
"of corn. If this be done, I dare enage, not only *Vienna*, but likewise the
"whole *German* Empire will be the reward of a single campain."

The opinion of the principal Bashas

LVII. *Tekeli* spoke in this manner, and indeed with more freedom than was agreeable to the Vizir, who, too confident of his own power, and meditating greater designs, could not hearken now to wholsome advice. However, fearing if he should openly discover his opinion, he might alienate from him the minds of the *Hungarians*, not yet sufficiently confirmed; and, by that means, become suspected by the *Turks*, he conceals his dislike, and commands the other Bashas to declare their opinions. There were then present among the other Bashas two very eminent for their warlike conduct and prudence, and of great authority in the *Othman* camp, *Ibrahim Pasha* of *Buda*, and *Ahmed Pasha* (44), who was *Teskerdar*, or high-treasurer. These partly guessing the Vizir's opinion, and knowing he would prove an enemy to those who should be against the intended siege of *Vienna*; on the other hand, being convinced, by *Tekeli*'s representation, of the danger to which the *Othman* Empire would be exposed by that expedition, gave ambiguous answers. It ought (say they) to be left to the well-known wisdom of the Vizir, whether the war is to be carried into *Hungary* or *Germany* If the establishment of *Hungary* is thought to deserve a whole year's employment of the army, the Vizir should march no further than *Buda*, and encamp in the neigbourhood of that city There the army may be divided into three parts, one to guard the camp, and the other two to ravage the adjacent provinces of the enemy, to take the castles of *Hungary*, and when taken, fortify them with garrisons and works. There is no danger to be apprehended from the separation of the army, it being hardly credible, that the ene-

ANNOTATIONS.

(44) *Ahmed Pasha*] He was bred up under the *Kiuprilugli*, who had filled almost all the Bashalics of the Empire with their *chodars**, and officers

 mies,

mies, both unprepared, and a few years since exhausted by a *French* war, could raise any forces; and if they could, they would be unable to resist even a fourth part of the *Othman* army. But if the siege of *Vienna* is thought of greater importance, it would be prudent not to waste the time in besieging other places, lest so great an army, like Sultan *Soliman*'s, be obliged by the approach of winter to abandon the siege without success. In a word, the soldiers ought to be led thither instantly, while they are warm and burn with a desire of battle.

LVIII. *Cara Mustapha Pasha* perceiving even these two Bashas were not entirely of his mind, the better to conceal his designs both from friends and enemies, pretends to approve of *Tekeli*'s advice, and orders his army to march to *Tavarin*, and sends the Imperial ambassador, whom he had hitherto detained and amused with hopes of peace, to *Buda*, that he might not be a witness and observer of proceedings.

The Vizir's design concealed

LIX. At the same time *Selim Gierai*, Chan of the *Tartars*, comes to the *Othman* camp with his troops, and is received by the Vizir with great and unusual honours, and presented with an ermin vest, a breast-plate and sword set with diamonds and other precious stones.

The Tartars join the *Turks*

LX Having thus assembled all the forces he expected, he marches towards *Tavarin*, and in the latter end of the month *jemazeul achyr*, passes the *Raab* after the *Hungarian* soldiers, who were left to guard the ford, had shamefully abandoned their post (45), and encamps under the very walls of *Tavarin*. But he had scarce begun to open his trenches, and batter the walls, when he is informed by his scouts that the Emperor *Leopold* was fled from *Vienna* to *Lincia*; that every thing there was in confusion, the walls were in a ruinous condition, the garrison weak and seized with terror, the magazines empty of ammunition, the store houses of provision, and the inhabitants almost dead with fear of the *Turks*. The Vizir, encouraged by this account to prosecute his designs, forms another scheme to extort the consent of the other generals. He tries first to gain the Janizaries by various arts, and, by certain persons, promises them, if they would readily undertake or insist upon this expedition, not only greater honours and larger pay, but likewise the plunder of all the treasures of *Germany*, which were supposed to be laid up at *Vienna*. Besides this, he engages the *Aga* of the Janizaries in his party by many plausible pretences, and promises of mountains of gold, by whose means the *Kulkiehaia* (46), and the rest of the *Ojak Agalari* (47), are prevailed upon; so that the Janizaries openly complain, the strength of the *Othman* Empire is consumed to no purpose in the siege of an inconsiderable place, and the time wasted, in which the rival of *Constantinople*, and the metropolis of *Germany*, and of all the *Giaurs*, might be subdued. The Vizir, having gained this point, sends again for the chief Bashas, and informs them of what was said among the Janizaries, and bids them declare their opinion, whether it be proper to gratify their desires, or to defer that important work to a future expedition.

The Vizir persuades the Janizaries to agree to the siege of *Vienna*

LXI The Bashas perceiving the Vizir to be wavering, resolutely and unanimously advise against the siege of *Vienna*, a city (say they) must not be left in the hands of the enemy, which is not only easy to be taken, but likewise will

The Bashas and *Tekeli* endeavour to dissuade him from it

Annotations.

(45) their post] Some say, that Count *Buddan* treacherously gave the *Turks* a free passage, but because his crime was never clearly proved, I rather chuse to leave the matter doubtful, than determine any thing about it without foundation.

(46) *Kulkiehaia*] The lieutenant of the whole militia, next to the *Aga* of the Janizaries, and above him in the Imperial *Divan*. He hath the lists of the Janizaries, and of all the *Turkish* foot, and when any regiment of Janizaries is to be put into garrisons, he is to send them. He imparts all the affairs of the Janizaries to their *Aga*, and manages them; and therefore has very great power in that body.

(47) *Ojak Agalari*] This general name denotes both those who have the command of the whole militia of the Janizaries, as the *Kulkiehaia*, *Zagarji bashi*, *Samsonji bashi*, and also the rest of the *Buluk Agalari*, who have at least one regiment under them.

open

open a door to the conquest of all *Germany*; nor is that to be attempted, from which little advantage, but great danger ought to be expected. *Tekeli* above all opposed it, because he saw, if the Vizir should besiege *Vienna*, all his hopes of the kingdom of *Hungary* would be destroyed; and told the Vizir he would highly prejudice the *Othman* interest, by persisting in his design, and neglecting *Hungary*, the people whereof at the last passage over the *Raab*, had sufficiently shown their aversion to the *German* yoke, and their inclination to submit to the *Othman* conqueror.

The Bashas submit to the Vizir's authority, and march towards *Vienna*

LXII. At last the Vizir, when he finds he cannot prevail by his speeches, impatient of delay, produces the Sultan's *Chatisherif*, by which he was made arbiter of peace or war, and the command of the whole army committed to him with full power. The Bashas, upon the sight of this, are silent, and by an implicit obedience, rather than the real judgment of their minds, promise to execute the commands of their dictator. The council breaking up, the army decamps, and only a small body of troops are left under the command of *Kior Hussein Pasha* (48) to block up *Tavarin*, the rest of the forces move with the utmost expedition towards *Vienna*. In their march they seize the baggage of several imperial officers, which had been detained by the difficulty of the roads, kill the troops that convoyed them, and entering the enemy's country, take a great number of prisoners, with whom they appear before *Vienna* the 18th day of *Jemaziul achyr*.

Vienna besieged and attacked

LXIII. The tents being pitched, the trenches opened, and other things necessary for the siege prepared, the Vizir soon after makes himself master of the outer-works, beats down the walls with his cannon and mines, and assaults the city itself with such vigour, that though the garrison, assisted by the citizens, bravely fought for their religion and country, and disputed every inch of ground, yet very probably, the city would have been soon taken, if the Vizir had continued the siege as vigorously as he begun it. But the supreme arbiter of fortune pitying the state of Christendom, unexpectedly intervenes to the assistance of distressed *Germany*, and to show, he can produce happiness even out of misfortune, fills the mind of the Vizir, who otherwise was a man of great prudence and experience, with such absurd designs, that he imagines it for his interest to prolong the siege of the city. The outer-works, as I said, being easily taken, he was fully perswaded, he should soon be master of the city, and accordingly writ to the Sultan, that in a short time he would send him the keys.

The treachery of the Vizir towards the Sultan. He is ambitious of the Empire of the west.

LXIV. These hopes excited his ambition, and being blinded with too great a conceit of his own power, he falls into such strange notions, as to imagine himself able to throw off the *Othman* dominion, and seizing the metropolis of *Germany*, found a Musulman Empire in the west, which should rival that in the east, and putting on the *Sorguj* (49), assume the title of Sultan of *Vienna*, and

ANNOTATIONS.

(48) *Kior Hussein*] A man very famous among the *Turks* for his courage and experience. So called, because he was one-eyed, or had a blemish in one of his eyes. For *Kior*, in the *Persian* and *Turkish* languages, signifies one that is blind, or has but one eye.

(49) *Sorguj*] A Crest made of curious feathers, and adorned with precious stones. It is fastned to the Turban, either in token of royal power, or to show that he who wears it, is an officer of the Sultan's *Divan*. Upon this last account, all the *Chiaush* and *Gieduk agalari* are adorned with the *Sorguj*, but of a plainer sort. As a mark of royal power it is worn by the Sultan, and by the three Bashas of *Egypt*, *Babylon*, and formerly of *Buda*. The Sultans heretofore used, on account of the three larger kingdoms under their dominion, namely of *Greece*, *Egypt*, and *Hungary*, to wear three *Sorguj*, one on the right side of their Turban, another on the left, and a third in the fore-part, fastened with little chains but after having lost *Hungary*, they continued to wear the same *Sorguj* for the kingdom of *Babylon*. The three Bashas above-mentioned have but one *Sorguj* on the left-side of the Turban, the Basha of *Egypt* is, besides, honoured by the inhabitants (but not at court) with the name of Sultan, because in the *Arabic* language, which is mostly used in *Egypt*, the word Sultan signifies Lord or Prince. [*Sorguj* is to be pronounced, as if writ in *English*, *Sorguge*.]

Germany.

Germany. He thought he had nothing to fear from the Sultan, since all the disciplined troops of the whole *Othman* Empire were under his command, and it would be difficult for Sultan *Mahomet* to bring an army equal in number, not to say in valour, against him. The Emperor of *Germany* seemed less formidable to him, whose capitol he hoped to have in his power before the troops expected from *Poland* could join his forces, which he perswaded himself would be too late from the known slowness of the *Polish* proceedings. He had brought with him a great treasure, as well his own as the Sultan's, and resolved to increase it with the addition of the riches of the *German* Princes, which he supposed to be reposited in the city besieged. He knew, the Pashas and other governors of the castles in *Hungary*, (most of whom were his creatures, and appointed by him during his seven year's Vizirship,) were attached to his interest, and imagined would prove no obstacle to his advancement. Nothing remained but to gain *Ibrahim Pasha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, a man of great authority, not only in *Hungary*, but also with the whole army, and the principal officers of the Janizaries and *Spahis*. For this purpose by large presents he prevailed upon all those, whom he knew to have any influence in the army; he promised *Ibrahim Pasha* the kingdom of *Hungary* for ever (*Ebedi*) (50), to divide all the provinces belonging to it among the *Spahis* by way of *Timar* (51), and to settle the whole army in the cities and lands of *Hungary* as new colonies, after driving out or inslaving the old possessors. But he reserved for himself under the title of Sultan, all *Germany* as far as the borders of *France*, *Transylvania*, and *Poland*, which he resolved the next year either to subdue or make tributary

LXV Let us leave the Vizir, full of these thoughts and designs, in the camp before *Vienna*, and see what measures were taken by the *Christians* to repell

The Emperor of *Germany* desires the assistance of the *Poles*

ANNOTATIONS.

(50) *Ebedi*] i. e properly for ever, or for a man's whole life Whence those privileges are denoted by that name, with which the Sultan invests for ever any Vizir, Basha, or Prince and they who are thus distinguished are named *Teebiten*. Such was that *Chatisherif*, which, according to the *Christian* writers, was granted to *Cara Mustapha Pasha* by Sultan *Mahomet* IV, whereby he was declared not liable to be punished with death But they do not know, that such a *Chatisherif* is granted by the Sultan to all, even to those who are put to death three days after their promotion to the office of Vizir, with this condition however, *Eger ber chydmetimuze sadacat ve istieametde olurse*, "If thou art faithful and obedient "to us in all and every service" Whence it comes to pass, that they are no more secure as to their honour, goods, or life than others For the Vizirs are never put to death, but for a real or pretended want of fidelity or obedience due to the Emperor. Such a kind of *Chatisherif* was given to *Constantine Brancovan*, of blessed memory, Prince of *Walachia*, who after having been advanced to that principality by the contrivance of the *Cantacuzeni*, did not only lessen their power, but also obtained, by means of large sums of money, and other arts, that instrument from Sultan *Ahmed*. But of how little service it was to him, appeared by what happened at *Constantinople* in my time. For he was not only deprived of his principality, but also strangled publickly in the market-place, with his four sons. and for no other reason, but because he had accepted of the dignity of Prince of the Empire from the Emperor of *Germany*, and the order of St *Andrew* from the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, and kept a correspondence with them by letters about the affairs of state. For, that the affection he pretended to have for the *Christians*, was not real, he plainly manifested in two expeditions. The first in the year 1690, when he showed the *Turks* a way over the mountains of *Walachia* into *Transylvania*, which had been till then unknown; and by that means was the cause of *Heisler*'s being cut in pieces, who relying upon his friendship, had with four thousand *Germans* encamped at the foot of those mountains, where he thought himself safe. The other was in the year 1711, when after having drawn, by his fair promises, *Peter*, *Czar* of *Muscovy*, into *Moldavia*, he openly refused him provisions and assistance.

(51) *Timar*] *Timar Spahi* are the Nobles, or the old *Spahi*, who have, for their stipend, villages assigned them in the provinces subject to the Empire. And they are obliged, in proportion to the revenues, to carry three slaves at least, with them to the wars.

the enemy. While Count Caprara was in vain waiting at *Constantinople* for the confirmation of the peace, the Emperor of *Germany*'s ambassador in *Poland* had much better success in his negotiations. The states of that kingdom were excited either by the common danger, or the Pope's exhortations and promises, and united so firmly, that having suspended or composed their intestine divisions, they unanimously determined to raise an army, and oppose the enemy of the Cross, before he should be able to compleat the ruin of *Germany* and *Poland*. An alliance therefore is easily made between the Emperor *Leopold* and King *John Sobieski*, and one of the principal articles was, that if the capital of either nation should be besieged by the enemy, both Princes should march in person with their whole army to its relief.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, the general of the imperial army, besieges *Wywar*, without success

LXVI. The Emperor being strengthened on that side, declares the next year *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain* General of his army; and as soon as he heard the *Turks* had proclaimed war against him in the usual manner at *Constantinople*, he orders him to march with what forces he had ready into *Hungary*, and before the *Turks* could arrive, make himself master of some castle in that country, which might serve as a bulwark to *Germany*. The Duke, to discharge the duties of a prudent and valiant general, first endeavours to seize *Gran* †, the garrison of which he had been assured was very weak; but finding that several thousand of the *Turks* of *Wywar* had entered the city, he sets fire to the bridge, by which there was a communication between the two cities, and on the 7th day of the month *Jemaziul achyr*, invests *Wywar* on every side. They fight for eight days with equal bravery, but not with equal success. For the Duke of *Lorrain* being informed, that the Vizir was marching with a powerful army from *Belgrade* against him, though he had great hopes of taking the city in a short time, on the 14th of the same month abandons the siege, reinforces the garrison of *Vienna* with several regiments, and so encamps with the rest of his army near the city on the confines of *Hungary* and *Austria*, that he might provide for the exigencies of both countries, and safely wait for the forces of *Poland* and the other Princes.

† *Strigonium*

The Emperor of *Germany* departs from *Vienna* to *Lincium*

LXVII. *Leopold* hearing that *Hungary* was abandoned by his troops, and the *Turks* were preparing for the siege of *Vienna*, and thinking himself not secure within the walls, commits the defence of it to Count *Staremberg*, a man of approved integrity, valour, and prudence, himself retires to *Lincium* upon the *Danube* above *Vienna*, and from thence sends letters to all the neighbouring Princes to desire their assistance.

The avarice of the Vizir occasions the ruin of the whole army

LXVIII. Mean while the Vizir continues the siege of *Vienna*, but not in such a manner, as prudence and the art of war, but as his vain imaginations had suggested to him. For being perswaded, that the city could not escape falling into his hands, he would not suffer it to be closely blocked up on all sides, and the *Turkish* soldiers to attack the breaches every where with equal vigour, but orders them daily to assault in small parties only, that the garrison, being exhausted with continual watching and loss of their men, might be obliged to surrender the castle. When the Janizaries, ignorant of the Vizir's designs, began publickly to complain of these proceedings, and represented, that through the imprudence of their general, more thousands of the *Othman* soldiers were destroyed by these skirmishes, than by a general assault of the whole army at once; the Vizir himself unwarily discovers part of his projects, and tells those, who acquainted him with what was said, that he could not now satisfy the desires of the soldiers, because he certainly knew, there were great treasures in that city, which it would be improper and contrary to the Sultan's command to give up for plunder. Besides lest the soldiers should by chance enter the city, and in the first heat seize upon these treasures, he orders proclamation to be made in the camp, that if any *Othman* troops should pass the walls, they should stop there, and secure themselves with a trench, and not presume to advance or enter any house, before he should come and give them fresh orders. Lastly, that he might guard against all inconveniences, fearing lest after the taking of the city, the want of corn should oblige him to change or defer his designs, he distributes to the soldiers very sparingly the

the provisions he had brought with him in great plenty, alledging, that good part of it was to be reserved for the troops to be left in garrison when the city should be taken. Mean while, all the provisions expected from *Hungary* were intercepted by the garrisons of *Posonium*, *Tavarin*, and *Comorra*, as *Tekeli* had foretold to the Vizir; upon which account the siege of *Vienna* being retarded much longer than was expected, so great a scarcity arises, that, a thing before unknown in the *Turkish* camp (52), ten drams of bread, and even that without salt, were sold for one *rhub* (53), and other eatables and liquors rose in their price, in proportion to the bread.

LXIX. The Vizir, to remedy this misfortune, before the famine caused a sedition in the army, sends a Basha with twenty thousand men to *Tekeli*'s aid, with orders to attack *Posonium*, because that city was less able than the other fortresses of *Hungary* to make resistance, and take care that the provisions and warlike stores collected at *Buda* might be safely brought to the *Othman* camp. But even this design, either because it was not prudently concerted, or unseasonably discovered, failed of success. For *Charles* duke of *Lorrain* being informed of the Vizir's intentions, sends several regiments under the command of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, to oppose the attempt of the *Turks* against *Posonium*. They first meet with *Tekeli*, and quickly disperse his *Hungarian* troops, and afterwards attack the *Turks*, who are struck with such terror at the defeat of the *Hungarians*, that, besides a thousand killed, and many taken, they leave a thousand waggons loaded with provisions and warlike engines as a booty to the conquerors.

The *Turks*, who were sent out to forage, are defeated by the Imperial troops

LXX This defeat was not only a presage, but also no small cause of a greater calamity, which was ready to fall upon the *Othman* army. For the Janizaries,

This occasions seditious complaints in the camp.

ANNOTATIONS.

(52) camp] The *Turks* take a most particular care to have their soldiers furnished with a sufficient quantity of provisions. For the Janizaries, before they enter the enemies territories, will have fresh bread every day, and will not vouchsafe, before that time, to touch any that has been twice baked, or baked the day before. And if they should miss having it, or their daily allowance of meat, butter and rice, their leaders can hardly keep them from a mutiny. They provide against a scarcity in the following manner They chuse a man of approved honesty, and cloathing him with a *Caftan*, appoint him *Mubacji*, or steward of the victualling. Him they tell how much provisions are wanted, for how many men, and so many months: and then, six months before the provisions are to be laid up in the store-houses, they issue out of the treasury a sum of money to buy the victuals, in proportion to the price fixed by the Sultan's order, according to the plenty or scarcity of the year. After that, the *Casab bashi*, or chief butcher, is sent for, and ordered to provide so many sheep and oxen against the ensuing expedition, and the price of them is immediately paid out of the treasury. These two, upon receipt of the money, send Men into *Moldavia*, *Walachia*, *Dobruja*, *Bujak*, *Crim Tartary*, and the other provinces of *Rumelia*, to buy up cattle and provisions, which they lay up in the store houses prepared for that purpose; but if they are not there by the time appointed, the persons whose business it was to see it done, are to be put to death. When the expedition is begun, the Sultan dispatches orders for assembling horses, oxen and camels out of the provinces, to carry the victuals. On the enemy's borders, where there can be no store-houses, the *Mubaeji* is commanded to bring provisions into the camp, for so many months as there shall be occasion Besides these provisions that are gathered by the *Mubacji*, the Emperor has also a yearly contribution, named *Ushur*, and raised out of the tenths of the whole Empire. The remotest provinces pay it in money, but the nearest send wheat and barley into the camp: for the *Turks* will not receive or eat any other sort of corn. These provisions here mentioned are for the Janizaries But the Bashas and Spahi are obliged to find their own provisions, and the Sultan furnishes them with nothing but a few carts. For this reason, they either send men to buy wheat, or if they and the *Mubaeji* are friends, they desire him by letter to get them the quantity they want; and they pay him for it by their *Capukiebaia*, which each of them is obliged to have at *Constantinople*, at the price fixed by the Sultan. By this means, every one providing himself with victuals, there can hardly happen a scarcity in the *Turkish* camp.

(53) *rhub*] It is the fourth part of a *Leonine*, as *Tult* is a third.

who

who had before so vigorously forced the enemy out of their fortifications, when they saw provisions were wanting, and the troops which were to convoy the waggons (so long and impatiently expected) routed and destroyed, begin publickly to exclaim, that they came to fight not against famine, but the enemy; and not content to express their wants in words only, grow negligent in the discharge of their duty, and allow the garrison, now reduced to the utmost extremity, time and opportunity to resume their courage, and repair their breaches. The obstinacy of the Vizir, and the difficulty of the siege, had before sunk the resolution of the officers and the Bashas; so that they no longer regarded what was most advantagious to their affairs, but executed, like mercenaries, the orders that were given them; and would have been surprized by the Imperial army, if one of the enemy's couriers, being taken, had not opened their eyes, and shown them to what danger they were exposed. But this indolence had now taken too deep root in the minds of the soldiers, for them to be rouzed by the prospect of a battle, on which the fortune of the whole *Othman* Empire depended. On the contrary, fatigued with making trenches and ramparts, they were heard frequently to say. "O infidel, if "thou wilt not come thy self, at least show thy Cap; on the sight of which we "shall fly hence in an hour."

The *Turks* are confounded at the approach of the *Poles*.

LXXI. One would have imagined, these expressions were not unusual among the soldiers, exasperated against their general, and have thought they would have discharged the rage, conceived in their camp and trenches, upon the heads of their enemies, if the event had not soon after shown them to be their real sentiments. For upon the approach of the *Polish* auxiliaries, though it was easy for the *Turks* to prevent the junction of the two armies, not a single man would stir to divert this imminent danger. Shortly after, when they were assured the enemy's forces were marching against them, the night before the battle almost a fourth part of the army dispersed themselves, and the rest, whose religion engaged them to remain, showed so little resolution and ardor, that they did not seem willing even to try the fortune of a battle.

The Vizir, unmoved with fear, consults with the Pashas

LXXII. The Bashas themselves are struck with dread at the desertion of their soldiers; the Vizir alone, whom these things ought to have convinced of the vicissitude of human affairs, continues fearless, and imagines nothing insuperable by his power. However, he assembles the other officers, and asks them, what course they thought should be taken. *Ibrahim Pasha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, first declares his opinion, and advises the raising of the siege, the marching of the troops against the enemy, the cutting down of the neighbouring woods, and making a rampart with the trees, and fortifying it with cannon, in order to receive the first and warmest attack; and that afterwards the horse should fall upon the enemy in flank as they retire. This method, if rightly pursued, would, it was to be hoped, gain an easy and speedy victory. He added, the *Othman* army being already weakened by the toils of a long siege, could not be divided, nor part of it left in the works without great danger, much less should a passage be open to the enemy as far as the very camp, the extent of which would render the defence of it more difficult to the *Othman* forces, and the attack more easy to the assailants.

LXXIII. All the Pashas, except a few, approve this advice, and entreat the Vizir not to abuse his authority, nor be the occasion of the greatest detriment to the *Othman* Empire. The Vizir alone obstinately opposes the admonitions, and says, "I know not what fatal calamity threatens the *Othman* affairs, that so ma-"ny persons of eminent prudence should almost all be hurried into perverse and un-"reasonable opinions. You advise the abandoning of *Vienna*, which we have "besieged for three months, and now reduced to such extremities, that it can "scarce hold out so many days. But if you voluntarily suffer it to escape "out of your hands, what do you else but willfully resign, without a battle, "the wished for victory to a small body of the enemy, which scarce deserve "the name of an army, if compared with the innumerable and invincible forces "of the *Othman* Empire? Will not the garrison, if they see our soldiers quit-"ting their trenches and works, attack them as they retire, repair their walls,

" which we have demolished, recover what we have taken, destroy the ramparts
" raised against them, and render the siege more difficult to us when we return?
" Will not our own soldiers, if after so many labours in vain sustained, so many of
" their companions killed unrevenged, when they are just ready to seize the wished
" for prize, we should lead them farther from it, will they not (I say) sink in
" their courage, and fight with less vigour, and, as the proverb expresses it, do
" their business with only the ends of their fingers? Will not the enemy's army,
" when they find the siege raised by us, refuse to try the fortune of a battle,
" which in their present circumstances they cannot avoid, without hazarding their
" all; and victoriously retire without the loss of a man; and leave us thus de-
" luded to engage with much more cruel enemies, for the autumnal rains are ap-
" proaching, which formerly obliged *Soliman*, in other respects an invincible
" Emperor, to abandon the siege? But if it should happen otherwise, and the *Ger-*
" *mans*, pushed by their evil genius, be induced to fight, which of you will
" venture to promise, that the Janizaries, even after a victory, will return to the
" siege, and again enter those trenches, where they have hitherto sustained so
" many fatigues, and lost so many companions? You are sufficiently acquainted
" with their obstinacy by their seditious expressions, which deserve indeed to
" be punished, but that the present situation of affairs renders it necessary to op-
" pose the rebels to the enemy, rather than the sword of the executioner. I do
" not deny, these turbulent men have greatly abated of their former ardor;
" but they will grow still more indolent, if you remove them out of their
" trenches, and tacitly command them to despair of taking the city. It may be
" easy to recover what the enemy shall seize during the battle; but consider, it
" is much easier to defend what we are already possessed of, than to recover it
" The desire of revenge will animate the Janizaries to return to the siege; but
" take care, lest their fury, if the garrison should make a vigorous defence, be
" not turned against our heads. We are now in a situation, that we must either
" live or die. But to overcome, after we have abandoned a city besieged by us
" so many months, has the appearance rather of a defeat than a victory. The
" Sultan daily expects from us an account of our success, and has already
" made preparations for a triumph. If the event shall prove contrary, it is
" easy to imagine what danger hangs over your heads as well as mine. If you
" consider these things, and weigh them in the balance of prudence, you will per-
" ceive, it is in vain to lead the army into the field, in vain to fight for victory,
" unless the greatest part of the Janizaries be left to defend the works, and carry
" on the siege. It will terrify the enemies, if they find we are ready in our
" camp for battle, and at the same time prosecuting the siege as vigorously as
" before; it will conceal our weakness; prevent the garrison from attacking our
" rear; inspire our soldiers with courage; and in short, is the only method by
" which we can obtain not only an easy, but a compleat victory"

The Pashas insist upon their opinions

LXXIV. When the Vizir had ended his speech, the Bashas answer, " There is
" nothing to be feared from the garrison, who being equally, if not more ex-
" hausted by sickness and labours than the *Othman* soldiers, will be more solli-
" citous about the defence of the fortifications still left them, than the recovery
" of what they have lost: besides, the trenches and other works are much stronger
" than the city, and if one or two regiments are left to defend them, it will be
" more difficult for the garrison of *Vienna* to seize them, than for the Janiza-
" ries to take the city. The other Janizaries now employed in the trenches,
" may be much more advantageously opposed to the enemy, whose army is not
" to be contemned, since it contains not only the forces of almost all *Germany*,
" but also a considerable body of auxiliaries from *Poland*. It is certain the Jani-
" zaries sometimes obstinately refuse to obey the commands of their generals,
" and even threaten their lives; but it is no less certain, they are easily softened
" by some little presents, and promises of increasing their pay; nor is it probable,
" that after so many fatigues, they will leave the reward of them to others,
" when they are just at the end of their labours. The dividing of the battle in
" two parts will be more inconvenient to the *Othman* army, than to the enemy;

" and there is reason to apprehend the terror, which this method is expected to strike " into them, will render the *Germans* desperate, since the contest is not for one " city, but for the safety of all Christendom; and so may bring destruction to " the whole *Othman* army."

The Vizir gives the sanction of his authority to his opinion

LXXV. But neither could these remonstrances divert the Vizir from his purpose, who alledged, the management of this expedition was committed to him by the Sultan, that an account of it would be expected from him, that if any misfortune happened, it would be imputed to him, and not to them, and he could not suffer it to be said, he had gone through so many hardships, and lost so many men, without any advantage.

Having put his prisoners to death, he draws out his forces into the field

LXXVI. The *Christian* army therefore advancing on the 20th day of the mouth *Ramazan*, *Cara Mustapha* orders first all the captives, of whom the *Tartars* had collected almost thirty thousand, to be killed; then he divides his forces, which were not employed in the siege, into three parts. He gives the command of the left wing to *Ibrahim Pasha* of *Buda*, and of the right to *Cara Mehemed Pasha* (54) of *Diarbekir*. The body of the army, with the Aga of the Janizaries and *Spahis* he reserves for himself, and orders them at least to stand firm, and repell the first shock of the enemy. The rest of the Janizaries he leaves under the command of his *Kiehaia* in the trenches, to attack the city in the mean time. Though the officers of the army seemed to execute these orders with great vigour, the Vizir soon found what *Ibrahim Pasha* had told him was true, and now too late repented, that he had not followed his advice.

The Janizaries quit their trenches

LXXVII. For upon the first charge of the *Germans*, those who were pl[aced] in both wings, quit their ranks, and refuse to obey the orders of their generals. The Janizaries, who were left in the works, observing what was done in the battle, of their own accord abandon the siege, and remove out of their trenches under pretence indeed of assisting their companions, who were in distress, but in reality to withdraw themselves from the danger, the *Polish* forces soon after coming up, and attacking the body of the army, which was entirely unsupported. The rest of the Janizaries and *Spahis* with their officers think less of fighting, than flying, and endeavoured to escape from the danger with the utmost precipitation.

The *Turks* are defeated, and and put to flight

LXXVIII. *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, when he sees his soldiers dispersed on every side, and the impossibility of renewing the battle, returns also himself to the camp, and finding no man in his tent, laments his ill fortune with a flood of tears, takes up alone the standard of *Mahomet*, and follows the remains of his army with all possible speed. Night coming on, the darkness covers the fugitives from the enemy's sword, but does not remove their fears, which had so deeply possessed them, that insensible of the fatigues of the way, they never stop, till they reach their companions, who had been left at the siege of *Tavarin*, twenty five *German* miles from *Vienna*. Such was the more than panic terror, which the supreme arbiter of human affairs had filled their minds with, that they, who before were averse to the least labour, and cryed out, they were brought, not to bear fatigues and hunger, but to fight, now in one day and a night traversed on foot, without meat or drink the space of fifty hours.

The *Poles* first attack the *Turkish* camp.

LXXIX. Mean time the *Christians*, finding the *Turks* after a short skirmish retreat to their camp, and not knowing what passed there, imagine the Vizir had laid an ambush for them, because they could not possibly believe, that such a numerous army of *Turks* would turn their backs upon so slight an attack; and therefore, the night encreasing their apprehensions of danger, they resolve to stop, and to assault the camp the next morning. But when they were informed by their scouts, that the *Turks* were fled (55), and had relinquished their camp, the

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(54) *Cara Mehemed*] A man of no great fame, but highly in favour with *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, and for no other reason, but because he never contradicted him, (for he could not bear contradiction) and yielded a blind obedience to all the Vizir's orders for which deserts, he was, after the death of *Ibrahim Pasha*, made Beglerbeg of *Buda*.

(55) *were fled*] Happy is that *Christian* general, who sustains the first, second, and third

the *Poles*, chiefly induced by the hopes of plunder, enter the camp in the night, and find there, besides an hundred and eighty large cannon and other warlike provisions, a great booty, and victuals enough for several months. While the *Christian* camp resounds with joy, and not only *Germany*, but all *Europe* congratulate the conquerors upon the relief of *Vienna*, there appears a very different face of things among the *Turks*, who had escaped from the defeat.

LXXX. The Vizir, when he had reached the camp at *Iavarin*, earnestly studies not to repair his loss, but to turn upon others the danger, to which according to the *Turkish* custom he was liable. But he perceived it was not possible to execute his purpose, unless he could remove *Ibrahim* Beglerbeg of *Buda*, and the rest, who were privy to his counsels, since they might by their authority add great weight to the charge, which would be preferred against him, and discover his designs against the *Othman* Empire; and because he thought, he had made them his enemies by his obstinacy. For this purpose he sends on some pretense for all those, who had strongly opposed him in the last consultation concerning the siege of *Vienna*, and commands the Bashas, when they come, to be strangled, and the other officers of the army to be put to death, giving out, that they, in conjunction with *Tekeli*, had first advised the siege of *Vienna*, and obliged him in a manner to undertake it, notwithstanding his reluctance; and afterwards were very slow in obeying his orders, and in the battle were the first that took to flight.

LXXXI. After this he puts a strong garrison into *Strigonium* and *Vywar*, and encamping with the rest of the army under the walls of *Buda*, makes *Cara Mehemed Pasha*, who had always implicitly followed his opinion, governor of that city.

He strengthens Strigonium and Vywar.

LXXXII. In the mean time, the *Christians* had refreshed themselves a little, and resolving to reap in *Hungary* some other fruits of their victory, besides the relief of *Vienna*, move towards the east. The *Poles* claimed the right of marching in the van, and having routed some troops of the flying *Turks* and *Tartars*, flushed both with the former victory, the greatest share of which they assumed to themselves, and with their fresh successes proceed unadvisedly, and wander about the country without any order, as if they had now subdued all the *Turkish* forces. In this manner, on the 16th day of the month *Shevval*, they happen to meet near *Strigonium* six thousand horse, and two thousand Janizaries, whom *Bostanji* (56) *Mustapha Pasha* and *Halil Pasha* had drawn together. The *Poles*

The Poles, in their pursuit of the Turks, are in danger.

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third onsets of the *Turks*. For at the third, or at most the fourth repulse, he will certainly see them turn their backs, and if he advances against them with a slow pace, which I have observed to be sometimes done by the *Germans*, he will perceive them, not only to abandon their camp and cannon, and take to open flight, but also put the whole army in disorder by the confused cry of, *Giaur geldi, The Infidel is coming*. Once indeed, namely in the year 1711, in a battle with the *Russians*, they renewed the attack seven times, but the reason was, that the generals of the *Russian* army, not being used to an open fight with them, durst not pursue them when they gave way. For otherwise the Janizaries are not obliged to make above three charges, and if they are repulsed, they abandon their camp, and think of nothing but flight, pulling the *Spahi* off their horses, and killing such as make any resistance, and so become the worst of enemies to the horse. For which reason, the *Turkish* horse, in a flight, and whenever they see their foot giving way, never come near them, nay avoid them more carefully than the enemies themselves.

(56) *Bostanji Mustapha*] He was called, in the *Othman* Court, both *Bostanji* and *Cushchi** *Mustapha* having before his office of *Bostanji*, been *Cushchi** or Keeper of the Emperor's birds. He was taken by the *Poles* at the battle of *Strigonium*, and six years after redeemed by my father, for a good sum of money, by the Sultan's order, together with *Ali Pasha*. After which he was promoted to the office of *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, and *Ali Pasha* was made governor of *Tripoli* in *Syria*. But they did not long enjoy the Sultan's favour, for both died shortly after. *Mustapha Pasha* whilst he was *Caimacan* expressed his gratitude to my father by doing me several good offices. He left a son *Capuji Pasha* a man of learning, affability, and a good character at court.

boldly attacking this body, and endeavouring to rout them at the first onset, the *Turks*, who before had thought rather of flying than fighting, perceiving the *Poles* to be alone, and separated from the *Germans*, halt, and oblige them to retreat with greater speed than they came, and not content to have repulsed them, surround and oppress the unwary enemy on every side. The *Poles* seemed to be irrecoverably lost, if the *German* army had not very seasonably came in to their assistance, when they began to retreat; whereupon the *Turks* retired, the enemy not daring to pursue them, after they had killed about a thousand men, with the son of general *Tablonowski*, and taken several drums and standards.

The *Germans* in conjunction with the *Poles*, defeat the *Turks* a second time at the *Danube*

LXXXIII. Next day, the *Polish* and *German* armies being united, attack the *Turks*, who had encamp'd about an hour's distance from *Barkan*, and, after a fierce and sharp battle, defeat them. Whilst they endeavour in their flight to pass the bridge over the *Danube*, which was not very firmly built, fear increasing their haste and confusion, their weight breaks it down, before a fourth part can get over; by which means they fall into the river, and are carried away with the rapid stream. The rest fly to *Barkan*, and, upon the approach of the *Germans*, immediately deliver up the town and their arms, with both their generals. There fell in the battle about three thousand *Turks*, the rest were almost all either drowned in the *Danube*, or taken prisoners, so that out of the whole army, but very few escaped to carry the news of the defeat to their companions.

The *Imperialists* take *Gran*.

LXXXIV. After this battle, the generals of the victorious army prepared to besiege *Strigonium*, but soon after changed their resolution, being informed that the Vizir had re-assembled an army of eighty thousand men, with intent, by a fresh battle, to wipe out the disgrace he received at *Vienna* The falsity of this rumour being quickly discovered, on the second day of the month *Zylcade*, they again attack that fortress with so much fury, that the *Turks* were seized with terror, and the governor *Bekir Basha*, though he had above four thousand men in the city, on the fourth day of the siege surrenders (57) upon capitulation; a place which had before resisted a much larger army as many months.

Petreczeicus, Prince of *Moldavia*, with the *Cossaks*, invades *Bassarabia*.

LXXXV. Whilst the castles of *Hungary* are thus reduced to the obedience of the Christians by the Imperial army; the like is attempted in another quarter, tho' not with equal success, by *Petreczeicus*, Prince of *Moldavia*, who, in the battle of *Chehrin*, had revolted from the *Turks* to the *Poles* After the departure of the King of *Poland* for the relief of *Vienna*, he joins the *Moldavian* forces of his party with *Konicky* (58), general of the *Cossaks*, and, passing the *Tyras*, marches through *Moldavia* into *Bessarabia*.

He ravages that country with great cruelty

LXXXVI. When he finds the country without any defence, the *Bujak* and *Crim Tartars* being almost all employed in the siege of *Vienna*, he leaves the *Cossaks* to guard his camp, and marches out with his *Moldavian* troops, destroys the country on all sides, with such cruelty, that he spared neither age nor sex; impaled alive, or dashed out the brains of the *Tartarian* children, whom it would have been better to have carried away, and educated in the Christian faith; he caused the virgins to be ravished, and then killed, the women with-child to be ripped up, and the old men to be put to the most dreadful tortures, to make them discover their riches; in a word, he omitted no method of cruelty and barbarity which had ever been invented in former ages.

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(57) surrenders] Hence one of the poets said in a kind of prophetical manner: *Chikdum shamum capusinden, selam ladum usturguni, Belgradi, Budunı* "I went out at the "gate of *Damascus* (for the government of "*Damascus* was the first preferment of *Cara* "*Mustapha Pasha*, author of the *Othman* "*Port's* misfortune) and from thence bid "farewel to *Strigonium*, *Belgrade*, and "*Buda*"

(58) *Konicky*] He was Hetman of the *Cossaks* between the *Tyras* and the *Borysthenes*, who had not yet shaken off the *Polish* yoke. The *Poles* had appointed him, after the defection of *Doroshenko* and *Circo* to the *Turks* and *Muscovites*.

LXXXVII. While the *Moldavians* (59) are thus performing the part of executioners, rather than of ſoldiers, the *Tartars*, which had eſcaped from the battle of *Vienna*, come, and, finding themſelves inferior to the enemy, at firſt lie concealed in the borders; where, being reinforced, they ſuddenly attack the *Moldavians*, diſperſed over the country, and take a ſevere revenge for the ſlaughter of their companions; then they encloſe the *Coſſaks*, who remained in the camp, on every ſide. Theſe, on account of their fewneſs, not daring to engage with the *Turks*, defend themſelves with a chain of waggons, and proceed ſlowly to the river *Hierasus*, hoping they ſhould thus ſecure themſelves from the attacks of the *Tartars*, till they reached their own country. But their number daily decreaſing, and proviſion failing, they are diſperſed by famine and the ſnows, rather than by the ſword of the enemy. In their flight, many are ſlain by the *Tartars*, and more taken priſoners, and of the whole army, but a few troops of *Coſſaks*, with *Petreczeicus* and *Konicki*, eſcape with great danger into *Poland*; nor would they have eſcaped, if the horſes of the *Tartars*, being quite ſpent, had not prevented them from continuing the purſuit.

He is afterwards defeated by the *Tartars*.

LXXXVIII. *Ducas*, Prince of *Moldavia*, underwent a much harder fate. At his return from the *Vienna* expedition, in which (as I ſaid) he was engaged, when he ſees the ſtate of *Moldavia* in confuſion, almoſt all the Nobles having either revolted to *Petreczeicus*, or fled for ſafety to the neighbouring countries, and finds *Jaſſy*, his capital, deſolate, he retires with a few followers to *Domneſtim*, a village in the territory of *Putna*, in expectation of better times. Here whilſt he is intent upon ſettling the affairs of the province, he is ſuddenly attacked by *Bainski* (60), a *Moldavian*, related to *Petreczeicus*, and taken, and carried into *Poland*; where, being cloſely impriſoned, he not long after dies at *Warſaw*.

Ducas, Prince of *Moldavia*, taken by the *Poles*.

LXXXIX. In his room the *Turks* appoint *Demetrius Cantacuzenus* (61) a man indeed of very noble extraction, but weak, and more proper for times of peace than of war; for which reaſon he was ſoon after deprived of his dignity, as will be remembered in its place.

Demetrius Cantacuzenus is appointed in his room.

XC. Having thus given an account of what paſſed this year between the two armies in the field, the courſe of the hiſtory requires a narrative of what was tranſacted in the mean time at the *Othman* court. The Sultan, having ſent the Vizir upon the expedition, ranged the plains of *Thrace* and *Greece*, and, confiding in the prudence and fortune of his Vizir, diverted himſelf with hunting about *Deſpot Tarlaſi*, and knew nothing of what was doing in the army and ſtate, but as informed by meſſengers from the Vizir. By him being aſſured that *Vienna*, now reduced to the laſt extremity, could hold out but a few days longer, and nothing was to

What paſſed at the *Port* during the ſiege of *Vienna*.

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(59) the *Moldavians*] This was not the fault of all the *Moldavians*, for all the old and principal Barons, when they found themſelves unable to reſiſt *Petreczeicus*, had retired to the mountains, and into *Walachia*. but it was done by ſome of the younger, who, for want of experience, had been allured by the deceitful promiſes of *Petreczeicus* and the *Poles*, with which they had, though in vain, endeavoured to impoſe upon the reſt.

(60) *Bainſki*,] A *Moldavian* by extraction, and a relation of *Petreczeicus*, after whoſe death he returned to *Moldavia*, and was appointed by my father *Serdar*, that is, general of the army beyond the *Pruth*.

(61) *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*,] The ſon of *Michael Cantacuzenus*, of the *Conſtantinopolitan* family of the *Cantacuzeni*. In his youth he obtained the place of maſter of the wardrobe in *Walachia*, from whence being turned out, for what reaſon I know not, he was ſome years a jeweller at *Conſtantinople*: at laſt, having made a preſent to Sultan *Mahomet* at the circumciſion of his ſons, of a ſilver *Shadirvan*, or fountain, which kept running twenty-four hours together, he was advanced by him to the principality of *Moldavia*; and being deprived of it ſoon after, he was reſtored again to the ſame dignity, after the impriſonment of *Ducas*. At length, being depoſed by *Ameji Soliman Paſha*, Seraskier of *Siliſtria*, for his unskilfulneſs in military affairs, and ſent to *Conſtantinople*, he was at his arrival ſo roughly received by the *Caimacan*, that the fright brought a *Polypus* in his neck, of which he died within three days in priſon. The *Moldavians* rank him among their cruel princes.

[illegible] defeated from the enemy, who were so terrified by the *Othman* arms, that they had not only abandoned the siege of *Kyanat* before the *Musulman* army approached, but concealed their forces behind ramparts at a distance from the city; the Sultan moved nearer to *Constantinople*, and resolved to hunt in the country about that city, with design, if he should receive the welcome news of the taking the metropolis of *Germany*, he might be in the neighbourhood of his capital, and celebrate his triumph with the greater pomp and magnificence. But when he heard of the defeat of his army with so great a slaughter, he returned with reluctance to *Constantinople*, not to solemnize the triumph, with which he had till then flattered himself, but to assist the state in this distress by his presence, and restrain the seditious, by whom, he knew, the common people might easily be drawn into an insurrection on the present occasion.

The Vizir's excuse to the Sultan.

XCI. Not long after letters are brought to him from the Vizir, escaped to *Buda*, in which was a particular account of the transactions of the whole campain. He represented the labours he had sustained to defend and enlarge the Empire, and with what vigour he had endeavoured to subdue so strong and obstinate a city; that the prosperous beginning of the siege had given him great hopes of taking the city, and made him confident, that in a short time he should be able to offer it to his Majesty, with the whole Empire of the West; but that afterwards he was deprived of those advantages, not by the enemy's arms, but by the artifices and treachery of his officers; and especially of *Ibrahim Pasha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, who was the first mover of the siege of *Vienna*; but afterwards changing his opinion, because he either perceived, if the city was taken, the Beglerbeg of *Buda* would not be so considerable as before, or aspired himself to the dignity of Prime Vizir, not only refused to obey his orders, and opposed all his counsels, but, by his example, encouraged the soldiers and officers to be negligent in their duty. That he had borne all these things, being averse to the death of a man illustrious on so many accounts in the *Othman* Empire, but that this unseasonable clemency had proved the occasion of the defeat. For, having given him the command of the left wing, at the first charge of the *Germans*, before the battle could be said to be begun, he ran away with his troops in disorder and thereby gave the enemy an opportunity of flanking and defeating the rest of the army. That at last, being closely pressed in their retreat by the enemy, when he had found the Beglerbeg, who obstinately pursued his own as well as the Empire's ruin, could not otherwise be reclaimed, and was apprehensive he would afford the enemies a greater victory than the past, he was forced to devote him as a victim to the safety of the state, and thought it a signal service to the Sultan and Empire, to remove a man who had been the cause of so great a misfortune to both. That he had so firm a confidence in the Emperor's justice, that he could not imagine he would impute to his fault or negligence what had been done by means of the disobedience of others.

He desires pardon, and promises *Vienna* the next year

XCII. He also desires the Sultan to give him again the command of his armies in the next campain, and leave to recruit his forces, by which means if he did not subdue all *Germany*, with *Vienna*, he would voluntarily submit his head to the sword or the bow-string. With these letters he had sent very rich presents (62), not only to the *Valide-Sultana*, but likewise to all the officers of the court.

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(62) rich presents,] By these, as the strongest arguments of his innocence, *Cara Mustapha* would have cleared himself, and thrown the fault upon others, but in vain. It is said, upon this occasion, that a *Jew*, named *Connorto Anacauogly*, who was kept by *Cara Mustapha*, uttered a witty saying very expressive of the pannic the *Turks* were possessed with. For being asked by the Vizir at *Buda*, whether he had any thing of value to send as a present to the Sultan, he answered, he had nothing at *Buda*, having left his most valuable effects at *Belgrade*. The Vizir offered him five hundred light-armed horse, called *Beshli*, to fetch them, and keep him from being plundered by the wandering bands of *Turks* or *Tartars*, the *Jew* replied, there is no occasion for so many, for three men are sufficient to secure me, because I have a *Shapka*, or *German* Cap, the very sight of which is enough to fright the largest bands of plunderers out of

court, whom he knew to be in favour with the Emperor, by whose representations the Sultan was so fully perswaded of the Vizir's innocence, that he not only declared, *Ibrahim Pasha* and the rest, put to death near *Tavarin*, to be justly punished, but also confirmed *Cara Mustapha Pasha* in the Vizirship, and the command of his new army.

XCIII. The Vizir receiving these letters takes courage, and laying aside his fears, wholly applies himself to the augmenting of his forces, and making all the necessary preparations for an early campain. Perhaps he would have freed himself from danger, wiped out the disgrace he had received, and recovered his former authority, if he had not, out of too great a confidence of his power, been too hasty to re-establish it. He had put to death, as I have observed, without the Sultan's knowledge, *Ibrahim Pasha*, Beglerbeg of *Buda*, with some others privy to his designs, and the Sultan had approved it by his letters. There still remained some, whom the Vizir had not ventured to punish with the rest, for fear the great number of executions should raise a suspicion in the Sultan. He afterwards allured them with promises to hinder their accusing him. However he did not think it prudent to suffer them to live, since he would always have reason to fear, they might be bribed by his enemies to discover what had passed between them. But some pretenses were necessary to be alledged for putting them to death, because all those, who had been the occasion of the *Vienna*-defeat, had already been executed, and it seemed unjust to call again to account persons, who had been acquitted. As he could not find or invent any plausible excuses, he privately intimates to the Sultan by letters, that the Aga of the Janizaries, and other Bashas, whom he named, had again showed themselves disobedient to his orders, and made use of his clemency to them, in pardoning their ill conduct at the siege of *Vienna*, not to correct, but to confirm themselves in their obstinate resolution to ruin the Empire. His Majesty had indeed granted him the power of punishing whatever officers he found guilty; but he was unwilling to use that power, lest his enemies should take occasion from thence to accuse him wrongfully, and therefore desired to know his Majesty's pleasure about them.

The Vizir being confirmed by the Sultan's letters, attempts to put other Pashas to death.

XCIV. Though this representation was very plausible, it found the *Othman* court so much changed, that the Vizir, instead of obtaining his desire, was imprudently the occasion of his own ruin. For there was transmitted to the court by the other officers, who had been present at the siege of *Vienna*, a more faithful account of the transactions, whereby the artifices and designs of the Vizir were discovered. Neither had the contents of this last letter been so closely concealed, but that the patrons of the persons accused, were informed of the danger of their friends, and had an opportunity of using their endeavours to save them. Besides an unhappy messenger was arrived with the news of the taking of *Strigonium* †, and the defeat of the *Turkish* forces at *Barcan*, and acquainted both the Sultan and the great men, what fatal consequences were likely to attend that misfortune, affirming, the slaughter was much greater than was believed, or the Vizir desired they should know.

The treachery and false representations of the Vizir are detected

† Gran

XCV. The Sultan being thus disposed to the Vizir's destruction, is constantly besieged by his enemies; sometimes they relate the seditious expressions of the soldiers and people for delaying *Cara Mustapha*'s punishment; sometimes represent the necessity of deposing him, though he were innocent, because the change of Vizirs usually proves of great service in times of misfortune; sometimes describe the Vizir's treachery and artifices in such lively colours, that at last the Sultan determines to send *Capujilar Kiehajasi* † with the *Chatisherif* into *Hungary*, to put *Cara Mustapha* to death.

The courtiers concert the ruin of the Vizir

† i. e. The *Kiehaia* of the *Capuji*

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of their wits, and make them take to their heels. Whereupon the Vizir is reported to say with a sigh. Our common saying is very true; "Those whom God has put "to flight, fear even the *Jews*."

XCVI. The

He is at last put to death by the command of the Sultan, and another Vizir advanced to his room. H. 1095. A. C. 1684.

XCVI. The *Kiehaia* finds the Vizir at *Belgrade* intent upon recruiting his army, and advising with the Aga of the Janizaries, seizes him in his own house, and showing him the Sultan's mandate on the 6th day of *Muharrem*, in the year 1095, orders him, who made no resistance, and affirmed he was crowned with martyrdom, to be strangled by four executioners, and carries his head to *Constantinople*. The Sultan appoints in his room *Cara Ibrahim Pasha* (63), who had before been *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, and delivering the seal of the Empire, advises him, that warned by the fate of his predecessor, he should serve the *Othman* Empire with greater fidelity, and endeavour to take a severe revenge of the enemy for the disgrace it had suffered. But the imprudent conduct of *Cara Mustapha Pasha* had raised too many enemies for the *Othman* Empire now in its decline to contend with. He had conceived so great an opinion of the power of the *Turks*, that when he resolved upon the expedition to *Vienna*, he was so far from drawing off the rest of the *Christian* Princes from the enemy's interests to his own, that he offered them many injuries, as if he wanted to provoke them to declare war against the *Othman* Empire.

The occasion of the breach of the peace with the republic of *Venice*.

XCVII. *Petro Civrani*, as the *Venetian* ambassador or *Baili*, was arrived at *Constantinople* with two men of war and three merchant-ships, and upon his landing had ordered the goods, which he had brought, to be carried to his house. *Giumrukchi** (64) suspecting from the quantity, that the effects belonged to some merchants, and not to the ambassador, visits the ships, and upon examination, finding that a great part of the freight was assigned to merchants, who refused to pay the customs, confiscates them contrary to the rights of ambassadors, and orders them to be carried into the Sultan's warehouses. The *Baili* endeavours at first by perswasion to recover what was taken from him, showing from publick records, that it was the privilege not only of his predecessors, but of all foreign ambassadors, to bring to *Constantinople* custom-free whatever merchandize they pleased, as well on the merchant's account, as their own. But at last, when he perceives, words were of no effect, and the will of the *Turks* was a law, he promises the *Giumrukchi** a large sum of money, and so redeems the ships, which had been seized. A few days after, a *Venetian* nobleman, who had been formerly taken prisoner at sea, makes his escape to the *Venetian* ships, which were sent to convoy home *Morosini* the former *Baili*. But these ships being detained some time on account of the *Baili's* indisposition, the master of the *Venetian* is informed, that his slave was on board with intent to escape. Whereupon he petitions the Vizir by an *Arzubal* (65), that he might be restored

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(63) *Cara Ibrahim*] This man was at first *Kietchudabeg* to *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, and afterwards, when he went upon the *Chegriman** expedition, was made *Caimacan*. In these posts he behaved in a haughty and turbulent manner, so that both *Turks* and *Christians* were displeased at his advancement. But after he was made Vizir, taught perhaps by his predecessor's sad fate, he affected, contrary to his former custom, to make himself popular, and to be very easy of access: And at court, he took particular care never to be far from the Sultan, and to remove from the courtiers all occasion of slandering him, by which means he would have long remained possessed of his honour, had not fortune showed herself at that time an enemy to the *Turkish* affairs, and concealing his virtues, exhibited his faults to the Sultan, by means of [illegible] *Pasha*.

(64) *Giumrukchi**] or *Giumruk Emini*, the receiver of the customs, of whom an account has been given in Part I. His name seems to be derived from the modern *Greek* word κουμερκιάριος, which I take to be a corruption of the *Italian* word *Commerciario*.

(65) *Arzubal*] as much as to say, the opening of the cause. So those petitions are called, that are presented to the Vizir in the *Divan* about judiciary matters. They must be penned so concisely, though the cause be never so great or intricate, as not to fill up above half an octavo page, for the Vizir's resolution, and the consultations and sentence of the Judges must be writ on the other part of the page. For this reason it is not every *Turk*, though very learned in other respects, that can draw up an *Arzubal*; but there are *Arzubalchi** appointed for that purpose, who keep their offices near the Vizir's court, and are always ready to be hired. Whoever has a cause

red to him. The *Bostanji Pasha* is sent to examine all the ships, and if the captive be found, to seize and restore him to his master. When the *Bostanji Pasha* comes, the captain of the ship denies he had any fugitive on board, and upon the *Bostanji*'s insisting to search, opposes him by force; however numbers have the advantage of courage, the ship is searched, the captive found and carried away, and the sailors who had taken arms, are partly killed, and partly left under strict guard in the ship. The Sultan hearing a *Venetian* ship had presumed in the very port of *Constantinople* to use arms, detains both the ambassadors, *Ciurani* and *Morosini*, and refuses to discharge them, till they had paid several purses to redeem the sailors, and atone for their crime.

The *Venetian* ambassador escapes from *Constantinople*

XCVIII. The republic of *Venice* being informed of what had happened at *Constantinople*, as *Vienna* was at that time besieged, and the event doubtful, take no notice of the affront, but when they hear of the defeat of the *Turks* at *Vienna*, they boldly demand satisfaction, which being refused, they make an alliance with the Emperor of *Germany* and King of *Poland*, and proclaim war against the *Othman* Port. The *Venetian* ambassador delivers the solemn declaration to the *Caimacan*, and afterwards changing his habit flies from *Constantinople*.

This renders the *Turks* extremely uneasy.

XCIX So great and unexpected a blow struck the *Turks* with almost inexpressible terror. Necessity required them to employ their whole strength against the *Germans*, and *Poles*, and they saw that no less forces would be able to oppose the *Venetians* The *Venetian* army indeed could not be so great; but because it was doubtful what course they would take, it was requisite to fortify all the maritime places with such garrisons, as would be sufficient to form a powerful army There was no fleet except six Sultanas, and those old and leaky, nor any hopes of procuring one soon, because the *Hungarian* expedition would employ all the money in the treasury.

The new Vizir endeavours to soften the resentments of the *Venetians*

C For these reasons *Cara Ibrahim Pasha* uses all his endeavours to pacify the *Venetians*, declares the injuries complained of, were not done by the Sultan's order, but through the avarice of his predecessor, and promises to restore what had been seized, if they would desist from the war.

But in vain, for which reason the *Turks* prepare forces against all their enemies.

CI. But the *Venetians* were deaf to these flattering promises, and declared, they could not break their alliance with the *Christian* Princes; that they had hitherto suffered injuries enough, but now the time of revenging them was come. The Vizir seeing the storm which threatned the *Othman* Empire on every side, cannot be diverted, applies his whole care and abilities to support it in the best manner possible He appoints *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha*, a man of approved valour, Seraskier against the *Germans*, and *Aineji* (66) *Soliman Pasha* against *Poland*, and orders the high admiral to observe the motions of the *Venetians*. He himself continues at *Constantinople* under pretence of indisposition, and gives particular directions to the generals, that they should faithfully inform him of the progress of affairs, but acquaint the Sultan only with their good successes, and conceal the bad as carefully as they could.

The Imperialists take *Vicegrade* and *Vacia*, and repell the succours of the *Turks*
H 1095
A. C 1684.

CII While these things are transacting at *Constantinople*, the imperial army under the command of the Duke of *Lorrain* in the month of *Jemaziul achyr* of the year 1095, marched into *Hungary*, and about the end of that month be-

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cause to lay before the Vizir, applies to them, nay the very *Reis Effendi*, or High-Chancellor of the Empire, though a very good scribe, does not venture to write an *Arzubal*, but sends an account of his cause to one of the *Arzubalchi** to have it drawn up.

(70) *Aineji Soliman*] A *Bosnian*, born of *Christian* Parents, but educated in his youth in the *Mahometan* Religion, and brought up in the court of the *Kiuprili*'s. He was successively *Talbischi**, *Kiehaia*, Seraskier of *Baladagy*, and at last Prime Vizir. The name of *Aineji* or *the Deceitful*, was given him, upon account of the many artifices he used to deceive both friends and enemies, in the same manner as *Ulysses* was styled by *Homer*, πολύτροπος and πολυμήτις He had an uncle, a *Bosnian Archimandrite*, a member of the *Greek* Church, who was in great esteem with *John* and *Peter*, Czars of *Muscovy*, because he had taken great pains to bring over many in *Servia* and *Bulgaria* to their party.

sieged *Visegrade*, which in a few days is taken; for the garrison despairing to preserve the city, had retired into the castle, where they defend themselves longer; but when the cannon begin to play, finding no succours appear, on the 4th of the month *Rejeb*, they deliver up the castle on conditions to the Duke of *Lorrain*; as they are marching from thence to *Vacia*, they are met near that city by the Beglerbeg of *Buda* with his troops, who was sent before by the Seraskier *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha*, to amuse the *Germans*, and retard, if possible, their further progress. As soon as he appeared, the imperial troops fall upon him with such fury, that he is obliged to retire with great loss, and leave the country open to their conquests. The enemy being routed, the Imperialists besiege *Vacia*, and press the city with various engines and continual assaults. *Budan Pasha* marches to the assistance of the besieged, and being reinforced, twice attacks the imperial camp, is twice repulsed, and having lost fifteen thousand men, returns from whence he came. The governor of *Vacia* seeing those defeated from whom he expected relief, surrenders the city upon the same conditions, which had been granted to *Visegrade*.

The Imperialists take *Pestum*, and besiege *Buda*, but without success.

CIII. These with the neighbouring towns being subdued, the Duke of *Lorrain* marches with his army to *Buda*, and on the 1st of the month *Shaban* encamps under the very walls. The first attack is upon *Pestum*, a town opposite to *Buda* on the other side the *Danube*, which being taken in a few hours, the Capital of *Hungary* itself is closely besieged. Whilst the *Germans* are intent upon the siege, the Seraskier *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha* advances with the whole *Othman* army, and endeavours to break through the lines, with which the Imperialists had fortified their camp, and at the same time orders a body of Janizaries and *Spahis* to attack the enemy another way, and try whether they could penetrate through their camp, and throw supplies into the garrison. But being repulsed as often as they ventured to attack, he desists, and pitches his tents opposite to the enemy, commanding his men to annoy them with continual skirmishes and incursions, and especially to endeavour to throw in all the succours possible into the city. But all these efforts would not have relieved the city, since the *Germans* assaulted it with great bravery, and never suffered the enemy in their attacks to retire without loss, if the garrison had not, (whether through accident or treachery, is unknown,) discovered the mines, which were designed to demolish great part of their walls, just as the besiegers had determined to surround the city; and removed the gunpowder. For the generals of the imperial army, who had hoped to take the city before the Seraskier should be reinforced, perceiving, they must now begin their work again, call a council of the rest of the officers, and ask their opinion, whether it is proper to continue the siege or not. Almost all advise to raise it, because it seem'd too adventurous, at the same time to besiege the city, and contend with a superior army, and it appeared from the enemy's case at the siege of *Vienna*, how great loss the army may sustain by such counsels. Prudence thus moderating their ardor, and the *Turks* making no opposition, on the 23d of *Zylcade*, after four months siege, the *Germans* being weakened, retire from the city with their baggage, having sent their larger cannon before; whereupon the *Turks*, who had been kept in suspence between hope and fear by that expedition, resume their courage, and enjoy a calm after the appearance of so great a storm.

The Imperialists gain two victories over the *Turks*.

CIV. In the mean time Count *Lesley*, who was sent by the Duke of *Lorrain* with a party into *Sclavonia*, had besieged *Wirrowit*, a considerable fortress in that country, defeated the *Turkish* auxiliaries in two battles, and assaulted the walls with such fury, that the garrison was obliged to surrender the 23d of the month *Shaban*. About the same time *Tekeli* is routed by the Imperialists at *Eperies* in Upper *Hungary*, and his cabinet and baggage are taken by the conquerors.

The Seraskier ... the as... Molda... We...

CV. While the Seraskier of *Hungary* is thus engaged with the *Germans* with doubtful fortune, and greater loss than advantage, *Ameji Soliman Pasha* with better

better success fights the *Poles* at *Babadagy* (67), where having assembled his army, he passes the *Danube* near *Sakcza*, and hearing the *Polish* troops did not yet appear, thinks it more proper to settle the affairs of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, than march any farther, since the present situation of things rendered it more necessary to defend than inlarge the borders of the Empire. These two provinces were at that time governed by the two *Cantacuzeni's*, *Moldavia* by *Demetrius*, and *Walachia* by *Serban* (68). The former being a weak man, and unskilled in warlike affairs, and not having sufficient authority to restrain his people in times of confusion, was thought unqualified for the administration of his principality; and the Seraskier was diffident of the latter, because he found he kept a correspondence by letters with the Emperor of *Germany*, and especially with the Czar of *Russia*.

CVI. He resolves therefore to divest them both of their authority; but being bribed by *Serban* with a large sum of money, conceals his treachery, and, imagining the danger from those parts was very remote, confirms him in his government. But he deprives *Demetrius* of his dignity, because the times required a Prince of greater experience; and, with the consent of all the Nobles, appoints *Constantine Cantemir* (73), Serdar (74) of the Province in his room. But, lest he

He confirms *Serban* in the Principality of *Walachia*, and having deposed *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, advances *Constantine Cantemir* in his room.

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(67) *Babadagy*] It is the seat of the Basha of *Silistria*, who is appointed to defend the northern provinces of the Empire, and under whose jurisdiction are all the countries between Mount *Hæmus*, the *Euxine* Sea, the *Danube*, and the *Tyras*. *Babadagy* signifies etymologically the *Father-Mountain*, because, opposite to the town, there is a mountain higher than the rest. There are found in the neighbourhood of this city, eagles called *Giujigien* by the *Turks* and *Tartars*, which are larger than all other birds, and in so great plenty, that the bow-makers all over *Turky* and *Tartary* are from thence furnished with feathers for their arrows, though there are not above twelve quills and those in their tails that are fit for that use, which are commonly sold for a Leonine. They are reckoned better for that purpose than all others, and a skilful archer does not care to use any other. If a man has several arrows in his quiver made with other feathers, and but one amongst them fledged with a quill of one of these eagles, that one remaining untouched, will eat all the rest to the wood. And it seems have been upon account of this strength, that the *Tartarian* name of *Giujigien* was given to that kind of eagles.

(72) *Serban*,] a magnanimous Prince of the Imperial family of the *Cantacuzeni*, and full of Christian zeal. After his obtaining the Principality of *Walachia*, upon the translation of *Ducas* the *Rumelian* to *Moldavia*, he bent all his cares and endeavours to drive entirely out of *Europe* the *Turkish* tyranny, which was already brought very low by the *Germans*. To that end, he had not only sent to *Vienna* his own brother, *George Cantacuzenus*, as ambassador to *Leopold* Emperor of *Germany*; but also made a close alliance with *John* and *Peter*, Czars of *Muscovy*, by the *Bosnian Archimandrite* uncle to the Vizir *Soliman Pasha*, and had obtained a promise from them, that after *Constantinople* was taken, he, as being descended from the Imperial family, should be declared Emperor of the *Greeks*. He had moreover made very great preparations, caused thirty-eight cannons to be cast, and hired an army of twenty four thousand *Servians*, *Sclavonians*, and *Hirvati*, which he kept assembled in the woods and mountains. The *Turks* knew it perfectly well, but as they were sufficiently harassed by the *German* armies, they dissembled their resentment, and durst not attack so powerful a man, till he had publickly declared against them. But that Christian zeal, which the fear of an enemy's power could not extinguish, became unserviceable and destructive to its author. For *Constantine Stolnicus*, the brother of *Serban*, and his sister's son, *Brancovan*, seeing they could not, by any persuasions, divert the Prince from his purpose, are thought, by an unheard of crime, to have poisoned him at a feast, that they might live peaceably, and without any disturbance in their own estates. He left one son, Prince *George*, who lives at present in *Transylvania*, under the protection of the Emperor of *Germany*; and four daughters, *Smaragda*, who died soon after her marriage, *Maria*, wife of *Matthew Balaczan*, *Cassandra*, whom I married, and *Balassa*.

(73) *Constantine Cantemir*,] Surnamed the *Old*, Prince of *Moldavia* eight years. His father, *Theodorus Cantemir*, being killed by the *Bujak Tartars*, he retired in his youth into *Poland*, and served for seventeen years in the armies of *Uladislaus* and *Casimir*, Kings of *Poland*, where he gave no contemptible proofs of his courage, and was upon that account made a colonel by *Casimir*. After the conclusion of the war between *Sweden* and *Poland*, he went to

George

he should be served in his battles with the *Poles*, as the Sultan was at *Chotin*, to secure *Cantemir's* fidelity, he sends his eldest son, *Antiochus*, and four of his principal Barons, as hostages to *Constantinople*.

The King of *Poland* takes *Quancze*, and entering *Moldavia*, is put to flight by the *Turks*.

CVII. The Seraskier being detained by these affairs longer than he expected, *John* III, King of *Poland*, on the twelfth of the month *Ramazan*, assembles his forces at *Buchach* *, and, before any such design was suspected, at the first assault, takes the castle of *Quancze*, situated on the *Tyras*, opposite to *Chotin*, and about two hours distant from *Caminiec*. Then he attempts to build a bridge over the *Tyras*, to transport his troops, animated by this success, into *Moldavia*. But when the bridge was just finished, the Seraskier advances with his army, and not only prevents the intended irruption into *Moldavia*, but likewise passing the *Tyras*, surprizes the King, and shuts him up in his camp, orders the *Tartars* to set fire to the standing corn about them, and to cut off food from the cattle, while he with his forces daily harrasses the *Poles*, and gives them no time to rest or draw up their army, The King, finding things desperate, escapes first out of the camp with a few attendants, and is soon after followed by the officers, who, having burnt their baggage, and thrown their warlike engines into a lake, lead home the remains of the army, not without great loss.

The success of the *Venetians* by sea and land.

CVIII. The *Venetians* had much better success against the enemies of the Cross in the *Adriatic* sea. They begin the war at *Morlacchi* in *Dalmatia*, subdue *Urana*, *Obrowazzo*, and *Scardona*, burn *Derniss*, and take the castle of *Duare* by stratagem. The *Venetian* fleet, commanded by *Morosini*, who surrendered *Candia* to the *Turks*, sails the twenty-sixth of the month *Jemaziul achyr*, and arriving at *Leucas*, lays close siege to the city. *Bekiraga*, governor of the castle, after seventeen days defence, seeing no succours appear, delivers up the city to the *Venetians* the sixth of the month *Ramazan*, and passes over with his men into the Continent. The island being subdued, the *Venetians* send part

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George Gicas, Prince of *Walachia*, and was by him promoted to the office of *Chaush* * *Spataresk*. After *George's* first revolt to the *Germans*, being by good fortune parted from him, he retired to *Eustathius Dabiza*, Prince of *Moldavia*, who gave him his father's place, namely the government of *Kiegieczensian Codri*, and shortly after appointed him *Vernic* of *Barlad*. The same places he enjoyed under Prince *Ducas*, who succeeded *Dabiza*, and having stifled the rebellion raised by the *Moldavians* against *Ducas*, he was, for his good services honoured with the dignity of *Great Kluczery*, or commissioner of the provisions, and appointed *Calauz*, or conductor of the *Moldavian* army, by Sultan *Mahomet* IV, in the expedition against *Caminiec*. After the deposition of *Ducas*, he possessed the same employment under *Petreczecus*, and having freed the Sultan's concubines from the attempt made upon them by the *Poles*, he received great commendations for it from the chief eunuch, and obtained from the Vizir the promise of the principality. Upon the revolt of *Petreczecus* to the *Poles* at *Chotin*, *Cantemir* was of great service to his successor, *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, in securing the *Moldavians* to his interest, and was rewarded for it with the dignity of *Serdar*, which he also enjoyed under *Ducas*, after his restoration. But this Prince growing jealous of him, and creating him a great deal of trouble and vexation, he retired into *Walachia* to *Serbanus Cantacuzenus*. When *Ducas* was taken by the *Poles*, *Cantemir* returned again into *Moldavia*, but though he had obtained a signal victory against the *Poles*, snares were laid privately and openly for him by the new Prince, *Demetrius Cantacuzenus*, nay the Seraskier also, *Soliman Pasha*, was bribed with thirty purses to take away his life for some feigned cause. Being informed of it by the Seraskier himself, he fled again into *Walachia*, and having demonstrated the falshood of *Demetrius's* accusations against him, he was appointed Prince of *Moldavia* by the Seraskier. He afterwards gave a fresh proof of his valour at the battle of *Boian*, and broke through the first ranks of the *Poles*, which brought him into great favour at the *Othman* court. Having enjoyed his Principality eight years wanting three months, he died *March* 23, 1693, and left two sons, *Antiochus* and *Demetrius*, and two daughters, *Roxana* and *Elizabetha*.

(74) Serdar,] the general, in *Moldavia*, of the forces appointed to defend, from the *Cosaks* and *Tartars*, the borders that lie between the rivers *Hierasus* and *Tyras*. He is next in degree to the Hetman, being almost the same as the *Hetman Polny* amongst the *Poles*.

of

of their forces, under the command of *Strasoldo*, into *Acarnania*, a province of *Epirus*, and oblige *Venzze* and *Seromero* to submit. As they are proceeding further, they are met by *Seffer Aga* with four thousand *Turks*, who endeavours to stop the progress of their arms; but he being defeated, the inhabitants of the country voluntarily submit to the conqueror, and promise to pay tribute. In the mean while, the rest of the army had passed into the *Morea*, and so fiercely assaulted *Perevesa*, that on the eighth day of the month *Ramazan*, *Mehemed Effendi*, who commanded the garrison, was obliged to deliver up the castle to the *Venetians*. Besides these successes, there came an account from *Tine*, an island in the *Archipelago*, that several *Turkish* galleys, sent to seize it, had been repulsed with great loss.

New expeditions of the *Turks* against the enemies.

CIX. These misfortunes grieved not the *Othman* court so much, as the raising of the siege of *Buda*, and their success in *Poland*, gave them joy. For the power of the *Venetians* did not seem so great, but that it would be easy to recover their losses, when once the *German* and *Polish* armies were repulsed, and the borders of the Empire secured on that side. To this end, *Cara Ibrahim Pasha* appoints the generals, who had before been so successful, Seraskiers against the *Germans* and *Poles*; and sends only a small army, with a fleet, against the *Venetians*

The Imperialists besiege *Vywar*, and the *Turks* *Gran*

H 1096.
A C 1685.

CX. Mean time, the *Germans* had closely besieged *Vywar* during the whole winter, and so deprived it of provision, that the famine destroyed more of the garrison than the sword had done in a month's siege The city, thus weakened, on the first day of *Shaban* in the year 1096, is assaulted in form, and the siege carried on with such vigour, that the garrison a few days after was obliged to abandon the outer works. Upon the report of this, the Seraskier *Sheitan Ibrahim Pasha* hastens to the relief of the city, and finding it dangerous to attack an army so strongly intrenched, has recourse to his usual artifices, and besieges at once *Gran* and *Vicegrade*, hoping by this means to draw off the enemy's forces from *Vywar*. And the fortune of war seem'd indeed to favour him; for in a few days he not only recovered *Vicegrade*, but so distress'd *Gran*, not yet sufficiently repaired since the last siege, that it seemed in no less danger than *Vywar*.

The Imperialists defeat the *Turkish* army by a stratagem.

CXI But before the Seraskier could finish what he had begun, the Duke of *Lorrain* leaving sixteen thousand men to continue the siege of *Vywar*, marches with the rest of the army against him, and on the 2d of the month *Ramazan*, advances within sight of the *Turkish* camp, The Seraskier seeing the enemy's approach, and imagining he had gain'd his point, immediately abandons the siege of *Gran*, and draws up his army so advantageously, that the enemy could not surround, nor attack him in front or flank without great danger. The right wing was defended by the rapid waters of the *Danube*; the left by a ridge of mountains, which extended for several leagues. Behind his army was the road to *Buda*, which secured it from the want of provision; and the front was covered with wide and difficult morasses, which must be passed by those, who would attack the *Othman* army. The Seraskier thus situated continues four days without motion, either by delay to elude the attempts of the enemy, or to destroy them in their passage, if they should venture to attack him. But the Duke of *Lorrain* perceiving the Seraskier's design, and considering that his army could not without extreme danger to all Christendom, be exposed in such places, where they would have nature rather than men to contend with, counterfeits a flight, sounds a retreat, and in the night of the 14th day of the month *Ramazan* retires with his whole camp. The *Turks* imagining the *Germans* were flying in earnest, boldly follow them, and though often repulsed by the Imperialists, continue all night to attack them as they retreat. The Imperialists proceed farther, and leave a space for the enemy, both to pass the morasses, and open their front. At last, when they perceive more are passed over than can return without loss, they halt and so furiously attack the *Turks*, who follow them in confusion, that they, who before imagined they should utterly destroy the *Christian* forces, now retire to their camp with greater precipitation than they came. The Elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded one of the wings, in order to a more exact observation of

the designs of the *Turks*, follows them with his troops in the path, they had made over the morasses; and the Duke of *Lorrain* takes the same course on the other side, though neither knew the other's intention. Upon this the *Turks* being seized with a panic, notwithstanding all the perswasions and threats of the Seraskier, before they engaged, take to flight in such confusion, that the Janizaries killed and unhorsed their own cavalry to fly with more speed, and a greater number of the *Othmans* were killed in the flight by their companions than by the enemy. The camp, baggage, treasure, provision, and a great quantity of warlike stores fell a prey to the conquerors.

The Imperialists take *Vywar*

CXII. After the battle, the Imperialists return to the siege of *Vywar*, and on the 19th of the month *Ramazan*, assault on every side the breaches made by their cannon, and with the loss of a few men take the city. Several thousands of the garrison with the governor are slain, the rest made prisoners, or forced into the river; and the city affords a rich booty.

The Seraskier attempting peace meets with a repulse

CXIII. The *Turks* are struck with such terror at the sudden taking of this fortress, that not only the garrisons of *Novigrade* and *Vicegrade* abandon those cities at the report of the *Germans* approach, but the Seraskier himself, though in other respects a man of invincible courage, and a veteran soldier, sent *Ahmed Chelebi**, one of his officers, twice to the Imperial general, to try whether any peace might be made with the Emperor. But, as the present situation of affairs promised more and greater victories, and the Seraskier seemed to desire peace, in order to divert the danger which threatened him on account of his ill success at *Gran*, or to amuse the enemy, rather than with a sincere intention, the officer, after two denials, returned to the Seraskier without any thing done.

Various successes.

CXIV. While the duke of *Lorrain* was yet engaged in the siege of *Vywar*, Count *Lesly* with a small body of troops had laid waste all *Sclavonia*, routed the Pasha of *Poshega*, and on the 12th of the month *Ramazan*, burnt great part of the bridge over the wide morasses of the *Drave*, and taken *Essec*, but not being able to subdue the castle, plundered the town, and abandoned it again. *Schulcius* had equal success in *Lower Hungary*; and on the 10th of the month *Ramazan* after a long siege obliged *Epiries*, a city of *Tekeli*'s party, to surrender, and took *Tokai* with several other castles and towns, which were garrison'd by the rebels. *Merci* and *Heusler* joining their forces had subdued *Zolnok*, *Ibraim*, *Kalo*, little *Waradin*, St *Nicholas's* church, and *Saratsa*. *Tekeli's* party being every where routed, retire to *Cassovia*, and strongly fortifying that city, determine to wait there for the troops promised by the *Turks*, and to suffer the utmost extremities, rather than submit to the Emperor of *Germany*. *Caprara*, who commanded the troops of *Schult*, soon after, on the 3d of the month *Zylcade*, begins to assault the city, and having dug a trench round it, cannonades the walls.

Tekeli is taken by stratagem, and put in chains to be sent to *Constantinople*

CXV. *Tekeli* seeing the danger of his troops, sends frequent messengers to the Pasha of *Waradin* for his assistance; which the Pasha promises, and desires *Tekeli* to come to him, and advise him, how the city might be best relieved. *Tekeli*, putting too great a confidence in him, comes to *Waradin* with seven thousand of his countrymen. Before he reached the city, he is met by the Pasha, who received him with great honour, and desires him to enter the city with his principal officers, and quarters his soldiers in the neighbourhood, where he provides for them. When *Tekeli* came into the town, he is invited to dinner by the Pasha, which being over, a *Turkish* officer, attended by several Janizaries enters the room, and shews the Sultan's mandate by which he was commanded to put *Tekeli* in chains, and send him to *Constantinople*. *Tekeli*, who was come as a guest, not being able, on account of the smalness of his retinue, to make any resistance, is instantly carried away, bound, and kept under a strong guard. His attendants, struck with the novelty and suddenness of the thing, stand motionless, and not knowing what may be their own fate, dare not ask the reason of it, or even open their mouths.

CXVI. *Petrozzi*, the principal person among them, is sent for by the Pasha, after *Tekeli* was removed, and bid to lay aside his fears, and take upon him the command

command of the *Hungarian* forces, till the Sultan's farther orders, and to shew a due fidelity to the *Turkish* empire, assuring himself, that he served a master, who cannot only punish the disobedient and treacherous but also amply reward the faithful.

He persuades the *Hungarians* to sollicit the Emperor of *Germany's* favour

CXVII. *Petrozzi* artfully conceals his resentment, and answers the Pasha, that tho' he knew not *Tekeli's* crime, and had believed him a faithful servant of the Sultan, yet he cannot doubt but the Sultan had a very important, though unknown reason, to treat him in that manner. However this affair would not shake the fidelity of himself or *Hungarians*, for though, ever since, they had committed themselves to the *Othman* protection, *Tekeli* had indeed been their commander, yet they have acknowledged no other sovereign in the world but the Emperor of the *Othmans*. These assurances he gave the Pasha of his fidelity; but, at his return to the camp with the rest of *Tekeli's* attendants, he persuaded the *Hungarians* to a very different conduct. He represented to the officers what had happened at *Waradin*, and how treacherously *Tekeli* was drawn into the snare He adds, " It is in vain to expect the restoration of liberty to " *Hungary* from men, who know not what liberty is, and have no other rule " of their actions, but the arbitrary will of their governors. For this reason, " God opposes their designs, and punishes, not only them, but their allies. " For several years past, the whole army of the Emperor of *Germany*, though " diverted by no other wars, had in vain used their utmost efforts in *Hungary*; " but now, even a small body of *Germans*, while the rest are engaged with the " *Turks* beyond the *Danube*, have, within two years, subdued almost all the " kingdom except *Cassovia* They should therefore consider what would be " most for the interest of themselves and the kingdom, whether to continue in " exile, and not only see the devastation of their country, but be perpetually " in fear of prisons and chains, or implore the mercy of the Emperor of *Germany*, and embrace the amnesty offered them."

Petrozzi goes to *Caprara*, and offers to surrender *Cassovia* to him

CXVIII. This advice being approved by them all, *Petrozzi* with the whole army, goes to *Caprara*, still engaged in the siege of *Cassovia*, and promising fidelity to the Emperor of *Germany* in his own and his countrymen's name, joins his forces to the Emperor's, and orders them to make incursions upon the enemy's country The inhabitants of *Cassovia*, hearing this, the obstinacy of the garrison is so much abated, that they immediately send deputies to the Imperial camp, beg pardon for their crime, and promise future obedience to the Emperor. Their offers being accepted, the deputies return to the city, and represent to the inhabitants the Emperor's clemency. The garrison being informed of this on the 26th of the month *Zylcade*, open the gates of the city, take an oath of fidelity, and are placed among the other Imperial troops, and after all their labours, enjoy some repose

The King of the *Poles* unseasonably endeavours to draw over the Prince of *Moldavia* to his interests

CXIX But the *Poles* meet with a very different fate in *Moldavia*. For the king, taught by the ill success of the last expedition, that nothing could be done for the advantage of *Poland* in those countries, unless he could engage the inhabitants in his interests; during the whole winter, he tries by various arts to gain *Constantine Cantemir*, Prince of *Moldavia*, and sollicits him by frequent letters and messengers to revolt from the *Turks*. *Cantemir* answers the King, " he is " not only obliged by the religion he professes; but even prompted by the " strongest inclination, to venture his all in subduing the enemy of the cross, " if he could but see, that by his revolt the least advantage would accrue to " Christendom. But since the present situation of affairs is such, that probably " his revolt will be rather prejudicial than serviceable to him, whose part he " should take, he is forced to defer the execution of his intentions to a more " favorable opportunity For since, not only his own eldest son, but likewise " the sons of the principal nobles are kept as hostages at *Constantinople*, he " thinks, though himself should consent, the states of the province cannot be " persuaded, to suffer the loss, not only of their estates, but, what is generally " more grievous, of their children, to abandon their country, and to live in " exile in a foreign land."

CXX. *Sobieski*

Cantemir gives excellent advice to the Poles.

CXX. *Sobieski* finding the Prince inflexible to his persuasions, the beginning of the summer, sends his forces under the command of *Potocky* and *Tablonowski* towards *Moldavia*. *Cantemir*, informed of this, again advises the generals by letter, " not to enter *Moldavia* but to take *Camenic*, before they attempted to " pass the *Tyras*, since it would be of no advantage to them, if they were to " lay waste *Moldavia* for ten years together, unless they first drew that thorn " out of their side. If they should happen to be defeated by the *Turks*, they " would entirely be cut off from any retreat, as they had sufficiently experien- " ced the last year. And if they obtained any victories, they would not gain " one foot of land more, while the *Turks* continued possessed of that castle. " By this irruption into *Moldavia*, they would only expose the wretched inha- " bitants to captivity and torments from the *Tartars* and *Turks*. He himself, if " they should pass the *Tyras*, could not oppose them, and was now obliged by " threats of the severest punishment to repair immediately to the *Turkish* camp, " and to defend his principality from the enemy to the utmost of his power."

It is haughtily rejected by the Polish generals

CXXI. The generals despising the Prince's wholsome advice, answer, " they " are commanded by their King to endeavour to subdue *Moldavia*, and there- " fore cannot change the course prescribed them. The siege of *Camenic* is " difficult and needless, because the garrison, after the country about them is re- " duced, cannot defend the walls without bread, upon the want of which they " will abandon the town of their own accord. They fear no defeat from the " *Turks*, for having so great and disciplin'd an army under their banners, they " suppose themselves safe against the forces of the whole *Turkish* Empire. They " therefore advise him again to lead his troops to the King's camp, and with united " strength endeavour to drive the enemy of *Christ* and *Christians* out of his " country. If he refused, they are commanded to turn their arms as against the " *Turks*, so against him, as being their confederate, and to destroy the country " with fire and sword."

The Poles pass over the river Tyras into Moldavia.

CXXII. Without waiting further answer, they run a bridge over the *Tyras*, and with their whole army pass into *Moldavia*. But they had not marched far, when they are met at a village called *Boyan* by *Ameji Soliman Pasha* with twenty five thousand *Turks*, and *Selim Gierai Chan* with fifty thousand *Tartars*, who were followed by the Prince of *Moldavia* with five thousand men. When both the armies come near each other, they stop, and fortify their camps.

Cantemir perswades the Seraskier to avoid a battle

CXXIII. The Seraskier and Chan with the rest of the officers, seeing the *Poles* approach, immediately consult whether they shall attack the enemies, or wait till they either fall upon the *Othman* camp, or retreat. As they differ in their opinion, the Prince of *Moldavia*, desirous of turning every thing as far as possible to the advantage of the *Poles*, perswades the Seraskier to remain in his post, fortify his camp, and prevent the enemy from making any farther progress. For a battle is not rashly to be hazarded, when the enemy may be driven from the borders without danger; neither is it safe at present to engage with the *Poles*. Their army is numerous, and full of hopes of victory; whilst he himself has but twenty five thousand men, who can actually fight the enemy, since the *Tartars* will scarce stand the first fire. If any misfortune happened, all *Moldavia*, and perhaps *Bujak*, with the provinces about the *Danube*, will become a prey to the *Poles*, since the rest of the *Othman* forces employed in *Hungary*, cannot be recalled without the utmost danger to the Empire These misfortunes may not only be avoided, but also the enemies subdued without the loss of a single man, if he would surround his camp with strong works, and weaken them by continual skirmishes. The Seraskier approves this advice, and strongly fortifies his camp, commanding the *Tartars* and other light-armed soldiers to move round about the *Polish* army, and prevent their foraging, and every where burn the herbage.

CXXIV. *Cantemir* by a trusty person truly informs the *Poles* of all that passed in the council, and what was resolved, He tells them likewise his troops were posted on the western bank of the *Tyras*; that they might fear nothing from that quarter, but carefully guard the other parts of their army. The *Polish* generals

upon this information, resolve first to rout the *Moldavians*, imagining they should afterwards meet with less opposition from the *Turks*. To this end, they immediately attack the *Moldavian* camp, which lay one hour's distance from the *Turks*. The Prince seeing them marching full speed towards him, wonders, and thinking them mistaken, imagines they intended to attack some other part of the army. He draws up therefore fifteen hundred of his men, not to engage the *Poles*, but by their ensigns, in which crosses and other marks of Christianity were embroidered, to show themselves to be brethren, and not enemies. When the *Poles* see the *Moldavians* standing in a peaceable posture without preparing for defence, regardless of their admonitions, they fall upon them as if they had been *Turks* and capital enemies.

CXXV The Prince perceiving the treachery of the *Poles*, commands all his troops to take arms, and with force to repel force, though offered by *Christians*. Immediately the *Moldavians* are armed, and not only bravely oppose the first body of *Poles*, consisting of six thousand men, but also with such resolution attack the enemies, who retire after their first ardor is spent, that they at last put them to flight. The noise of arms and muskets soon alarms the *Turks*, who perceiving the *Moldavians* engaged, send several regiments to their assistance. The rest of the army unexpectedly attack the *Poles* in the rear with such fury, that within an hour six thousand of the *Poles* are killed, and five thousand *Cossak* inclosed and obliged to surrender. The remaining troops of the *Poles*, seeing the victory incline to the enemy, endeavour to retreat to their camp, and secure themselves in their trenches. But before they can execute their design, the *Tartars* intercept their passage, upon which they take to flight, and leave their camp, and baggage, with all their warlike provisions, a prey to the conquerors.

They are shamefully defeated by the *Turks*

CXXVI This was the only good success, which happened that summer to the *Othman* Empire; from all other parts, where the war was carried on, there came nothing but melancholy accounts of the defeat of the *Turkish* forces, and the loss of cities and even whole provinces. *Seromero*, which the last year had submitted to the *Venetians*, is attacked early in the spring by the *Turks*, who as soon as they hear of the approach of the *Venetian* fleet, retire without success. Afterwards *Coron*, on the 23d of the month *Rejeb*, (the 15th of *June*) is closely besieged by the *Venetians*. The Seraskier of *Morea*, *Halil Pasha*, with the forces he had ready, instantly marches to the relief of the city, and suddenly takes one of the works, built by the *Venetians* on a hill for their defence, and from thence annoys the camp of the besiegers with his cannon. But the *Maltese*, who were appointed to guard that part, before the Seraskier could secure what he had gained, assault his camp with great bravery, and at last after a long and bloody conflict, being re-inforced by the other troops of the *Venetians*, force him from his post, and thereby free the besiegers from great danger. A few days after the Seraskier advances again with more troops, but finding the *Venetians* strongly fortified, and prepared to repel the assaults of the enemy, after some skirmishes retires. The *Venetians* perceiving there was no danger from the *Turkish* army, prosecute the siege with greater ardor, and having demolished the walls on the 10th of the month *Ramazan*, surround *Coron*, and after an obstinate defence of the garrison enter it by storm. The *Turks* seeing no possibility of saving the city, display the white banner, and promise to surrender, but as this was too late, after all the fortifications of the castle were taken, they find no mercy, but are all put to the sword.

The *Venetians* take *Coron* in the *Morea*

CXXVII. This castle being subdued, the *Mainottæ* (75) likewise take up arms against the *Turks*, and besiege *Zarnata*, the garrison of which hearing, the *Venetians*

The particular successes of the *Venetians* against the *Turks*

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(75) *Mainottæ*] The Descendants of the ancient *Lacedæmonians*, who are at this day the bravest People among all the *Greeks*. Though they are not reckoned to have above twelve thousand soldiers, they never were subdued, nor made tributary by the *Turks*; neither could the *Venetians* ever give them law at pleasure. Their modern name is derived from μαν'α *Madness*, because they rush in battle upon the enemies, as if they were mad. The country they inhabit, is on all sides surrounded with mountains, which are the chief defence of their province.

netians were sending assistance to the besiegers, before the arrival of those supplies, deliver up the city. Shortly after the *Venetians*, under the command of *Degenfield*, near *Calamita* rout the *Turks* with great slaughter. Whereupon the terrified *Othmans* abandon *Calamita*, *Passava*, and *Chielasa*, which towns are immediately seized and dismantled by the *Venetians*. The *Venetian* army crowned with so many conquests, in their return take from the *Turks*, *Gommenizum*, a town of *Achaia* opposite to *Corcyra*.

The various success of the war.

CXXVIII. Mean time *Valter* had closely besieged *Zing* in *Dalmatia*, but the Bashas of *Bosnia* and *Ercegovina* marching to its relief, he finds himself too weak, and after the loss of a great number of his men, retires from the city. The *Turks* flush'd with this success, immediately attack *Duare*, but a few days after are repulsed with greater loss by *Valter*, who had raised fresh forces.

The Vizir is more sollicitous about himself, than the *Othman* interest

CXXIX. When the account of these things was brought to *Constantinople*, it can hardly be told how it disturbed the minds and counsels of the *Othman* court, and especially the Prime Vizir *Cara Ibrahim Pasha*. He not only feared the common danger, for the principal forts of *Hungary* being subdued, and the *Othman* army defeated, there appeared very little to hinder the *Germans* from reducing the whole kingdom with the capital; but he also dreaded the fate, which threatned him, and which in publick calamities he well knew to be seldom very favorable to the Vizirs. He had retained, and even confirmed his authority by relieving of *Buda*, and the Sultan was not the least uneasy, that on account of a real or pretended indisposition he continued at home, while the Empire suffered no prejudice in other parts. But he saw that all these subterfuges would be unavailable, and he would be obliged to take upon him the command of the army, perhaps also on account of the ill success of this year be divested of his dignity. There remained but one method used by other Vizirs before him (76), which was to destroy all who were eminent in the Empire for their

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(76) before him] Some of the most eminent Vizirs have used this artifice, to put to death such persons as were most celebrated for their courage and virtues, namely, that after they were removed, there might be no person fit to supply their place. The most skilful in this way, was *Kioprili Mehemed Pasha*, who being raised from a mean fortune to the office of Vizir, did, within the seven years he possessed that dignity, put to death, under various pretences, almost all the old Pashas, that had been brought up under Sultan *Murad* IV. The chief of them were, *Seidiogli* the Defender of *Hungary* against the *Germans*, and *Deli Husein Pasha* governor of *Dalmatia*; two of the most excellent and invincible heroes that ever were in the *Othman* empire. After *Mehemed Pasha* had obtained of the Sultan a *Chatisherif* for putting the latter to death, he is reported to have sent for him, and to say with tears in his eyes: "See, my dear brother, what the Sultan "has ordered me to do: I have indeed "spared no pains to incline the Sultan to "mercy, but have found him so incensed "against you, that he would not hearken "to my prayers and entreaties; where"fore, I think, this death is appointed for "you by divine providence, which it be"comes a Musulman rather humbly to "[illegible] than resist." But *Husein Pasha* is said to make this reply, *Bire bei jazu tim sab gibi adami bogarsin, anden songra aglarsin*. *O thou old Wizard, like a crocodile, thou first killest a man, and then weepest over his body* Then pulling a golden box out of his bosom, in which he kept twenty four pieces of bones that had been taken out of his wounds by the Surgeons, he flung them in his face, with these words: *Ben bu Vezirate ve Sultaneti deuleti senum gibi siberbaz lykile jadi lykile nail olmadum illa din deuletde jadacat ile ve cantmun doktul messyle peida eiledum, bundan sangra senum gibi bir giaur bashimi dacha cati idup aia clarimi ananun amine sok* i e *I was raised to the office of Vizir, and the happiness of dominion, not, like thee, by magick arts, but for my fidelity, and effusion of my blood. Cut therefore my head off, if thou wilt, like an infidel, but lay my feet in thy mother's pudenda* *Husein Pasha* was formerly *Selahdar* to *Murad* IV, and so highly in favour with him, that he would neither do nor resolve any thing without asking his advice. Among his other conspicuous virtues, he was famous for his invincible resolution both in prosperity and adversity, his ready wit, eloquence, and quick repartees. Many excellent actions and sayings of his are recorded, of which I shall mention but a few, that these annotations may not be too prolix. Once, he was ordered in jest by Sultan *Murad*, to marry out of the

their warlike abilities, that in case the Sultan should resolve to deprive him of the imperial seal, there might be none, to whom it could with greater justice be committed.

The Vizir endeavours to establish himself in his post by the destruction of the other Pashas

CXXX. Necessity urging what cruelty suggested, he begins with *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha*, who had been Seraskier against the *Germans*, and accusing him of negligence in the battle of *Gran*, and of keeping back the pay due to the soldiers, and converting it to his own use, puts him to death. The same fate befall others, who could justly or unjustly be charged with any crime. The only person, who seemed above the danger of an accusation, was *Ameji Soliman Pasha*, Seraskier against *Poland*, who had gained so great an authority in the *Othman* Empire by his victory in *Moldavia*, that it was not only dangerous to touch him, but he was likewise declared universally worthy of the Vizirship. The present Vizir therefore perceiving, he could not hurt him openly, resolves to destroy him by clandestine methods, and expose him to the *German* forces, by whose valour he hoped he would lose the glory obtained in the *Polish* war. Wherefore upon the death of *Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha*, a consultation being held concerning the war in *Hungary*, he perswades the Sultan to appoint *Ameji Soliman Pasha* general of the army against the *Germans*, representing, he was beloved by the soldiers, and had great authority with them on account of the last victory, and there could scarce a man be found in the *Othman* Empire equal, much less superior to him in prudence and valour.

The Vizir preparing a snare for the Seraskier, falls into it himself.

CXXXI. The Sultan being perswaded by the Vizir's representation, approves his advice, and orders that *Soliman Pasha* should immediately be recalled out of *Moldavia*, and the command of the army at present be committed to *Buickly Mustapha Pasha* (77). Mean time, *Yusuf Kizlar aga* (78), coming to know what

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the palace an old woman of seventy years, with a strict injunction not to keep any concubine. He obeys the order, marries the old woman, and lives as well as he could some days without concubines. At the end of one or two weeks, changing his habit, he walks with the Sultan into the suburbs *Eyub ensari*, where the ice and snow are kept for the summer-season, and both going into the cellar, they begin to drink wine very plentifully. As they are drinking, the Sultan asks him, Whether there could possibly be a cooler place any where in *July* than that ice cellar? *Husain Pasha* answers there could. Where, says the Sultan? The other replies, in that old woman's—I lately married by your order. Whereupon, the Sultan, laughing heartily, declares him free from that marriage. Another time, the Sultan being angry with him, upon some ocasion, ordered him to be sent to the prison of the Seven Towers, and forgot him for three months: during which, he never shaved his head, which is contrary to the custom of the courtiers, because they must never appear before the Sultan, without having their heads and beards shaved. In the fourth month *Murad* remembring him, orders him to be brought to court. When he comes with his long hair and beard, What Devil, says the Sultan, has turned thee into a priest, that thou appearest before me with such a grisly head? To which he replied, I should deserve to be called the most foolish of mortals, if I had shaved or taken care of a head, of which I was uncertain whether it was mine, or another's? The Sultan answers, Perhaps the noysomness of the prison has so turned thy brains, that thou fanciest another man's head is upon thy shoulders. Not at all, says he, but finding you, who formerly were my friend and benefactor, so angry with me, I meditated on nothing but Paradise, and forgot I had a head. But if you will be pleased to forgive my offence, and restore me to favour, I shall be sure the head which stands upon my shoulders is my own, and will shave and take care of it, according to custom.

(77) *Buickly Mustapha*] That is, having long whiskers, *Mustapha Pasha* was so called, because his were long. He had been *Silahdar* to Sultan *Mahomet* IV, and from that office was advanced first to be *Capudan Pasha*, then Seraskier of *Silistria*, and at last, for his victory over the *Poles*, was raised to the dignity of Vizir; but in that Station did nothing answerable to the expectations conceived of him. He was dismissed by Sultan *Ahmed* II for a trifling cause, but without loss of honour, and sent to the goverment of *Damascus*, from whence he was recalled by Sultan *Mustapha* II, and made *Caimacan*, which office he enjoyed at the battle of *Zenta*. After that defeat, *Mustapha* offered him again the dignity of Vizir, but he refused to take upon him so harzardous an office, and

what the Vizir had proposed to the Sultan, instantly suspects, as he was a man of great policy and well-skilled in court-artifices, that some secret snares lay concealed under this plausible appearance, because he knew the Vizir to be mortal enemy of *Soliman*. He therefore informs *Soliman Pasha* by one of his friends, advising him to beware of the Vizir. *Soliman Pasha* having received the Sultan's mandate, immediately comes to *Constantinople*, and before he goes to the Sultan waits on the Vizir, as if he desired to receive his commands, and pretends so great a regard and veneration for him, that the Vizir imagining he had caught the fox, as a friend, acquaints him, that the Sultan for his known prudence and courage, had ordered him to be sent for to declare his opinion concerning the re-establishment of the Empire, and the election of a Seraskier of *Hungary*. When he comes afterwards to the palace, the Sultan highly commending him for his victory over the *Poles*, and his brave defence of the Empire on that side, offers him the post of Seraskier of *Hungary*, adding, he hopes, the remembrance of the victory obtained against the *Poles* will inspire the *Othman* soldiers with courage, and cause them to fight with greater gallantry and success under the conduct of a victorious Seraskier, than of any other commander. *Soliman Pasha* answers, he owes his life and fortune to the Sultan, and ought not to oppose his commands whatever they are but he cannot help observing, that the disordered state of the publick affairs, and the terror still imprinted on the army by the *Vienna*-defeat, required the presence, if not of the Sultan himself, at least of the Prime Vizir, in the camp, nor is the authority of a Seraskier sufficient to oblige men to their duty, who seemed more inclined to fly or mutiny, than to fight. The Sultan moved with this speech, stands musing some time, which being observed by the *Kyzlar Aga*, who had long been the Vizir's enemy, and *Soliman*'s friend, "Why (says he) O Emperor, do you hesitate? If you think "the Seraskier's counsel just and prudent, what hinders you from immediately "applying the remedy to this evil? Divest of his dignity *Cara Ibrahim Pasha*, "under whose pretended or real indisposition the Empire languishes, and appoint "this hero both Seraskier and Vizir." The suspicion which the Sultan had before entertained of the Vizir, is increased by these remonstrances of the *Kyzlar Aga*, and soon grew so great, that he firmly believes *Cara Ibrahim Pasha* had pretended sickness out of fear; and removing him from his post, gives it to *Soliman Pasha*.

Soliman being made Vizir banishes his predecessor, and restores *Tekeli*, who was acquitted of all crimes, to his former honours

CXXXII. When *Soliman* finds he had not only escaped the snares of his enemy, but obtained the administration of the whole *Othman* empire, he immediately seized his predecessor, and finding him accused of many crimes, banishes him to *Rhodes*. Then he releases *Tekeli*, imprisoned by *Cara Ibrahim Pasha*, as I before observed. and by the evidence of *Ibrahim Aga*, chamberlain of *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, acquits him of the crime charged upon him. On the other hand, he exposes to the publick, all the villanies of *Cara Mustapha*, and his pernicious designs against the *Othman* empire, so that *Tekeli* is not only restored to his former honours, but all his furniture, which had been taken from him, and whatever had been plundered by the rapacious soldiers, are returned to him.

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and desired the Sultan not to place him a second time in that danger, from which, he reckoned it one of the greatest felicities of his life, to have escaped.

(78) *Yusuf Kisler Aga*] At the taking of *Camenitec*, he was *Hasnardar bashi*, or chief treasurer of the women's Seraglio, and that same year was advanced to the dignity of *Kyslar aga*. He was in such esteem with Sultan *Mahomet*, that the Sultan would do nothing without his privity, and the Vizirs feared him more than he did the Vizirs; Accordingly, he was the chief and only cause of the deposition of *Cara Ibrahim Pasha*. No *Kyslar aga*, either before or after him, amassed so great treasure, or had such influence over the Sultan. When he was turned out, there were found in his stables seven hundred *Arabian* bred horses. He had an outer court in the city, and whenever he went there, was surrounded with more officers than the Vizir himself. After all, he was a man of great prudence, and very serviceable to his master in many respects.

Affairs

Affairs being thus settled, the Vizir with great diligence raises an army, engaging a great number in the service by his persuasions and influence upon the soldiers; and compelling others who preferred ease to glory, by his *Chauses** ; and orders all his silver and gold vessels to be turned into money for the expence of the war.

CXXXIII. But before he could bring his forces into the field, the country being still covered with snow, part of the Imperial troops, under the command of *Caraffa*, on the 18th of the month *Rebiul evvel* of the year 1097, had taken St. *Nicholas*; and another party, under *Merci*, had routed several *Turkish* regiments, which were convoying provision to *Aradum*, taken that town, and burnt the stores laid up there by the *Turks*. After several other conflicts, at last, on the 26th of the month *Rejeb* †, the whole Imperial army besiege *Buda*, which had in vain been attempted two years before, and on the 2d of the month *Shaban*, make themselves masters of the lower town, with less opposition from the garrison than was expected. This obstacle being surmounted, the walls of the city are assaulted, and the strongest of the forts being demolished by the cannon, on the 21st of the same month †, the breach is fiercely attacked with such success, that the besieged are obliged entirely to abandon it. But the workmen, who were to cover the conquerors with a rampart, not coming immediately, not only many of them are killed by the continual fire of the enemy, but the *Turks* have an opportunity of springing the mines before prepared, which force the Imperialists to retire with great loss.

The Imperialists besiege *Buda*, and at first suffer a considerable loss.

H 1097.
A. C. 1686.

† 7th of *June*.

† *July* 2d.

CXXXIV However, this misfortune did not discourage the *Christians*, but rather excited them to a revenge. Whereupon the fourth of the month *Ramazan* †, having demolished several paces of the wall, they renew the assault in the same place. The contest is long doubtful, and so fierce, that above three thousand Imperialists are either killed or wounded, before they could mount the breach, and it was with great difficulty, that after a conflict of several hours, they forced the besieged to abandon the first wall. This progress being made, the batteries are directed against the second wall.

They bravely assault the city.

† *July* 15th.

CXXXV. When the greatest part of this wall is also demolished, the Vizir *Atneji Soliman Pasha* arrives with his troops, and finding it in vain to attack the Imperial camp, resolves, if possible, to strengthen the garrison, and amuse the enemy by delays, till he had an opportunity to assault them unexpectedly, when fatigued with the length of the siege. For this purpose, the 22d of the month *Ramazan* †, he sends four Bashas with eight thousand horse, and two thousand Janizaries towards the enemy's camp, with orders to try, whether they could pass between the stations of the Imperialists and *Bavarians*, and throw in part of the Janizaries at least to the relief of the besieged. But the Duke of *Lorrain* suspecting the intentions of the *Turks*, sends a body of horse against them, before they reached the camp, which attack the enemy's horse with such vigour, that after a short opposition, they fly, and leave the Janizaries to the mercy of the Imperialists

The Vizir marching thither, attempts in vain to relieve the city.

† *August* 3d

CXXXVI On the last day of the month *Ramazan* †, the Vizir makes another attempt, and sends again two thousand Janizaries with several troops of horse, to execute his former design. These advance with greater caution, and surprize the advanced guards of the Imperialists, and then fall upon the *Brandenburg* camp with such fury, that like wild beasts, not like men, they rushed through fire and sword, and at once passed the rampart raised against them. The *Brandenburg* troops being in this dangerous state, are seasonably relieved by *Caprara* and *Heusler*, who inclose the *Turks*, just ready to enter the city, and make such a slaughter of them, that scarce three hundred, and those almost all wounded, escape into the city.

He again tries the fortune of a battle, but with the like success

† *August* 9th.

CXXXVII. Two days after *, the Imperialists, to show the besieged, how little they dreaded the Vizir, assault the strongest part of the castle, and after a sharp conflict, having driven out or killed those who defended it, become masters of it. When they seemed by this means to be very near taking the city, the Vizir, on the 19th of the month *Sheval* †, for the third time obliges a thousand Janizaries, notwithstanding their reluctance, to attempt the relief of the city

The *Turks* endeavouring to relieve the city, are repulsed.

* *August* 11th.
† *August* 18th.

with a thousand *Spahis*, and fifteen hundred *Tartars*. But though they behave with the same bravery as the former, and even penetrated the trenches of the Imperialists, they are repulsed by the valour of the *Christians*, and forced to retire with great loss. The same fate is undergone by the garrison, who, to divide the enemy, and favour the entrance of their friends, had made a sally with their whole strength, but soon after seeing the misfortune of the rest, retire into the city with great speed and ill success. By these losses the *Turkish* army is entirely disheartened, and a report being spread, that when the Imperialists had taken the city, they would attack them in their camp, the best part of the soldiers, notwithstanding the Vizir's intreaties and persuasions, disperse themselves, and return home. The Imperialists being freed from the danger, which threatened them in their rear, on the 13th of the month *Sheval* †, make the last assault upon the city.

† *August* 22

Buda taken by the Imperialists; and the Vizir unwillingly retires

CXXXVIII. *Abdi Pasha*, governor of the city, a man very famous at that time for his warlike abilities, with the remains of the garrison, makes his last effort in defence of the city, and with fire and sword for several hours bravely repels the *German* army. But he being killed by the Imperialists, the rest of the garrison begin to lose their courage, and resist the enemy with less vigour. At last, finding themselves unequal to the *Germans*, they display the white flag, and in the midst of the fight, promise to surrender the city, and desire quarter. But before the ardor of the *Germans* can be restrained, a great number of the besieged are killed upon the very walls, so that scarce two thousand are saved by the clemency of the Emperor's generals. *Buda* being subdued, the Vizir, who, during the assault, had with tears lamented his own and the Empire's fortune, with the rest of his army, flies, rather than retreats, and moreover the garrisons of *Hatman*, and the other adjacent castles, abandon their stations, and of their own accord, submit to the Emperor.

The Imperialists divided under the command of *Caraffa* and Prince of *Baden*

CXXXIX. The *Turks* upon this account seeming to avoid a battle, the Duke of *Lorrain* divides the imperial forces, and sends part under the command of the Prince of *Baden* into *Lower Hungary*, and part under the conduct of *Caraffa* and *Heusler* into *Upper Hungary*. The Prince of *Baden* with his forces, on the 8th of the month *Zylcade*, besieges *Simonthorn*, and in a few days obliges the *Turkish* garrison to surrender themselves and castle to his mercy. Then he attacks *Kaposwiwar*, and takes the city, which, because the castle seemed capable of sustaining a longer siege than the time would admit, he plunders and abandons. Having staid there some days, and receiving fresh supplies brought him by *Scherfenberg*, he marches towards *Five Churches*, and on the 28th of the month *Zylcade* †, with his foremost troops comes within sight of the city. Whereupon the garrison, imagining the whole army to be advanced, set fire to the town, and retire into the castle. The Prince of *Baden*, as his foot was still at a distance, orders three hundred chosen horse to dismount, and extinguish the fire, which was done with such expedition by the soldiers greedy of plunder, that they rescued the greatest part of the city from the flames. The garrison perceiving that only a light-armed party was advanced, and not the body of the *Germans*, out of shame and regret for their loss, endeavour by a sally to recover the city, but were forced to retire with loss. However to remove the disgrace incurred by their flight, they resolve to make a brave defence, and sacrifice their lives rather than surrender the castle, and this they declare to the enemy by displaying one black and six red banners upon a turret of the castle. But after their strongest works were demolished by the cannon, the prospect of immediate death inspires them with gentler resolutions, so they not only take down their banners, but send deputies to the Prince of *Baden*, offering to deliver up the castle upon condition of having leave to depart with their lives and arms. But this being refused by the *Germans*, they are obliged to surrender at mercy, and redeem their lives with their liberty. So, the gates of the castle being opened on the 3d of the month *Zylhije* †, the Pasha himself with seven Begs, and the whole garrison are made prisoners, and sent to *Stiria*. The Prince of *Baden* having taken this city, sends part of his army under the command of *Scherfenberg* against *Siclos*, and with the rest marches towards *Darda*. *Scherfenberg* on the

† *Septemb.* 15.

† *October* 5

† [illegible]

the 7th of the month *Zylhije* † comes to *Sicles*, and taking the city in the first assault, offers honorable conditions to the *Turks* for the surrender of the castle, into which they had retired But on their refusal, he batters the walls, and in various assaults presses them with such vigour, that on the 12th of that month they display the white flag, and there being no other way to escape death, surrender themselves prisoners

† *October* 14.

CXL. From thence *Scherfenberg* is recalled to *Darda* by the Prince of *Baden*, who hearing some *Turkish* troops were still about the *Drave*, had determined to attack and defeat them. But the *Turks*, upon the bare report of his approach, fly with such precipitation, that they not only leave *Essek* open to the *Germans*, but burn down great part of the bridge to prevent the enemy's pursuing them. The Prince of *Baden* finding they had escaped him, orders the remainder of the bridge, and the other bridges built by the *Turks* over the *Drave*, to be burnt.* In his return he assaults with greater force *Kaposwar*, which had before been attempted in vain, and so presses the governor, terrified by the fate of the neighboring garrisons, that before the castle was reduced to extremities, on the 22d of *Zylhije* † it was surrendered to the *Germans* upon honorable terms.

The *Turks* fly at the report of the *Germans* approach The Prince of *Baden* prosecutes his victory.

† *October* 25,

CXLI. Mean time the other part of the imperial army commanded by *Caraffa* and *Heusler*, had marched to *Segedin*, and closely besieged that city. While *Caraffa* is intent on the siege, he receives an account, that two thousand *Turks*, with a strong band of *Tartars*, had encamped near *Schinta*, a town six hours distant from *Segedin*, and were designed to reinforce the garrison of that city. Against these he sends *Veteran* with several regiments, who attacks and routs the *Tartars*, and takes their camp with above five thousand horses. Soon after the *Tartars* return to the battle, imagining the enemy was employed in plundering the camp, and consequently would afford them an easy victory, but being repulsed by the outmost guards, immediately retire.

Caraffa hinders the *Tartars* from relieving *Segedin*

CXLII After their defeat, the Vizir himself suddenly appears with his army, having joined to his forces the *Tartars*, he had intercepted in their flight. *Veteran*, though he has no certain information of the enemy's strength, thinks proper to continue in his station, lest he should by a retreat discourage his soldiers, and drawing them up, undauntedly expects the enemies The *Turks* make the first attack, and fight with such fury, that for two hours it appeared doubtful to which side the victory would incline. But at last they are repulsed by the valour of the *Germans*, and retire to a hill, where they are covered by their cannon *Veteran* immediately follows, and surmounting all obstacles, drives them also from that post, after they had lost in both battles above two thousand Janizaries, and as many *Tartars* *Segedin* was the reward of this victory, for the garrison exhausted by continual fatigues, when they see the victorious army return to their camp, with so many heads of their friends, deliver up that fortress to the *Germans* on the 5th of the month *Zylhije* †.

Veteran defeats the Vizir himself *Segedin* surrenders to him.

† *October* 12.

CXLIII. This was the state of affairs in *Hungary*. But in *Poland* most part of the year is spent in negotiations. For the Emperor of *Germany* had invited the Czars of *Russia*, *John* and *Peter*, into the alliance against the common enemy of Christendom; and while the rest were employed in *Hangary* and the the southern parts of *Europe*, to invade *Crim Tartary*, and prevent the junction of the *Tartars* with the *Turks*. The Czars answered, they were ready to declare war against the enemy of the Cross, if any method could be taken to secure them from the fear of a rupture with *Poland* For as they had only a truce, and not a firm peace with that Kingdom, they should be universally blamed, if, before they were safe from one enemy, they should create another.

The Emperor of *Germany* invites the Czars of *Russia* to engage against the common enemy

CXLIV. Upon this account, the Emperor was extremely sollicitous to procure a good understanding between these two nations, and engage them to discharge their mutual resentments upon the enemy; and at last after many endeavours, he obtained of the *Poles*, that they should renounce all claim to *Kiovia* and *Smolensci*, which had been for several ages the ground of sharp contests between

A firm peace is concluded between the *Russians* and *Poles*

* This bridge is said by Dr *Brown* to be five miles long and seventeen paces broad, reaching from the *Drave* to *Darda*. The Emperor *Ælian's* name is still to be read in a Latin inscription on a gate so antient is this place

tween these nations, and sign the articles of peace on the 20th of the month *Jemaziul evvel* † of the year 1097.

† April 3 H 1097.

A C 1686 The King of *Poland* sends an ambassador to *Cantemir* Prince of *Moldavia*, to engage him in an alliance.

CXLV. The King of *Poland*, *John Sobieski*, encouraged by this new assistance, resolves upon another expedition into *Moldavia*, and to attack that province, as the chief bulwark of the *Turkish* Empire against *Poland*. But before he took the field, he determines again to try to engage the *Moldavians* in a treaty against the *Turks*. For this purpose he sends privately his confessor in disguise, as ambassador to *Constantine Cantemir* Prince of *Moldavia*, to perswade him to join with the *Poles* against the *Turks*, and offer him liberty, and confirmation of his principality, and a perpetual alliance. When the ambassador comes to the Prince, he opens what he had in commission, and uses his utmost efforts to engage him in the treaty. " It is now (says he) the third year, since the King my " master, heard with the utmost satisfaction that *Cantemir* was appointed Prince " of *Moldavia* by the *Turks*, and has conceived the greatest hopes, that he will " exert against the *Turks* the great abilities, of which he has formerly given " proofs in *Poland* under King *Casimir* against the *Swedes*, and will assert the " liberty of a people oppressed under the *Turkish* tyranny. For this reason his " majesty imputes to his generals the misfortune, which happened last year to his " army at the *Tyras*, and withal ascribes it to the Prince's prudence, that he had " under the pretence of fidelity induced the *Turks* to a greater confidence in him, " and not exposed himself and his subjects to *Turkish* bonds, when after the Imperialists were repulsed from *Buda*, it appeared uncertain, which side was most " likely to be superior. But now the face of affairs is changed, and the " *Turks* will be so oppressed by the number of their enemies, that they will scarce " be able to think of *Moldavia*. For the Czars of *Russia* are ready to invade " *Crim-Tartary* with five hundred thousand men, and keep the *Tartars* employed, the Imperialists also will pass the *Danube*, and joining the *Polish* " forces at *Adrianople*, endeavour to subdue *Constantinople*. But since the King " cannot in his passage leave *Moldavia* behind him in the hands of the enemy, " he thinks it his duty to admonish a *Christian* Prince and his old friend, not to " oppose the *Christian* arms any longer, but immediately join his forces to the " *Polish* army, and command his subjects to receive the *Poles*, not as enemies, but " as deliverers, and bring all sorts of provisions into their camp. The King on " his part will promise, not to injure the inhabitants any way, but to purchase " whatever is brought at a proper price, nor to suffer even a grain of barley to " be taken from any man by force; and whoever shall be found to do the least " injury to a *Moldavian*, shall be put to death without mercy."

The Prince of *Moldavia* justly excuses himself from making an alliance

CXLVI. The Prince, in answer, says to the ambassador, " His inclination " to serve the interests of *Christendom* has appeared sufficiently to the king, both " from what has passed between him and the King's generals the last year, and " from his conversations with him. He has never omitted any thing he thought " advantageous to the *Christians*, nor ever would for the future, whatever the " consequences might be, but it was neither in his power, nor would be of any " use to the *Poles* to join forces, or to make an open alliance with them this " year. His eldest son, with those of some nobles, were kept at *Constantinople* " as hostages, who would suffer the severest torments, if the *Turks* should entertain the least suspicion of his fidelity. He had in his camp but five thousand *Moldavians* who, if joined to the *Polish* army, would be no great accession of strength, nor render the *Turks* much weaker. But if he continued " in the *Turkish* camp, it would be in his power, not only to prevent any dangerous resolution against the *Poles*, but likewise to inform the King every day " or even every hour of the designs of the Seraskier and Sultan of the *Tartars*, " which services would be of much more importance than so slight an assistance. " Besides, though for fear of the *Turks*, he could not by writing, yet by word " of mouth, he would command the inhabitants of *Moldavia* to bring all kinds " of provision into the *Polish* camp, and do every thing else agreeable to the " King's desire.' But if God should grant success to that expedition, and the " *Turks* and *Tartars* be defeated, he would use his utmost efforts to procure his

3 " son's

"son's escape from *Constantinople*, or give a large ransom for him as a captive; "and if this could not be done, he would sacrifice him to the interests of Christendom and the liberty of his country, and with his whole force invade the "enemy of *Christ* and *Christians* in open war.

CXLVII. The King of *Poland* having received this answer, in the beginning of the month *Sheval*, passes the *Tyras*, and with long marches advances to *Jassij*, where meeting with no opposition, and finding great store of corn and wine (because the Prince had left *Ramandi Vornicus* at *Jassij* to get provision for the King's army) he spends fourteen days in feasting and entertainments, mean time the Seraskier *Buikly Mustapha Pasha* with five and twenty thousand horse, and eight thousand Janizaries had already passed the *Danube*, and sent for *Nurradin Sultan* (79), with thirty thousand *Tartars* to his camp. Here he is informed, the King was advanced to *Jassij*, and that *Cantemir* had not yet appeared in the *Turkish* camp, and deeming his absence a revolt, commands *Nurradin Sultan* with the *Tartars* to enter *Moldavia* as an enemy's country, to lay it waste with fire and sword, and make the inhabitants prisoners *Moldavia* would undoubtedly have been involved in a most dreadful calamity, if *Beg Myrza*, one of the *Tartarian Myrzas* of the *Cantemir*-family (80), had not interposed, and diverted the Seraskier and Sultan from their purpose by promising to be surety for Prince *Cantemir*, that he should never act contrary to the fidelity due to the *Othman* empire, or revolt to the enemy, adding, he was assured, the Prince was departed from *Jassij*, and in three days would arrive at the camp The event justified his words, for the Prince, on the third day before the King's arrival, had left *Jassij*, and being come to *Falczi*, gives liberty to as many of his followers as thought proper to return to the King, and passing the *Hierasus*, about the end of the month *Sheval* reaches the Seraskier's camp.

The King of *Poland* marches to *Jassij*

Cantemir, of his own accord joining the *Turkish* army, delivers the inhabitants from the danger of captivity.

CXLVIII. During this interval, the King of *Poland*, tired with his feastings, advances further, with intent to drive the *Turks* entirely out of *Moldavia*, but upon his second encampment, observes his soldiers begin to want provisions, because all their stores had been wasted, during their recess at *Jassij*, through the negligence of the commissaries; and nothing left but a great quantity of fruits for the *Poles* to eat. To

The King of *Poland* having passed the *Hierasus* is attacked by the *Turks*

ANNOTATIONS.

(79) *Nurradin Sultan*] There are two offices among the *Tartars*, that are never given to any but the Chan's sons, descended from the *Aujengizian* race, and not without the consent of the *Othman* court, namely, *Calga* and *Nurradin*. *Calga* is as it were the Chan's Lieutenant-general, who never moves out of *Crim-Tartary*, but with the whole army of the *Tartars*. *Nurradin* which in the *Tartarian* language signifies *Will*, is the next in degree, and is sent with a certain number of forces, as ten or twenty thousand *Tartars*, to the assistance of the *Turks*.

(80) *Cantemir*-family] This family was very eminent among the *Tartarian Mirzas* for nobility and riches. According to tradition, the *Cantemirs* derive their pedigree from *Temur leng* the great conqueror of *Asia*, which seems to be confirmed by the name, for *Can Temur* signifies the blood of *Temur*, or persons descended from the blood of *Temur*. One of the *Cantemirs* rebelled both against the Chan and the *Turkish* Emperor, and fought for many years with equal success against several Seraskiers, and probably would have obtained his wish'd for liberty, had he not been deceived by a feigned treaty For the *Turks* seeing, they could not prevail by arms, pretended to make a peace with him, and, complying with his terms, granted him *Bender* with the neighboring territory, under the title of Beg, with the privilege of two horse tails But having thus amused him, they shortly after put him to death The brothers of the deceased submitted again to the Chan, and were placed in the provinces of *Akkierman* and *Kili*. His son *Shabbaz Cantemir* was also received into favour, but changed his name, and because his father had been Beg, took the sirname of *Beg-Mirza*, which passed to his sons and posterity Whilst my father was Prince of *Moldavia*, *Beg-Mirza*, mentioned in the History, used often to come with his five sons into *Moldavia*, and related the History of his ancestors as he had learned from tradition, the only preserver of the *Tartarian* genealogies. He moreover said, he had been informed by his ancestors, that at the time they were most closely pressed by the Chan, one of their family fled to the Prince of *Moldavia*, and embraced Christianity; and upon this account he affirmed my Father was his relation.

[rem]edy this inconvenience, he passes the *Hierasus* near *Czoczora*, imagining that be[fore] the *Turks* advanced, he should seize the richest store-houses of the *Bujak* [T]*artars*, and refresh his hungry soldiers. The Seraskier being informed, the king had passed the *Hierasus*, immediately marches with his whole army against him, and when he was scarce two days distant from *Czoczora*, discovers him in an open plain, and surrounds him. The *Tartars* set fire to the grass, already dried up by the heat of the sun, continually infest the *Polish* camp in small parties, and either take the *Poles* prisoners as they are foraging, or oblige them to return with empty waggons. The king in despair offers battle to the Seraskier; but he either thinking it hazardous to fight with sixty thousand *Poles*, or desiring to draw them farther from the borders of *Poland*, avoids an engagement, and commands his soldiers only to annoy the enemy by continual skirmishes. But the *Polish* army felt a much more formidable enemy within their bowels, namely famine, which pressed them so dreadfully, that they could not stir from their camp, without leaving three or four hundred dead bodies behind.

Poles are ...ed to re... The ... by fa...[mi]ne and ra... disgraces ...ame of

CXLIX. The King thus distressed, endeavours to repass the *Hierasus* at a place, called by the inhabitants *Vale Strimba* (81). But scarce half the army are over, when the *Tartars* advance, and fall upon the rest in the rear, kill a great number, take many prisoners, and force still more into the torrent. The river being at last passed with great difficulty and loss, the King discharges upon the *Moldavians* the resentment which he could not upon the *Turks*, and gives his soldiers licence (82) to plunder the inhabitants of that province. He himself burns two monasteries at *Jassij*, seizes the sacred vessels, carries away the relicks of St. *John* of *Soczava* with many jewels, the monuments of the piety of former princes, and forces away as a prisoner the Metropolitan of *Moldavia*, who refused to deliver up the sacred things. He afterwards comes to the monastery of the *Three Hierarchies*, where the relicks of St. *Parasceua* (83) of *Epibats* are religiously pre-

ANNOTATIONS.

(81) *Vale Strimba*] A place upon the river *Hierasus* or *Pruth*, unfortunate to the *Christians*, and very fortunate to the Infidels. *Konicky*, general of the *Cossaks*, had his trenches forced there by the *Tartars*, and was defeated with great slaughter. *John Sobieski* King of *Poland*, was forced twice to retire out of the same place, and not without a very considerable loss: And in my time *Peter*, Czar of *Muscovy*, tho' he fought very bravely for three days together, yet concluded there a peace with the infidels upon such conditions as he did not much like. There seems to be something unlucky in the very etymology of the word, for *Vale strimba*, in the *Moldavian* language denotes a *perverse* or *unjust Valley*.

(82) licence] The King endeavoured indeed to clear himself of this infamy, and to throw the blame on the hungry soldiers, who had plundered the *Moldavians*, not only without his knowledge, but contrary to his express orders; and of this he endeavoured to perswade the Prince by letter. But his other violent proceedings in *Moldavia*, and the imprisonment of the Metropolitan, who refused to deliver to him the remains of St. *John* of *Soczava*, [pla]inly show, that if the soldiers had not [the] King's orders or permission, yet they were certainly encouraged by his example, to commit robberies and other crimes.

(83) *Parasceua*] *Parasceua*, as we learn from the ecclesiastical menologies, was mistress of the village of *Epibats*, which afterwards was possessed by the great *Apocaucus* general of the Emperor *Andronicus*. In the time of Sultan *Murad* IV. *Basilius* Prince of *Moldavia*, obtained permission to remove her bones out of the Patriarchal Church at *Constantinople*, on account of his great beneficence and services to the Church. For he had paid out of his income above two hundred and sixty purses, which she owed to *Turks* and *Christians*. But as it is unlawful among the *Turks*, to carry a dead body above three miles, unless it is that of a Sultan, he spent above three hundred purses in the *Othman* Court, to obtain leave to remove them, and to have an order from the Sultan for a *Capuji bashi* to convey them into *Moldavia*. The whole History of this Translation is painted on the South wall of the Church, in which her sacred remains are deposited; and among other things, the *Capuji bashi* and his officers are represented in procession before the holy relicks. So much power has money among the *Turks*, that for the sake of it, they not only permit, but also do things themselves contrary to their superstition.

served

ſerved, and requires thoſe relicks, with the treaſure repoſited there, to be delivered to him But the *Archimandrite* having heard in what manner the Metropolitan had been treated, ſhuts the doors of the church, and anſwers thoſe who were ſent by the King, that he had rather be buried in the ruins of the church, than voluntarily deliver up to any mortal ſo ſacred and valuable a treaſure. The King, to terrify the obſtinate monk, commands the cannon to be brought, and threatens to batter down the doors, and carry away the whole treaſure, ſince he was refuſed part, when demanded in a friendly manner. But finding the *Archimandrite* inflexible, either touched with the ſhame of ſacrilege, or prevented by his officers, he ſoon after departs without gaining his point.

The whole army follows the King's example.

CL. The ſoldiers, induced by hunger as well as the Kings example, plunder the cities and villages, not ſparing any place, religious or prophane, in which they imagined they could find any thing to ſatisfy their appetite or luſt.

God puniſhes the ſacrilegious *Poles*

CLI. But this ſacrilege ſoon met its due puniſhment. For the inhabitants being diſperſed by the cruelty of the *Poles* and *Coſſaks*, when the troops which followed, found the houſes empty, they were obliged to eat raw fleſh without being ſalted, and this occaſioned a flux among them, which encreaſed in a few days to ſuch a degree in the King's camp, that ſcarce a night paſſed, but five hundred *Poles* or more died. The Prince likewiſe being informed of the heinous crimes and ſacrileges committed by the *Poles*, ſends his forces over all the province, ſurprizes them diſperſed, and apprehenſive of no ſuch attempt, and takes above four thouſand priſoners, of whom ſome he burns, others he impales or hangs, deſervedly puniſhing them by different kinds of death.

The *Tartars* poyſon the waters with noxious herbs.

CLII When the King's army came to *Cotnar*, the *Tartars* poiſon with noxious herbs (84) the lake, which waters that city, by which means the men and cattle, who drink of it, are deſtroyed The thing being diſcovered, the King, not to expoſe himſelf and his forces to greater danger, avoids the open country, and encamps on the *Siretus*, which is ſurrounded with mountains. The *Tartars* obſerving this, conclude, his deſign was to retire into *Poland*, and as the woods and mountains were difficult to paſs by the horſe, they return home, laden with plunder and priſoners.

The King in his return takes the caſtle of *Nemez*, and afterwards *Suchavia*

CLIII The King of *Poland*, freed from the *Tartars* (for the *Turks* had not paſſed the *Hierajus*) that he might not appear to have conſumed the Pope's money to no purpoſe, in his return takes the caſtle of *Nemez* (85), deſerted by its inhabitants, though not without difficulty, for there remained by chance in the caſtle, nineteen *Moldavian* hunters, who ſhutting the gates, and drawing up the bridges, denied the King entrance, The King not knowing how inconſiderable the garriſon was, aſſaults it four days with cannon and bombs The hunters defend themſelves, and kill about fifty *Poles* with the maſter of the ordnance. At laſt, on the fifth day, when they ſee ten of their companions killed, they ſurrender the city upon condition, that the garriſon ſhould depart where they pleaſed. The king ſeeing only ſix hunters come out, carrying three others wounded upon their ſhoulders, is ſtruck with admiration, reſentment, and ſhame, and firſt orders them to be hanged; but being put in mind by *Yablonowski* of his promiſe of liberty, diſmiſſes them. He afterwards places two hundred choſen horſe in the city, and marches to *Soczava*, the antient ſeat of the Princes of *Moldavia*, and finding it empty of both ſoldiers and inhabitants, takes and garriſons it.

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(84) noxious herbs] It is a wonderful thing, and incredible to thoſe that have not been eye-witneſſes of it, but I have ſeen it ſometimes done by them. The *Tartars* have a ſecret among them, which not above three or four in all *Tartary* know by tradition, that is, an herb of ſo ſtrong and poyſonous a nature, that it can poyſon not only ſtanding water, but even the rapid river *Hierajus*. They throw it into the river, a good way above the enemy's camp, and till it is carried down with the ſtream, all men or beaſts that drink of the water immediately die without remedy.

(85) *Nemez*] A very antient city of *Lower Moldavia*, ſituated upon a high mountain beyond *Siretus* near a river of the ſame name, concerning which ſee more in my deſcription of *Moldavia*.

CLIV. By

The Tartars returning, greatly annoy the Poles.

[illegible]. By these successes of the *Poles*, the *Tartars*, who had now carried home their former booty, are recalled, and like ravenous wolves run every where, and intercept the *Poles*, who are at any distance from the army. In these excursions on the 16th of the month *Zylcade* †, they are met by the high treasurer, whom the King had sent before with eight thousand *Poles*, and defeated with great loss. But neither this victory was of any advantage to the *Poles*. For when, by reason of the famine, the army was obliged to live on the fruits of trees, and for that purpose was dispersed more widely in the woods, than was proper, the *Tartars* frequently attacked them in this disorder, killing some, and taking others prisoners; and whoever strayed any distance from his troop, might be sure of never returning.

† Sept 23.

The King privately abandons the camp, and flies

CLV. The King perceiving this danger, first abandons the camp, and under the guidance of *Turkuleczius*, a *Moldavian* colonel, flies away privately in the night with a few attendants. The rest of the army, whom a more propitious fortune had preserved both from the famine and the enemy's sword, under the conduct of *Yablonowski* return to the King at *Yavarovia* about the end of the month *Zylcade*.

The successes of the Venetians against the Turks

CLVI. The *Venetians* had that year much better success. In the beginning of the spring, the *Morlachians* besiege *Ottoch*, a city situated between the two channels of the river *Cettin*; and taking it by storm, put the whole garrison to the sword. *Capudan Pasha* makes the same attempt upon *Chelasa*, but on the approach of the *Venetian* fleet, is obliged to retire. Part of this fleet is sent to block up *Constantinople* on the side of the *Archipelago* towards the *Dardanelles*, the rest of the ships attack *Old Navarinum*; which city being surrendered by the [illegible] the [illegible] of the siege, *New Navarinum* is closely invested. The Sera[illegible] to its relief; but before he reached the *Venetian* works, he [illegible] Count *Koningsmark* and the Marquiss of *Curbon* with eight thous[illegible], and defeated. He soon after raises three thousand men [illegible] of the neighbouring garrisons, and assembling those who had escaped the former battle [illegible] attempts to relieve the city, but is repulsed with great los[illegible] inhabitants of *Navarinum*, destitute of all hopes, on the 26th of [illegible] †, surrender the city to the *Venetians*.

† June 7

The Venetians take Methone, and defeat the Turks in a battle at Corone

* June 26

† July 20

CLVII. Three days after *Methone* is besieged, [illegible] month *Shaban**, delivered up by the garrison, terrified by [illegible]. The *Venetians* crown their *Peloponnesian* expedition [illegible] taking of *Napolis* of *Romania*. This city is besieged by *Morosini* on the 10th of the month *Ramazan* †, and though it was very strong both by nature and art, in a few days he demolishes the walls with his cannon. On the sixth day of the siege, the Seraskier of the *Morea* hastens with his troops to the relief of the city, but is met by *Koningsmark*, and after a short battle defeated. However not being discouraged with this misfortune, and knowing if this city should be subdued by the *Venetians*, he must answer it with his head, he raises a more numerous army, and on the 9th of the month *Sheval** at break of day attacks the trenches of the *Venetians*, and before they can recover themselves, takes possession of a hill, from whence he could cannonade the greatest part of the camp. In this exigence *Koningsmark* with the troops under his command, comes to the assistance of the *Venetians*, and detained the enemy till *Morosini* advanced with the rest of the army. The *Turks*, though they perceive the *Venetians* to be superior, fight for seven hours with such bravery, as if the whole *Othman* empire had been at stake, but at last, by the repeated assaults of the *Venetians*, are put to flight. *Mustapha*, governor of the city, seeing the *Christians* returning to their trenches in triumph, and concluding the forces, from which he expected relief, were defeated, the very same day displays the signal of surrender, and upon the promise of leave to depart, on the 9th of the month *Sheval* †, delivers up the castle to the *Venetians*.

* August 18

† August 19.

Venetian successes in Dalmatia

CLVIII. In *Dalmatia*, the Basha of *Bosnia* early in the spring besieges *Duare*; but hearing of the approach of the *Venetians*, retreats with great loss. He makes several attempts upon the enemy in other places, but is repulsed with slaughter. The *Venetians*, elated with these successes, on the seventh of the month *Sheval* †, under the command of *Cornaro* attack *Zing*, which *Valier* had in vain attempted

† August 16

ed the last year, and having demolished the walls with their cannon, on the second day of the siege take it by storm, and put the whole garrison to the sword. With like success the *Morlachians* make an expedition towards *Constantinople*, and by a stratagem draw a thousand foot and five hundred horse out of the city, where they were garrison'd, then surrounding them, kill a great number at the first attack, and pursued the rest with such vigour, that they entered the city with them promiscuously, and having plundered it, set it on fire.

CLIX. These misfortunes alarming the *Ulema* and the people of *Constantinople*, they at first utter privately seditious expressions against Sultan *Mahomet*, but afterwards throw them out publickly. The *Ulema* especially represented to the common people, that the treasury being exhausted, myriads of Musulmans slain by the *Christians*, *Hungary* and the *Morea* lost, and the royal city itself threatned with immediate danger, it was too late now to advise the Sultan to leave hunting, and apply himself to the care of the empire, and endeavour to assist it in this distress. That this could not be imputed to weakness of mind, since *Mahomet* had some years since shown, he was not unqualified for the administration of affairs, but to the divine wrath against the Musulmans for the breach of the peace, made by the most wise Vizir *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha*, which had so infatuated the Sultan, as to imagine, that the bounds of the *Othman* empire, extended by the labours and blood of so many Musulmans, could be defended by dogs and falcons. That the indignation of the most high could not be appeased by any other method than removing the objects of it, namely, the Sultan, who was the first author of the unjust war, and all those, who by their advice or *Fetva*, approved of the violation of the peace.

The people of Constantinople are enraged against the Sultan, and cry out that he ought to be deposed

CLX. The Sultan informed of what was publickly said in the streets and assemblies, instantly repairs to *Constantinople*, divests the *Mufti* of his dignity, employs several persons in his interests to represent to the people, that the Sultan was not the occasion of beginning the war, but the Vizir *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, and the deposed Mufti, whose counsels he did not think proper to oppose, as well because they appeared reasonable, as out of regard to their authority. But that *Cara Mustapha Pasha* had been put to death, and the Mufti deprived of his office, on that account.

The Sultan endeavours in vain to lay the blame upon others.

CLXI. To give the people a farther proof of his zeal for the interests of the empire, he sells the jewels reposited in the treasury, and with the money pays the soldiers, and this not being sufficient, he lays a tax upon the *Jami Moschs* and every house (86). By these arts, the sedition just ready to break out, is not only appeased that year, but the people also are excited to contribute more readily what was wanted for the publick service

He lays a new tax upon the people for the payment of the soldiers

CLXII. Mean time the Duke of *Lorrain* marched with the Imperial army towards *Essek*, and having passed the *Drave*, designed to attack the Vizir who had encamped about *Essek*. But while the Imperialists were retarded by the difficulty of the ways, *Soliman Pasha* posted his army so advantageously, that the Duke, instead of venturing to attack him, was obliged to fortify his camp for fear of being assaulted. The *Turks* and Imperialists being thus encamped near

The Imperialists defeat the Turks and take their camp

ANNOTATIONS.

(86) house.] The Christian *European* merchants that live in *Constantinople*, tho' they are very curious in other respects, could never compute how much this tribute brought into the treasury For not any, either *Turkish* or *Christian* house, was exempted, but all paid according to their largeness, or the master's abilities, from ten to five hundred *Leonines*. Now there being in the city alone, without the suburbs of *Pera*, *Chrisopolis*, *Ejub*, *Bektash*, and other adjoining villages, above four hundred thousand houses, besides the markets, inns, shops, and baths, any one may guess, how much money was raised But when God is pleased to divide, man cannot possibly put together. For though that money was very carefully raised, and deposited in the treasury, yet, as if there had been some curse attending it, it came to nothing, and could afford no support to the *Turkish* affairs. So that it is a greater wonder, how such an immense sum was consumed without any advantage, than how it was collected.

each other, at first try the fortune of war in skirmishes, then contend with their cannon, which doing much greater execution on the part of the *Turks*, by reason of their situation, the *Germans* are forced to give way. The *Turks* taking it for a flight, immediately follow the enemy, who retreat towards the *Danube*, and resolve to give them battle. But while the Vizir proceeds more slowly by reason of his numbers, the *Germans* encamp at *Mobacb**, where refreshing their troops, fatigued with a long march and want of provision, they determine to demolish the walls of *Zicli* and *Five Churches*, and attempt to subdue *Alba Regalis*. With this view they decamp, and on the 30th of the month *Ramazan* † of the year 1098, march towards *Zicli*. But they had scarce left their camp, when a great number of the enemy's horse appear, and attack them on all sides as they moved slowly, in order to detain the *Germans* till the Vizir should advance with his whole army. After three days skirmishing, the Vizir comes, and posting himself in a little wood, through which the Imperialists must pass, declares publickly to his army, he had received an order from the Sultan to engage the *Germans*, and promises great rewards to those, who should distinguish themselves by their valour and heroick actions. The next day, which was the 4th of the month *Sheval* † he draws up his army, and observing the front of the *Germans* to be too wide for the wings to assist each other, commands his troops to annoy the enemy's right wing with continual, but slight attacks, and on the other hand to rush with their whole strength upon the left wing. The *Turks* vigorously execute their general's orders, and fall upon the left wing of the Imperialists with such fury, that they would undoubtedly have routed it, if the cannon, placed amongst the soldiers, had not retarded the *Othmans* as they were incautiously moving forward, and killed a great number of them, and by that means extorted from them the victory, of which they almost seemed assured. However, not content to have once tryed the fortune of a battle, they again with more fury, and a larger body attack those, by whom they had been repulsed, and though, by the resistances they met with, they sustain as great a loss as before, they retire to the wood, from whence they were come, in good order, and seemed to retreat, rather than fly. The Duke of *Bavaria*, who commanded that wing, seeing the *Turks* twice repulsed by him, and imagining their courage abated, resolves himself to attack the enemy in the wood, and leads his troops thither. But before he can execute his design, he observes the enemy advancing in a body against him, to repel whom, he orders the cannon to be placed in the front and loaded with small bullets and pieces of iron, which being discharged upon the *Turks*, did such execution, that they durst not engage the Imperialists, but retired faster than they advanced. The Duke of *Bavaria* immediately follows them; but he had scarce continued his pursuit an hour, when he is surprized to see the *Turkish* camp entire, and would have imagined it to be a vision, since it could scarce be conceived how an army routed, and more inclined to fly than fight, should in so short a time have been persuaded to fortify themselves with so strong a trench, if the cannon placed there had not been discovered by their noise, and warned the Imperialists not rashly to proceed any farther. But the *Turkish* trenches being demolished by the *German* cannon, the imperial horse, and afterwards the foot, penetrate into the camp itself, and put to the sword almost all the Janizaries, deserted by their horse. The Vizir perceiving things to be desperate, with a few escapes by flight, and leaves the whole camp, with a great booty, and all the warlike provisions, to the conquerors. The Imperialists immediately pursue him; but because the horse had retreated a great way before, while the Janizaries were yet engaged; they take only some hundreds of straglers, and put most of them to the sword, in revenge of the *Christians* slain in the battle.

† *July* 18. H. 1098. A. C. 1687.

† *August* 1

The Vizir escaping by flight, retires to *Belgrade*.

CLXIII. The Vizir having escaped by flight, his first care was to defend *Essek* and *Peterwaradin*, which very probably the Imperialists would attack after this victory. For this purpose he softens the mutual resentment of the Janizaries and *Spahis*, reinforces the garrison of *Essek* with several regiments, and having left six thousand men to guard the bridge of *Peterwaradin*, retires to *Belgrade*.

CLXIV. The

The success of the Imperialists in Sclavonia.

CLXIV. The Duke of *Lorrain* seeing these places too well fortified to be taken in the two months, which still remained of the campain, spreads a report, that he designed to besiege *Temiswar*, upon which the Vizir, sollicitous for the defence of that city, sends the greatest part of his army thither. The Vizir being deceived by this stratagem, and the *Turkish* army in *Sclavonia* weakened, the Duke of *Lorrain* orders *Dunewald* with a party to pass the *Drave*, and endeavour to drive the enemies of the Cross out of *Sclavonia*; and continues himself with the main army to observe the motions of the *Turks* in *Hungaria*. *Dunewald* having passed the *Drave*, lays siege to *Burzin* on the 2d of the month *Zylcade* †, and having demolished the walls, prepares to invest it; upon which the garrison on the sixth day of the siege surrender themselves and castle to the mercy of the conqueror This city being taken, he assaults *Walpo*, which fortress was necessary to be subdued, before the siege of *Essek* could be undertaken.

† *August* 29.

Essek surrendred to them

CLXV. The governor of the city by a signal informs the garrison of *Essek*, that the *Germans* were come, and desires assistance against them. But the soldiers of *Essek*, terrified at the unexpected approach of the Imperialists, lay gun-powder under the fortifications of the castle, and prepare to fly with their baggage. *Dunewald* being informed of this, orders *Lodrone* with two thousand horse to observe more particularly what is doing at *Essek*. The garrison seeing him, imagine, the whole *German* army was advancing, and abandon the city with such precipitation, that they not only left behind them the greatest part of their baggage, but forgot to set fire to the mines they had made under the castle, and filled with gun-powder. Upon this the governor of *Walpo* thinks it more prudent to give way to the ill fortune of the *Othman* Empire, and by submission to soften the conquerors, than by a fruitless obstinacy to exasperate them; and therefore surrenders the city to the Imperialists, before it was assaulted.

They subdue all *Sclavonia* with equal success *Agria* in *Hungaria* is besieged

CLXVI. With equal success *Dunewald* soon after takes *Poshega*, the capital of *Sclavonia*, and *Bellastin*, *Patrask*, *Shirask*, *Telcham*, *Walkowar*, *Erdedi*, and several other castles of that country, which had been abandoned by the *Turks*, and restores all *Sclavonia* to the *Christian* subjection. The governor likewise of *Leopoldopolis* assaults *Areizaga*, *Ciokaku* and *Polota*, which are surrendered to him At the same time *Agria* in *Upper Hungary* is invested by a small body of Imperialists drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, and cut off from any supplies.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, notwithstanding the opposition of *Apaffi*, takes several cities in *Transylvania*, where he likewise fixes his winter-quarters

CLXVII. The campain of this year is crowned by the Duke of *Lorrain* with the reduction of *Transylvania*. The Prince of that country, *Michael Apaffi*, in the beginning of the summer had been sollicited by the Emperor of *Germany* to abandon his alliance with the *Turks*, and admit the victorious standards of the *Christians* into his province, and he had shown himself ready to comply, on condition the danger from the *Turks* should be farther removed from the borders of *Transylvania*. But when about the end of this year the Duke of *Lorrain*, according to their agreement, was preparing to fix his winter quarters in that province, *Apaffi* denies him entrance, (being unwilling to submit to that burthen, or with an intention to perswade the *Turks* it was out of necessity, and not of his own accord, that he surrendered his principality,) and returns the Duke this answer, that his promise of granting winter-quarters was not extended to the whole army, but only to some regiments. But the Duke considering there was no occasion for words, where arms would prevail, enters *Transylvania* without the Prince's consent, and seizing the principal cities of the country, *Cibinium* and *Claudiopolis*, obliges him to submit to the Emperor, and places his soldiers in winter quarters.

The *Russians* march against *Crim Tartars* but without success

CLXVIII. The *Russians* did not meet with the same success against the *Tartars*. For the Czars being incapable, on account of their youth, to command their army in person, had sent *Basilius* Prince of *Galliczin* with a numerous but confused army against the *Crim-Tartars* This general after several days march without any opposition from the enemy through the deserts, which divide *Russia* from *Crim-Tartary*, is surrounded by *Nuradin Sultan*, and cut off from provision and water. This misfortune is soon followed by another still more severe, for a pestilence, occasioned either by the intense heat, or the want of wa-

... destroys above forty thousand Russians in a short space. However Nurradin Sultan fearing the Russian army, though weakened by this calamity, to oblige them to return immediately, pretends to march with his Tartars towards Kiovia; upon which Galliczin, apprehensive of greater danger, led his forces to the relief of that province, and abandoned the deserts of Crim-Tartary. But this stratagem of the Sultan would not have diverted the Prince from entering Crim-Tartary, if he had not been recalled by the letters of Sophia (87), sister to the Czars, which informed him that the Russian Empire would be exposed to great hazard, unless he returned immediately to the capital.

The Poles besiege Cameniec; but at the approach of the Turks retire
† August 2.

CLXIX. The *Poles*, under the command of *James Sobieski* the King's eldest son, about the beginning of the month *Sheval*, take the field, and on the 24th of the same month appear before *Cameniec*, and threaten to besiege the city. But after they had twice or thrice discharged their cannon, and demolished some houses in the city by their bombs, on the fourth day being informed, the *Turks* with the *Bujac-Tartars* were advanced to *Czuczora* in order to relieve the city, they raise the siege. The garrison of *Cameniec* attack them in the rear, as they retire, killing some, and taking others prisoners, with the loss of about fifty of their own party. Except this battle, the *Polish* and *Turkish* armies performed nothing remarkable this year.

The Venetians take several cities in the Morea

CLXX. With much greater vigour the *Venetians* carry on the war against the enemies of the cross in the *Morea*. For landing their forces on the 23d of the month *Ramazan* at *Patros*, they march three days after under the command of Count *Koningsmark* against the Seraskier, who encourages his troops to fight by speeches and presents, and drawing them into the field, with his cavalry makes the first charge upon the left wing of the *Venetians*. But being repulsed with loss, he directs his whole force against the right wing with such fury, that the Janizaries endeavoured to remove with their swords the barricadoes which secured the front of the *Venetians*. But being every where bravely opposed, he is forced, after receiving a dangerous wound, and losing many of his men with the Pasha of *Vallona*, to fly with the remains of his army, about two thousand of which are partly slain and partly taken by the *Christians*, who pursued them, and the rest driven into the mountains. This victory not only confirmed the acquisitions of the *Venetians* in the *Morea*, but reduced what till then remained under the *Turkish* dominion. The garrison of *Patras* are the first after this victory, who abandon the castle with all their warlike stores and fly. *Mehemed Pasha*, who with six thousand men was commanded to defend the castle of *Rumelia*, having blown up the walls, soon follows the example of the garrison of *Patras*. The same is done by *Mehemed* governor of the castle of the *Morea*, when he saw the *Venetian* gallies approaching; and what is still more surprizing, the city *Naupactus* strongly fortified both by nature and art, sends deputies to the *Venetian* fleet which was sailing thither with offers of a surrender. After the affairs of the conquered cities were settled, *Morosini*, general of the *Venetian* army, assaults *Castel-Fornese* and *Misitra*, the governors of which, content with the liberty of departing, deliver up the castles with all the warlike provisions, without the least opposition.

Morosini takes Corinth

CLXXI. The only city, which makes any long resistance, was *Epidaurus Limeria* (88), the garrison of which, confiding in the strength of the place, though extremely annoyed by bombs, defend it with great bravery. But *Morosini* passing by this place, sails with his fleet through the *Corinthian* bay directly to *Corinth*, hoping, when that city was subdued, the *Turks* would not only be cut off from any possibility of returning to the *Morea*, but it would also be much easier to re-

ANNOTATIONS.

(87) letters of *Sophia*] Many are of a different opinion, and blame *Galliczin* alone for the ill success of this expedition, but I have chosen to relate here, what I know to be true and unquestionable.

(88) *Epidaurus Limeria*] The same as is called by the modern *Greeks* μονεμβασία, by the *Turks Menewche**, and by the *Italians Napoli di Malvasia*. It is the strongest fortress in all the *Morea*.

duce

duce the rest of the castles, still held by the *Turks*. The Seraskier hearing of *Morosini*'s approach, and finding the four thousand men, he had with him, would not be able to contend with the *Venetians*, sets fire to the magazines in *Corinth*, and demolishing the greatest part of the walls, retreats with his soldiers into the mountains of *Thebes*, and kills very dishonorably all the *Greeks* he met in his way, alledging, they were the cause of his misfortune. But *Morosini* seeing the flames, and suspecting the case, sends some troops, and extinguishes the fire, before the magazines could be all consumed.

Koningsmark takes Athens.

CLXXII. Then he sends Count *Koningsmark* with part of the army to *Athens*, who after a short siege obliges the city to surrender. In this siege, the *Venetians* by a bomb set fire to the gun-powder reposited by the *Turks* in the celebrated temple antiently dedicated to *the unknown God*, by which means it was entirely blown up. And thus the *Venetians*, the most polite people of *Italy*, destroyed these monuments of antiquity in *Constantinople* and *Athens*, which the *Barbarians* had left untouched, and upon this account, deserved to be represented in the same picture with *Herostratus*; though there is this difference, that what the latter did with design, the *Venetians* did by accident.

The Turks invade Dalmatia without success.

CLXXIII. In *Dalmatia* the *Turks* begin the campain, and under the command of *Atlaglik Pasha* governour of *Bosnia*, on the first day of the month *Jemaziel evvel*, besiege *Zyng*, which *Cornaro* had taken the year before, and assault it forty days with great vigour and resolution, but at last, after the loss of a great number of men, upon the approach of the *Venetian* army, on the 10th of the following month, are obliged to retire.

Cornaro defeats the Turks and takes the new castle.

CLXXIV. *Cornaro*, on the other hand, with the assistance of the fleet of the *Maltese* and the Pope, lays close siege to the new castle of *Dalmatia* on the 25th of the month *Shevval*. The Basha of *Bosnia* hastens to the relief of that city, and having penetrated through the narrow passes, which were guarded by the *Morlachians*, on the 8th of the month *Zylhije* attacks the *Venetian* trenches with such fury, that he would have beaten the forces, which defended them, if *Cornaro*, with the rest of his army, and the *Maltese* auxiliaries had not seasonably supported them, when they began to give way. At his approach the scene is so changed, that the *Turks* just before conquerors, after a short and bloody fight having lost above eight hundred men, are obliged to fly. The garrison, though they saw their friends defeated, defend themselves with great bravery, but at last, after the *Venetians*, on the 21st of the month *Zylhije*, had taken the city by storm, on the third day, those, who had escaped into the castle, seeing themselves irrecoverably lost, if they made any longer resistance, surrender also the castle.

The Turkish army raise a rebellion against the Vizir.

CLXXV. In the mean time there arises in the *Turkish* army from a slight cause, a very great sedition, which not only deprived the Sultan of the Imperial dignity, but proved an almost irreparable detriment to the whole *Othman* empire. While the Vizir continued at *Peterwaradin*, being informed, that *Agria* laboured under an extreme want of provision, and unless immediately relieved, would be forced to surrender, he commands a thousand Janizaries and several hundred *Spahis* to march with provision for the supply of that city. They both refuse to obey his orders, and alledge the Vizir's intention is to destroy the whole army, which had been through his fault defeated by the Imperialists. They show their scars and wounds, and horses quite spent, and scarce able to breathe; and when the Vizir renewed his commands in a more positive manner, they reply, they will not move a step from *Peterwaradin* without him. These beginnings of a sedition are soon after inflamed by a new incident, the Vizir having attempted the destruction of several Bashas, by accusing them to the Sultan of neglecting their duty in the last battle. The Bashas informed of their danger by their friends at court, exasperate the whole army against the Vizir. At the head of these disturbances appears *Siavus Pasha* (89), who was in the list of the accused sent by the Vizir to the Sultan, a man

ANNOTATIONS.

(89) *Siavus Pasha*] A man distinguished neither by his birth nor by any sort of merit, and before this action, the mere sport of fortune. Three years before this expedition

man of great courage and haughtiness, and by his persuasion the army demands of the Vizir the payment of two *Kyst* (90), due to them. The Vizir not having the money ready, endeavours to satisfy them with words, and tells them, the Sultan had already sent their pay, which would in a few days be brought to the camp. But they are deaf to these flattering speeches, for, being encouraged by *Siavus Pasha*, they demand their due with still greater insolence, and command him either to pay them, or resign the Vizirship, since they had a person much more deserving of that dignity, who not only had promised them their pay, but would command the army with greater success and prudence, than *Soliman Pasha*.

The Vizir finding affairs desperate, escapes privately by night to *Constantinople*

CLXXVI. When the Vizir sees the army cannot by any methods be appeased, and is in fear of his life, he escapes privately out of the camp by night, and flies to *Constantinople*, bringing the first news of the rebellion to the Sultan. He lays the whole blame upon *Siavus*, and accuses him, with some others, of corrupting the army, after having by treachery deprived him of the victory against the *Germans*, of which he was almost secure.

He is protected by the clemency of the Sultan

CLXXVII. Sultan *Mahomet*, who from the former actions of *Soliman Pasha* had conceived too high an opinion of his prudence and courage, easily credits his representation of affairs; and, lamenting with tears the misfortune, common to himself and the Vizir, orders him to conceal himself till he could receive a more certain account of the designs of the rebels *Soliman Pasha*, by this instance, convinced of the Sultan's good-will towards him, retires to the house of a certain *Greek*, named *Manolaki* (91), near the palace, in the street *Curichesme* * (92), where he hides himself for seven and twenty days from the knowledge of every person, but the Sultan and his most faithful friend, the *Kislar Aga*.

The army under the influence of *Siavus Pasha*, who was at the head of the rebellion, conspire against the Sultan

CLXXVIII But *Siavus Pasha*, finding the Vizir fled, two days after calls a council of the chief conspirators at *Belgrade*, and engages them in a design to depose the Sultan, and put several of the great men to death. The rest of the army imagining the Vizir was fled on purpose, that they, being destitute of a general, might either be exposed to the enemy, or obliged humbly to sue for pardon from the Sultan, desire *Siavus Pasha* to take upon him the office of Prime Vizier. He, in order to gain the Sultan's favour, refuses to accept of the honour, alledging, this dignity could not be conferred by any mortal, except the Sultan alone. That he had hitherto been their protector from the injuries of the Vizir, and would continue so till they should reach *Constantinople*, and have an opportunity of exhibiting their complaints to the Sultan. That he was not so unpious, as to presumeto attempt any thing against an innocent Sultan, whose singular virtues he had always revered; and therefore he would persuade the soldiers, before they moved a step further, to send a petition to the Sultan, and wait his answer.

In the name of the whole army he accuses the Vizir as a deserter

CLXXIX. This advice being approved, *Siavus Pasha*, in the name of the whole army, sends an *Arzmahzar* (93) to the Sultan, and informs him, that the

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dition he had been *Chocadar** to *Cara Kiehaia*; and afterwards being raised to the dignity of Basha, his ambition increased with his good-fortune, and he conspired against the Vizir his great benefactor.

(90) *Kyst*,] Thee months pay, as *Navaka* is one day's, and *Ulufe* is a month's pay. The Janizaries yearly stipend is commonly divided into four *Kyst*, and distributed to them four times a year.

(91) *Manolaki*,] a very rich *Greek*, who though of mean extraction, and illiterate, was yet a great patron and encourager of learning. He built in *Phanarium* a very large college, of which I have given an account in the first part of my History.

(92) *Curichesme**,] that is, *a dry spring*. It is the name of a village near the *Thracian Bosphorus*, or *Sea of Marmora*, about six miles from *Constantinople* The word is written *Curikiesme*, i. e *a dry Rock*, because there is a craggy Rock hangs over the shore. Here is seen a very fine palace, formerly belonging to *Serban Cantacuzenus*, Prince of *Walachia*.

(93) *Arzmahzar*,] It is a petition presented in the name of a whole province or army to the Sultan or Vizir, for such as is presented by a single person, is called *Arzuhal*, concerning which I have spoken in a former note.

forces of the *Aliothman* Empire were determined to come to *Constantinople* under his command, not to raise a sedition against the Sultan, or attempt any thing against his sacred person, but because, after the Vizir's shameful treachery and desertion, they thought it necessary to demand Justice of the Sultan against him, and to rescue themselves from the danger in which they were involved by the Vizir. The Sultan therefore need not fear; but if he be desirous immediately to appease these commotions, he should send to the camp the head of the Vizir, as a deserter and traytor, and the pay due to the army, by the *Testerdar* and *Giumrukchi**, *Husein Aga* (94).

The Sultan in protecting the Vizir paves the way for his own ruin

CLXXX. When this letter is brought to *Constantinople*, the Sultan is strangely perplexed. Several of his most intimate counsellors persuade him to satisfy the demands of the soldiers, by the death of the Vizir, whether guilty or innocent, in order to secure his own authority. They observe, there are several officers in the army superior perhaps in merit to *Soliman Pasha*, so there is no reason to fear that the death of one man will prove fatal to the whole *Othman* Empire. However, the Sultan's favour to the Vizir, and the opinion which he had conceived of his abilities, prevail with him above all other considerations. He determines therefore, at all events, to protect him, and returns no other answer to the *Arzmahzar* of the army, but that money was already sent to pay them, and would very soon be distributed. He takes no notice of the Vizir's misconduct, hoping the soldiers, softened by the sight of money, would lay aside their resentments, which the want of pay had seemed chiefly to have raised against the Vizir, and return to their duty. But the soldiers, not content with the money, exclaim, that the Sultan is equally culpable with the Vizir, who is therefore protected, and the just demands of the army refused; nor can other remedy be applied to the unfortunate state of the *Othman* affairs, than deposing the Sultan, and punishing his evil counsellors.

The Sultan confers the post of Vizir, on *Siavus*, who demands the heads of *Soliman* and many others

CLXXXI. When he hears the rebels, for this purpose, are marching with great speed to *Constantinople*, the Sultan, to turn their leader from this rebellion, sends to him, by *Silahdar Aga*, the seal of the Empire, and *Mahomet*'s standard, flattering himself that *Siavus Pasha*, having obtained what he wanted, would not be so importunate for *Soliman Pasha*'s death, but would rather, by gentle persuasions, compose the tumults in the army. But *Siavus*, considering the authority conferred upon him would not be lasting, while his enemy, who had so great share in the Sultan's affection, was alive, receives indeed the ensigns of the supreme power from *Silahdar Aga* with strong declarations of submission; but withal informs the Sultan, it was not in his power to pacify the army, till those persons were executed, to whose negligence the calamities hitherto suffer'd, and the ruin of the most flourishing *Othman* Empire, were unanimously imputed by the soldiers, namely, the Vizir, *Testerdar*, and *Giumrukchi * Bashi*.

The Sultan orders the Vizir to be beheaded, and the rest imprisoned

CLXXXII. Upon *Silahdar Aga*'s return to *Constantinople*, the Sultan at last perceiving the design of this insurrection, and making a virtue of necessity, sacrifices *Soliman Pasha* to the resentment of the incensed army, and sends his head to them by a *Chaush **, informing them that the others, whose deaths they had de-

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(94) *Giumrukchi**, *Husein Aga*.] What *Giumrukchi** is, I have before explained. This *Husein Aga* was one of the richest men among the *Turks*, and in great credit and favour with Sultan *Mahomet*. Scarce a week passed, but the Sultan dined at his house. He had a house in the suburb *Pera*, called *Findykly*, almost opposite to the Emperor's palace, and several rooms belonging to it were built over the *Bosphorus*, at a great expence. Out of the windows of these chambers the Sultan used some times to fish, and, in sign of favour, send presents of what he caught to his courtiers, by his chamberlains: if the present was sent by a chamberlain, then one purse was given him, but if it was brought by a *Silah*, or *Choadar**, five purses was the least that used to be given by him who received the present. This palace is now possessed by the heirs of *Husein Aga*, but because an order was made that it should not be inhabited, the greatest part of it lies in ruins.

manded

[illegible] were kept in prison by the *Caimacan*, *Kiopríli Mustapha Pasha* (95), in order to extort from them a confession of their accomplices, and where their treasures were concealed.

Siavus urges the Sultan to put the rest to death, which he obtains.

CLXXXIII. *Siavus Pasha* answers the messenger, that the army indeed returned the Sultan the highest thanks for inflicting a just punishment upon the Vizir; but required also the heads of all those who had been proscribed, and till then would not lay down their arms. He would therefore advise his majesty not to disturb the whole *Othman* Empire, and draw some fatal consequence upon himself by an unseasonable clemency. But if the Sultan would follow this faithful advice, he hoped in a short time to extinguish the whole rebellion, and lead back the army in peace to *Constantinople*. The Sultan granted this also to the soldiers; and though he had detained the accused persons in prison with the sole view to rescue them from an unjust death, and afterwards, upon a proper occasion, punish the rebels; yet, that he might not be charged with omitting any thing to appease the army, he orders, compelled by necessity, the heads of the *Tefterdar*, *Giumrukchi** *Bashi*, and three others, to be struck off, and sending them to *Siavus Pasha*, commands the forces to stop at *Adrianople*.

The rebellious army inveighs warmly against Siavus himself.

CLXXXIV. *Siavus Pasha* finding, every thing, which the army had demanded of the Sultan, was complyed with, sincerely endeavours on his part to perform his promises to the Sultan, and by various arts to detain the soldiers at *Adrianople*. But they, whose rebellion was more inflamed by the blood of the Vizir and other great men, cannot be diverted either by perswasions or threats from their purpose, but publickly call *Siavus Pasha* impious, perfidious, and treacherous, one, who had undertaken the protection of the army with no other view, than to sieze the Vizirship by any methods right or wrong, and who now having gratified his ambition, was become of the Sultan's party, and ready to expose the soldiers to destruction. Not content with these reproaches, they force him in a manner to lead the troops to *Constantinople*, threatning, if he would not take upon him the command of the army, they would cut off his head, and choose another general, who would not only compleat their designs, but depose the Sultan himself, and advance in his room *Soliman*, a Prince eminent for piety and sanctity.

The rebellious Vizir is received with great honour by the Sultan, and excuses himself that he had the command of the army.

CLXXXV. The Sultan therefore receives with great honour the new Vizir, when he came with the army, and admitting him to a conference, shows him what great disturbances the sedition of the army had raised in the whole *Othman* empire, and made not only the citizens, but also the *Ulema* partakers of the crime, and admonishes him, that mindful of his promises, he would use his utmost efforts to appease the tumults, and restore the empire to its former tranquillity. If this were effected, he would not only entirely forget what the Vizir had done against him, but confer upon him greater favours, than he could presume to hope or demand. *Siavus Pasha* first excuses himself to the Sultan, for having taken upon him the command of the army without consulting him. He says the sedition was not raised by him; but the army was so highly exasperated by *Soliman*'s misconduct and obstinacy, that they seemed resolved upon some desperate design against the Empire. When he saw this, he thought it would be very serviceable to the Sultan and the *Othman* Empire, to accept the offered command of the army, lest the inner provinces of the *Othmans* being destitute of defence should lie open to the *Germans*, and that those persons might be restrained, who endeavoured to plunder or injure their countrymen. He had since used his utmost endeavours to appease the

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(95) *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha.*] Son of the great *Ahmed Pasha*, a man famous above all the rest of the *Turks*, for holiness of life, integrity, prudence, and courage. I think it unnecessary to give a particular account of his great actions, because they occur so often in the History. He left three sons, *Abdullah Pasha*, who was *Caimacan* of *Constantinople* under Sultan *Mustapha*, *Nauman Pasha*, who has been Vizir under the present Emperor *Ahmed* III. and *Ijiad Effendi*, who is an Ecclesiastick, and aspires to be a *Molah*.

commotions

commotions, and had reason to hope, if the Sultan had granted the first petition of the army, he should have been able to extinguish the flame without much difficulty. But he was disappointed in this expectation by the Sultan's fault, in delaying to satisfy the army's demands, till after the rebellion had taken too deep root in their minds. Indeed, when he had received the Sultan's command, he had tried all possible methods to prevent the soldiers from advancing to the royal city, but could not resist their unanimous resolution, which breathed nothing but fire and sword. However, he would use all means to restrain the sedition, and not value his own life, provided the Sultan remained on the throne happy and unshaken.

Having sworn fidelity, he is dismissed by the Sultan, and endeavours to oppose the sedition

CLXXXVI. Having confirmed these promises by an oath, he is dismissed by the Sultan, and to gain credit to his words, assoon as he is returned to his court, he sends for the chief of the rebels, and represents to them, "the Sultan has now "paid half their due, and would send the rest in a few days; he has, according "to the armies desire, put to death the plunderers and betrayers of the empire, "and omitted nothing to satisfy their demands. But now it is to be considered, "how the soldiers, meditating a sedition, may be appeased, and induced to return "due thanks to the best of Emperors. He is informed indeed, that some of "the conspirators are plotting to depose the Sultan himself, but he cannot con- "ceive how any man of sense could devise so flagrant an injury to a prince so pi- "ous and merciful, so illustrious for his victories, the father of his country and "armies, in return for his late favours, not only to the soldiers, but to the whole *Oth-* "*man* Empire. It is true, affairs for several years have been managed unsuccessfully "against the *Germans* and *Venetians*, not through the ill conduct of the Sultan, "but of the Vizir and the officers of the army and treasury; and the deity being "justly incensed by the unreasonable exactions of these plunderers, could not but "thus chastise both them and us. But supposing the Sultan himself to be the "occasion of these misfortunes, and therefore to be deposed, there cannot be found "any person of the *Alothman* race worthy to succeed him. His sons are not of "age, and unequal to the burden of the Empire in the present difficult times: "Both his brothers, especially *Soliman*, are men accustomed to daily and nightly "devotions, but not to the hearing of the complaints of the citizens; are well "skilled in the laws, but not in arms; in a word, are saints, but not soldiers "Their holy prayers offered from their closets may avail more than thousands of "soldiers, but the disorder'd state of the *Othman* affairs requires not a Monk, "but a vigorous and warlike Emperor, such as the present Sultan must be allowed "to be by all who reflect on his heroic actions, and his administration of the Em- "pire forty years with the highest applause They should therefore divert the "soldiers under their influence from such designs, and not suffer the burden of "so great an Empire to be laid on a person unqualified for it." The Vizir probably would have prevailed upon the conspirators, if they had not begun to suspect his fidelity, when he so earnestly endeavoured to detain the army at *Adrianople*.

The leaders of the rebellion declare the Vizir guilty of a breach of his oath

CLXXXVII. Being confirmed in this suspicion by what the Vizir had proposed to them, they feign, whilst in his presence, a readiness to perform what was required of them; but as soon as they are out of his palace, they meet in *Orta Jami* (96), which stands in the antient lodgings of the Janizaries, acquaint their companions with what they had heard from the Vizir; and publickly declaring he had broken his oath, and was secretly in the interest of *Mahomet*, advise the

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(96) *Orta Jami*,] a temple in the midst of the Janizaries *Chambers* in which they meet to say their prayers, to consult about any matter, or when they are obliged to present any request to the Sultan. They often make use of the same place to excite one another to sedition. And therefore when the Emperors are afraid of a rebellion, they chiefly observe what is doing in the *Orta Jami*, and if they perceive any commotions there, they endeavour to quell them in time.

[illegible] to take care of themselves, and execute their designs, before they are circumvented by the artifices of the perfidious Vizir.

And break out into open rebellion.

CLXXXVIII. By this, like fire by oil, the flame of sedition is increased. The Janizaries and all the rest of the soldiery run armed in great bodies through the Streets, crying out, the Sultan, both unfortunate and indolent, ought to be deposed, and *Soliman* advanced in his room, who by his prayers would appease the divine indignation. They are soon after joined by the *Ulema*, partly of their own accord, and partly out of necessity; whom when the common people behold, every one thinking remissness at such a time to be criminal,' snatch up what weapons are at hand, and repair to the church of *Sancta Sophia*. There *Nakyb* (97) and *Sheikh* (98) offer themselves to the rest as leaders and directors of the intended consultation. But before any thing is proposed, they order, in the name of the whole *Musulman* Nation, the *Caimacan* of *Constantinople, Kiuprili Mustapha Pasha*, to be sent for.

The Sherif Sheikh of Sophia publickly persuades the Sultan's deposition.

CLXXXIX. When he, more out of fear of the seditious, than of his own accord, was come to the assembly, the *Sherif* of *Sophia* represents to them, in a long speech, how many calamities the *Othman* Empire had suffered, how many castles and flourishing provinces, subdued by their ancestors with so much labour and effusion of blood, were lost; and how many great misfortunes were still to be expected, if the *Othman* government should be continued in the hands of such an Emperor, who took no care of the army and state, but only of hawks and hounds, and suffered the treasures, *Beytulmalimusulman*, out of which the soldiers, who shed their blood for the propagation of the faith, and defence of the honour and bounds of the Empire, ought to be paid, to be devoured and wasted by robbers and eunuchs (99). After many other reproaches of this kind, directing his speech to the *Caimacan*, he puts him in mind of the great services done to the Empire by his ancestors, the two celebrated Vizirs *Muhammed* and *Ahmed*, and admonishes him, as a diligent imitator of their example, to assist, with his great abilities, the *Othman* Empire in this exigence, and avert the impending danger.

The Sultan attempts to destroy his brothers, who are preserved by Bostanji Bashi

CXC. As he is going to urge more to this purpose, he is interrupted by a sudden tumult in the church, and a report that *Shehzade* are in danger. For the Sultan, when he was informed the conspirators were met in the church of St *Sophia*, and having sent for the *Caimacan*, were consulting to depose him, seeing that, in this desperate case, no other remedy could be applied but the death of his brothers, had sent some of his chamberlains to dispatch them. But *Bostanji Bashi* being acquainted with this affair by some courtiers, bribed by the Sultan's enemies, had surrounded the apartments of *Soliman* and *Ahmed* with a regiment of *Bostanji*'s, and having repulsed the Sultan's chamberlains, informed the assembly of the danger the Sultan's brothers were in: the rebels, fired with this news, again apply themselves to *Nakyb* and the *Sherif* of *Sophia*, and desire them instantly to proclaim the deposition of *Mahomet*, and declare *Soliman* Emperor; for there is no occasion for further consultation, since the Sultan's attempt upon the life of his

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(97) *Nakyb*,] Properly *Nakyb Eshref*, the *holy Overseer*, the *Keeper* of *Sanjaki Sherif*, that is, of the *Holy Standard*, of which I have given an account. This Person is chosen by the Sultan from among the *Emirs*, or the descendants of *Mahomet*'s sister, and is no way inferior in dignity to the *Mufti* himself. He alone hath power over all the *Emirs*, and, without his knowledge, even the Sultan cannot strike an *Emir*, or do him the least hurt. But, because it would be dangerous to entrust any one man long with so much power, the Sultan often changes them; but when they are once appointed, he cannot take their salary from them, but is obliged to pay it them as long as they live.

(98) *Sheikh*] I have before said, that *Sheikh* is the prelate or head of a temple. Here it is only to be observed, that the *Sheikh* of *Sancta Sophia* takes place of all other *Sheikhs*.

(99) eunuchs] He means the chief Eunuch *Yusuf aga*, who had so much authority at that time, that he alone seemed to govern the whole Empire.

brothers,

brothers, though other reasons were wanting, affords a sufficient ground for deposing him. On the other hand, it is to be feared, if the execution of the design be delayed, their guards may be bribed, and the *Musulman* nation, for want of lawful heirs, be obliged against their wills to acknowledge *Mahomet* Emperor.

CXCI. The inconsiderate multitude would perhaps by force have deposed the Sultan, and even attempted his life, if the prudence and authority of the *Caimacam*, *Kioprili Ogli Mustapha Pasha*, had not prevented it. For, perceiving what desperate resolutions the conspirators had taken, and that they could not by any means be diverted from their purpose, he too that he might not, by an unseasonable opposition, render himself suspected, pretends to approve of their opinion. Having thereby gained the favour of the people, he advises the assembly "not "to proceed in a tumultuous manner, or do any rash thing, which might fix an "indelible infamy even upon their posterity. The *Musulman* nation has great "and just reasons of complaint against their Emperor, for which it must be own-"ed he deserves to be deposed; but this ought to be done in such a manner, "that both the honour of the *Othman* family may be preserved, and care taken "that greater tumults may not arise, and utterly destroy the already tottering "Empire. There is no occasion for haste, since nothing is generally more de-"trimental to publick officers, and there is no fear of the life of *Shehzade*, "since they are carefully guarded by *Bostanji Bashi*, but it will be more agree-"able to the *Othman* honour and custom, to send *Sheikh Sherif* and *Nakyb* to "the Sultan, to declare him deposed in the name of the *Ulema*, soldiery, and "the whole *Musulman* nation, and desire him, of his own accord, to leave the "palace, and resign the Empire to his brother *Soliman*."

The excellent advice of Kioprili Ogli Mustapha.

CXCII. This advice being approved, the whole assembly send *Nakyb* and *Sheikh Sherif* with this fatal message to the Sultan. At first they refuse this office, but afterwards, for fear of the enraged multitude, they undertake it, and, trembling, proceed to execute the commands of the people. When they come to the Sultan, they first humbly deliver their commission, then ask pardon for their boldness, because the incensed multitude had forced them, unwilling to take upon them this office, and advise him to submit to the demands of the confederated army and people.

They declare to the Sultan by their deputies that he was deposed.

CXCIII. Sultan *Mahomet* having heard the messengers with great tranquillity, says, "You tell me nothing new or unexpected, for I have long since found, "that the common people are corrupted by the *Ulema*, desirous of a change, "and engaged by them in their rebellion. I could indeed at the first, if not "have extinguished the flame, at least have taken away the fuel of it, by banish-"ing you, but, trusting in the consciousness of having acted rightly, I chose ra-"ther to commit the event to God, than to make my self the arbiter of it. "For, from the seventh year of my age, through a course of fifty years, which "I have governed this Empire, I do not remember I have done any thing un-"just, or contrary to the precepts of the *Musulman* law, or omitted any thing "which seemed conducive to the propagation of our law among infidels, or the "enlarging the bounds of the Empire. How many intestine commotions from "that time to this last war have I appeased? how many enemies both at home "and abroad have I defeated? how many noble victories and triumphs over the "infidels have I gained? how many Provinces and Kingdoms have I subjected "to the *Othman* yoke by my indefatigable labours and industry, and how in-"creased the number of Pashalicks? The most warlike inhabitants of *Poland*, "*Transylvania*, and *Hungary*, whose valour has been often felt by our ances-"tors, not without loss, partly voluntarily, and partly by force, have submitted "to our Empire under my conduct, and promised to become tributary. The "*Venetians*, formerly lords of almost all the seas, under my administration have "been expelled the *White-Sea*; and *Candia*, the largest, strongest, and most "flourishing of islands, subdued. These cities, which seemed to reach almost to "heaven, *Cameniec*, *Candia*, *Uyvar*, partly by my self, and partly by my ge-"nerals, have I wrested from the Enemy, and with these bulwarks resolved to "guard,

The heroic answer of the Sultan to the rebels.

"guard, from all hostile attacks, those very persons, who since elated with their "wealth gained during a long peace, are determined to dethrone me. By all these "things, when I seem to merit not the curses of the people, but their applause and "prayers for my welfare, I cannot even guess at any other pretence for your and "their impious attempt, except the breach of the peace with the Emperor of *Germany* before the expiration of the truce, and the four years ill success of the "war under my administration. But if I seem to you to deserve so grievous a "punishment for that fault, you do not perhaps consider, that yourselves first persuaded me to the war, and the Mufti, the head of your confederacy, by his "*Fetvah*, pronounced our arms to be just. By what right therefore do you impute to me the ill success occasioned by the indolence of the soldiers, and the "negligence of the generals, and, whilst you are unwilling to acknowledge "your misconduct to be the cause of our misfortunes, accuse your innocent Emperor. It is certain, they are not mine, but the peoples crimes, which have "raised God's indignation against the *Musulmans*, destroyed so many forces, and "delivered up so many cities and provinces to the enemy. When the divine "wrath might have been appeased by fervent tears, frequent prayers, purity, and "goodness, by your instigation, who ought to have been the teachers and guardians "of the laws, the people contemning the divine precepts, the prophetic oracles, and the honour of the *Alothman* name, presume to disturb my old age, "to trample upon my reputation, and to bring destruction upon the whole Empire. To prevent this, what have I not done? what concessions have I not "made to the soldiers? did they demand their pay? I sold all my jewels, and "emptied my treasury, to pay them to a farthing. Did they require the heads "of my ministers, who served me and the Empire faithfully? even these I sacrificed to their fury. Did they insist that *Siavus Pasha*, though the partner and "head of their conspiracy, and the first author of the commotions, should be "made Vizir? This also I granted, to cut off all pretence of complaint against "me. Did they desire a man necessitous, and infamous for rapine, and other "crimes, to be appointed Pasha, I submitted to it, though he was destitute of all "virtues. What is the offence therefore by which I have raised the resentments "of the people, the army, the *Ulema*, and all the other orders of the nation, so "highly against me, that they should entirely forget the former services which "I have done them, and endeavour to remove me, like a worthless man, from "my father's throne. But though I know the people, by your authority, are "too deeply engaged and confirmed in their wicked design, to be brought to "repent and reform their conduct, yet I know the righteous God will prove "my avenger, and severely punish the corrupted people for the injury now "offered me."

The insolent behaviour of *Nakyb*

CXCIV. *Nakyb*, unmoved with the Sultan's speech, uses still greater insolence towards him, and answers, without any sense of modesty, that he was not sent by the people to hear his apology, bnt to command him, in the name o the whole *Musulman* assembly, to quit the throne. If therefore he was desirous to preserve his honour and life, he should, of his own accord, resign the government to his brorher *Soliman*; but if he opposed the will of the whole city, the assembly would notwithstanding execute their resolutions. *Mahomet*, hearing this, submits to necessity, and says to the messengers, "since I see the divine indig-"nation, raised by the sins of the *Musulmans*, discharged on my head, go and "tell my brother, that God's decree is declared by the mouth of the people, "and he is appointed governor of the *Alothman* Empire.

Sultan *Mahomet* is deposed. H. 1099. A. C. 1688.

CXCV. Sultan *Mahomet*, having said this on the third of the month *Muharrem*, of the year 1099, resigns the imperial sceptre; and after this misfortune, for five years, a thing very uncommon, lives closely confined in his apartment, and at last, in the month *Jemaziul evvel*, of the year 1104, departs out of this world. He lived fifty-two, and reigned forty years, five months, and sixteen days. He left, by different wives, seven sons, two of whom, *Mustapha* and *Ahmed*, were advanced to the Empire: the rest died in their infancy.

CXCVI. He

CXCVI. He was a Prince, eminent for [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible], of great clemency, and very happy, except the last four years. There was but one thing which his enemies could reproach him with, namely, his immoderate love of hunting in the latter years of his reign, to the neglect of the care of his Empire. He is reported by some to have been poisoned by his brother, Sultan *Ahmed*, at the instigation of the Vizir *Arabaji Ali Pasha*, who desired that certain great men should be put to death, and meeting, by *Mahomet*'s advice, with a repulse from Sultan *Ahmed*, sought revenge, and suborned *Munejim Bashi* (100), to foretell, from the stars, that *Mahomet*, having deposed his brother, would reascend the throne; by which means he induced Sultan *Ahmed* to hasten his death by poison. But, besides that it is usual at *Constantinople*, upon the decease of all the Emperors, to spread among the vulgar a rumour of their being poisoned, it is universally known that *Mahomet*, before he was deposed, was continually troubled with the gout in his hands and feet; to which was added the hypochondraick distemper, occasioned by melancholy during his five years confinement, by which all his vital spirits were at last exhausted.

Mahomet's character and death.

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(100) *Munejin Bashi*,] the chief Astrologer. There are four officers in the inner *Othman* court, that are reckoned to be ecclesiastics, and if they leave the palace, are to be a *Caduilasker* or *Mollah* of *Constantinople*. Namely, 1. *Hoje*, or the Emperor's preceptor 2. *Hekim Effendi*, the chief physician. 3. *Munejin Bashi*. 4. *Jerrah Bashi*, the chief surgeon

The End of the Reign of MAHOMET IV.

The REIGN of SOLIMAN II. Twentieth EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK IV. CHAP. II.

Sultan Soliman is obliged to ascend the imperial throne

I. SULTAN *Mahomet* being deposed, *Bostanji Bashi* (1) first goes to *Soliman*, still confined in his chamber, and, prostrating himself to the ground, pays the obeysance due to the Emperor, and desires him to come forth and ascend the *Alothman* throne, vacant by his brother's deposition, and offered him by the whole *Musulman* nation. *Soliman*, contrary to the expectation of all, is extremely grieved at this message, and says, "Why, in the name of the immortal God, do you endeavour to disturb my tranquillity? Suffer me, I entreat you, to pass in peace, in my cell, the few days I have to live, and let my brother rule the *Othman* Empire; for he was born to rule, but I to the study of eternal life." *Bostanji Bashi* at first is amazed at these words, but, recovering himself, continues to press the Prince, alledging, the Vizirs, *Ulema*, Nobles, and the whole People, declare him Emperor; and that their resolution could not be altered, nor Sultan [illegible] be [illegible]ed, without the greatest detriment to the Empire. *Soliman*, still in suspense, says, he owed too great a reverence to his brother, to take possession of his throne, which he had undoubtededly left with reluctance.

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(1) *Bostanji Bashi*, the chief of the *Bostanji*, and Keeper of the Emperor's palaces. There are two of this name in the *Othman* Empire, one at *Constantinople*, and the other at *Adrianople*, because the *Othman* Emperors have palaces in both those cities. And though since the time of Sultan *Mahomet Fatih*, the Emperors have chosen *Constantinople* for the royal seat of the whole Empire, yet they often honour with their presence the former metropolis of the growing *Othman* dominion. These two *Bostanji Bashi's* are equal in honour and rank, but not in jurisdiction and revenues. He at *Adrianople* has nothing entrusted to his care but the Emperor's palace at *Adrianople*, and the charge of the Sultan's Sons, whenever he resides in that place: but the other [illegible] *Constantinople* has moreover full jurisdiction over all the sea-coasts, from the mouth of the *Danube* to *Mount Athos*. Whenever the Emperor goes in his barge, his business is, either to go before the Sultan in his boat, and clear the way, or else to steer the Sultan's barge. He must know all the sea-coast, and the buildings standing thereon, and be able to answer any questions made him by the Sultan, concerning them or their owners; and as they are almost without number, nobody, but what has been a common *Bostanji*, is qualified to bear that office. When the Sultan comes into his barge, he holds him under the arm, and is for that reason ranked among the *Coltuk* Vizirs (of which I shall give an account below) and cannot be dismissed from his office but with three *Tugs*.

II. I

Soliman, II.

Twentieth EMPEROR of yᵉ TURKS,

in the Year 1687.

From an Original in the Seraglio

"II. I would come forth (continues he) but am afraid of my brother." At last *Bostanji Bashi*, impatient of delay, says, "You must give way, most resplendent Emperor, to the entreaties and wishes of the *Musulman* people:" and with these words forces him, as it were, out of the chamber, and leads him to the throne. When he came to the room where the throne used to be placed, he first, not without signs of fear, desires *Bostanji Bashi* and the door-keepers to take care, lest his brother should be within, since he dreaded to appear in his presence. Being assured his brother was removed to another apartment, he at last mounts the throne, and is saluted Emperor by all the courtiers.

Tho' declared Sultan, he is still apprehensive of his brother.

III. The ceremony being performed, he immediately leaps from the throne, as from an impure place, and demands *Abdest*, that is, water to cleanse his hands, head, and feet. This being brought, he defers returning to the throne, and when the courtiers press him to it, he puts his finger to his mouth, and enjoins them silence (2). At last, notwithstanding his reluctance, he is again seated in the throne, and, according to custom, admits the *Ulema* and Nobles to kiss his robe.

He abhors the the throne as an impure place; at last, with reluctance, admits the nobles to to kiss his robe.

IV. He confirms the Vizir, *Siavus Pasha*, in his post, and having presented him with an ermin vest, commands him to discharge the duties of his office faithfully, and to the utmost of his power compose the sedition of the army and people.

He confirms the Vizir in his post

V. Upon *Siavus Pasha's* return to his palace, the *Buluk Agalari* (3) first reverence him as Vizir, but afterwards demand their pay, and a new *Bachshish* (4), which

The rebellion again breaks out against the Vizir

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(2) silence] the *Turks* superstitiously observe what their new Sultans, when they first mount the throne, say, ask, or command; and even with what action they begin their reign, and from thence guess at the Sultan's inclination, future actions and government, and very often are right in their conjectures. Certainly, as they inferred from *Soliman*'s putting his finger to his mouth, and enjoining silence, that he would perform nothing memorable, so it accordingly happened.

(3) *Buluk Agalari*,] the commanders of the regiments of the Janizaries, and the superior officers that are made from amongst them, as *Bashbuluk Bashi*, *Kiebaieri*, *Mahzur Aga*, *Sampsonji Bashi*, *Zagarji*, *Bashi*, and *Kulbiebashi*, are all called by one common name of *Buluk Agalari*. All the regiments also of the *Spahi's* are named *Buluk*, and their officers *Buluk Agalari*.

(4) *Bachshish*.] This word denotes a gift bestowed out of mere kindness, but a customary gift, which cannot be reckoned alms. When, upon the death or deposition of their predecessor, the Sultans first mount the throne, they give a *Bachshish* to all the chosen troops that are at that time at *Constantinople*, except those belonging to the *Basha's*, and this is called *julus akchesi* *, the money of the new or of the renewed Empire. There are given to each Janizary twenty *Leonines*, and to every *Spahi* twenty-five; and if the payment is refused or deferred, they may demand them as a debt: nay, the soldiers have often given up to the Sultans, when they were in streights, one or two *Kyst*, or three months pay; but I never heard that they ever remitted the *julus Bachshish*. This was first introduced into the *Othman* Empire by *Soliman Canuni*, the author of all the regulations in that state. It seems indeed, at first sight, to be an injury to the Empire, because the hope of obtaining the *Bachshish* is a perpetual cause of sedition in the greedy soldiers; and it has already been found by experience, that most of the rebellions and depositions of the Sultans, have been raised and carried on by nothing so much as this, that the Janizaries, eager for a change in the government, have been, allured by the expectation of this *Bachshish*, to join in conspiracies with the Sultan's enemies. But whoever shall attentively consider the end of this law, and the legislator's design, will not be able sufficiently to admire his divine prudence, and consummate knowledge in politics For being willing so to settle the Empire, as that it might not be exposed to any injuries from without, nor convulsions from within; and withal fearing lest his successors, blinded with the absolute power they had over their subjects, should, by pride, tyranny, and other vices, disperse what he had been gathering together; he bound them by such a law, as might induce them to preserve the imperial dignity, and at the same time deter them from evil, for fear of disturbances, if the love of virtue was not sufficient to engage them thereto. For he foresaw, that necessity would oblige them to take particular care, that nothing unjust or tyrannical should be committed within their dominions, in order to take off from the malecontents, allured by a reward to rebellion, the least occasion of finding fault with any of the Emperor's actions: and, by that means, the sagacious soldiers

... to be given to the soldiers as a *Julus*, or the beginning of a new reign. The Vizir seeing nothing remaining but catalogues either in the foreign or domestic treasury, amuses the officers for some time with words, and then endeavours to separate the chief authors of the disturbances from the rest of the conspirators, under the pretence of promoting them, and to send them to cities at a great distance. By this conduct, the hatred conceived by the soldiers against the Vizir, when he attempted to confirm Sultan *Mahomet* in the throne, is revived. And therefore assembling in the *Orta Jami*, they take arms, and in companies run through the streets, crying out, the Vizir ought to be put to death as an enemy of Sultan *Soliman*, a deserter, and a violator of his promises.

The rebels kill the Vizir in his palace.

VI. The Vizir, hearing of their assembling, and suspecting the case, retired with his officers to his palace, and, shutting the gates, resolved to die fighting. Soon after the seditious approach, surround the palace, and cry out for the gates to be opened, since they had something to impart to the Vizir. *Siavus Pasha*, being assured of their designs, denies them entrance, and, as they attempt to break open the gates, repels them with the arms he had found by chance in the palace, and kills about twenty Janizaries. The soldiers, more enraged by the death of their companions, rush with their whole force upon the gates, and, breaking them open, enter the palace. The Vizir shoots several with arrows from his chamber, which was opposite to the gate his officers, about an hundred in number, with their arms prevent the rebels from ascending, and force them into the *Divanchane* (5); and when they wanted arrows, with drawn swords they stoutly

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keeping a watchful eye over the publick corruptions, out of a desire of gain, would give prudent governors to the state, who should be sensible, that, upon the least abuse of their power, they were liable to be deprived of the same.

(5) *Divanchane*,] the *House of Judgment*, or the place where the people's complaints are heard. There is upon the second floor of the Vizir's palace a very large space, which has walls on three sides of it; but the fourth side, where stands the stair-case, is supported by pillars; and it is so contrived, that the pleaders may be the better heard, and more light let in; and those who stand upon the stairs hear what is done above. In the middle of the wall, facing the entry, is an arch made, in the upper part whereof is written, in golden letters, the confession of the *Mahometan Faith*, which I have so often mentioned. Under it is a seat placed for the Vizir, in which he sits after the *European* manner, with his legs hanging down. On the south wall there is a lamp painted, which is a sign of a *Mihrab*, or altar, towards which the *Turks* are to turn their faces when they say their prayers. For the contending parties being often hindered from repairing to a *Jami*, to say the *Namaz* at the usual time, while they are waiting for the issue of their cause, that sign was invented for their conveniency, that nothing may hinder them, upon the cryer's notice, from saying their prayers, even in the midst of all the noise that is made in the place. The form of judicial proceedings among the *Turks*, is in this manner. Four times every week, namely, on *Fridays*, *Saturdays*, *Mondays*, and *Wednesdays*, the Vizir is obliged to appear in the *Divan*, and administer justice to the people, unless he be hindered by very important affairs, which seldom happens. But if he is hindered, the *Chaush* * *Bashi* supplies his place. *Sundays* and *Tuesdays* are set apart for the Sultan's *Divan*, or *Galibe Divan*. *Thursdays* are days of rest, from whence they are called *datil Giuni* The Vizir has for assistants, on *Fridays* both the *Kazuilaskiers*, the *Anatolian* on his left hand, and the *Rumelian* on his right; the former sitting only as hearer, and the latter as judge: on *Saturdays*, *Galata Mollasi*, or the judge of *Pera* on *Mondays*, *Eiub Mollasi* and *Iskiuder Mollasi* on *Wednesdays*, *Istambol Effendisi*. Before they come, both the parties are placed by the *Chaush* * *Bashi* in two rows, with a *Chaush* * as a guard, and are ordered to wait for the Vizir's coming, holding their *Arzuhal* before them. When the Vizir is come, and has commanded the gold cloth, called *Eshkir*, on which he writes, to be spread, the first suitor on the left hand gives his petition to his *Chaush* * The *Chaush* * presents it to the *Chaush* * *Bashi*, or other of his officers, such as are *Chaushlar* * *Katibi*, and *Chaushlar* * *emini*, and this gives it to *Buiuk Teshkiereji*, who stands on the Vizir's left side. The *Teshkiereji* reads the *Arzuhal* with a loud voice, after which both parties are publickly heard. The reasons being examined on both sides, the assessors, whoever they are, stand up, and briefly summing up the whole matter, declare what sentence ought,

ſtoutly defend their maſter. A warm and bloody conflict enſues, above an hundred and fifty of the conſpirators are killed upon the ſtairs, and as many wounded; but at laſt number overcomes valour, and many of the Vizir's party are ſlain, the reſt fly to the top of the houſe, and from thence throw themſelves into the ſtreet. His people being diſperſed, the Vizir again retires to his chamber, and in the door, with his ſword, kills twelve Janizaries; but at laſt, rather wearied with conquering, than conquered himſelf, he is beat down and killed by the ſoldiers, who cut his body in pieces, and throw them out of the windows into the ſtreet.

VII. After this, excited by a rage unheard of among the *Turks*, they break into the women's apartment, and, cutting the noſes, hands and feet of the Vizir's wife (6) and ſiſter, drag them naked through the ſtreets, and commit other execrable crimes upon the ſlaves and female-ſervants. The Vizir's family being deſtroyed, they rove, like ravenous wolves, through the city, and kill and plunder all they meet, as if partners with the Vizir in his guilt. A dreadful face of things appears, and the whole city would have been ruined, if the *Ulema*, firſt authors of the tumult, had not compoſed it: for they, perceiving the danger, immediately aſſemble at the imperial palace, and there diſplay *Mahomet's San jaki Sherif**, and, by the cryers, proclaim that all *Muſulmans*, who would not be eſteemed infidels, ſhould meet under that ſtandard. The citizens and inhabitants of *Conſtantinople* firſt haſten thither; and then the Janizaries, that they might not appear rebels, and regardleſs of the ſtandard of their prophet, lay down their arms, and ſubmit to it, crying out, they had armed, not againſt the Sultan, but his perfidious enemy, the Vizir, whom they had puniſhed; and therefore were now ready to do whatever the Sultan ſhould think proper, ſince they had given him power of life and death over them.

With unheard of cruelty they fall upon his women, and would have plundered the city, if they had not been prevented by the *Ulema*

* Holy ſtandard

VIII. The tumult being thus appeaſed, *Coja Iſmail Paſha* (7) is appointed Vizir, and the rebels return to their quarters. But this calm laſted not long; for a few days after the Sultan commands the Vizir to endeavour to ſeize privately the leaders of the rebellion, and put them to death. While the Vizir is attempting this with great earneſtneſs, the Janizaries again take arms, and calling an aſſembly in *Orta Jami*, threaten deſtruction to both the Sultan and Vizir.

Coja Iſmail Paſha made Vizir; but a ſedition again breaking out, he is deprived of his poſt.

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ought, according to the divine judgment, to be paſſed, which, if the Vizir approves of, the *Teſhkereji* ſets his hand in the upper vacant place of the *Arzuhal*, and the Vizir confirms the ſentence, by ſubſcribing the word *Sah* (certain) But when the Vizir doubts of the juſtice of it, he hears the cauſe a ſecond time, and if he finds that the aſſeſſor has wilfully given a wrong judgment, he orders the parties a *Hujjet*, or copy of the ſentence, according to his own opinion. But in ſuch a caſe, the aſſeſſors very earneſtly maintain the juſtice of their opinion, as they not only may, but alſo are obliged to do; becauſe if a judge among the *Turks* has once been found guilty of injuſtice, he can neither keep his place, nor ever expect to get another. While theſe things are doing on the left, the firſt man on the right-hand-row delivers his *Arzuhal* by the forementioned perſons to the *Kiuchuk* Teſhkereji*, who firſt runs it over, that he may not be at a ſtand when he comes to read it, and as ſoon as the cauſe in hand is diſpatched, then he reads it aloud. And thus they proceed till all the cauſes are heard: nor can the *Divan* riſe till night comes, or there are no more cauſes to hear. In the ſame place the *Spahi* alſo receive their pay in the Vizir's preſence: but the Janizaries have their ſalary paid them in the *Galibe Divan*, or the Emperor's court, in purſes; and theſe they carry to the *Kulkiehaia*, who divides it among the troops, according to every one's allowance.

(6) Vizir's wife,] ſhe was the daughter of the great and famous Vizir, *Kioprili Ahmed Paſha*, and ſiſter of *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, who ſhortly after retook *Belgrade* from the *Germans*. The cruelty exerciſed on theſe by the enraged ſoldiers, turned more to their infamy than the rebellion it ſelf, and the death of the innocent Vizir.

(7) *Coja Iſmail Paſha*,] Old *Iſmail Paſha*. He was at that time Aga of the Janizaries, and that the commotions might be the more eaſily appeaſed, and the Janizaries pacified with leſs trouble, he was made Vizir; but upon their ſecond rebellion, he was, at the perſuaſion of *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, delivered up as a ſacrifice to them, and baniſhed to *Rhodes*.

The former, perceiving the storm would fall upon his head, by the advice of *Kiuprili Mustapha Pasha*, throws the whole blame upon the Vizir (8) spreading a report that the Vizir, by his own authority, without the Sultan's knowledge or command, had made that attempt.

Tekkiurdagby Mustapha Pasha made Vizir in his room.

IX. And to gain credit to his words, he deprives him of his post, and banishes him to *Rhodes*, appointing *Tekkeurdaghy Mustapha Pasha* Vizir in his room. These flames in the capital spread their fatal effects also into the rest of the provinces.

Egen Pasha rebels in *Rumelia*; and *Gieduk Pasha* in *Asia*.

X. In *Rumelia, Egen Osman Pasha* (9), hearing *Mahomet* was deposed, and succeeded by *Soliman*, assembles a considerable body of *Spahis*, and engages them to send, with one consent, an *Arzuhal* to the Vizir, and demand the *Bachshishi Julus* due to them. The Vizir pretending inability, and answering that the payment was to be delayed for some time, they raise what was due to them upon the inhabitants of *Rumelia*, and under that pretence plunder all *Bulgaria* as far as *Sophia*. In *Asia, Gieduk Pasha* inspires his troops with seditious designs, and being assisted with several thousand *Freebooters*, threatens to attack *Constantinople* it self. Not content with this, having plundered and subdued all the provinces of the *Anadol Beglerbeglic*, he marches his army to *Ismid Giechid* * (10), and prepares to besiege *Chrysopolis*, which he thought would be more easy to take, because the Janizaries seemed more sollicitous about their domestic than foreign enemies, and such as were equal to themselves in guilt.

The Janizaries laying aside their rebellious designs, defeat the rebel *Gieduk*.

XI. But the Janizaries laying aside their rage, in the night before *Chrysopolis* was to be attacked, pass over, and surround the city with trenches,

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(8) blame upon the Vizir] That supreme, and sometimes almost unlimited authority over the whole Empire, which the Sultans are wont to grant to the Vizirs, might indeed be attended with very dangerous consequences in other states; but it is the chief, if not the only support of the *Othman* Empire For, besides that it is in the Sultan's power to cut off the Vizir whenever he pleases, unless his power has got too deep a root by long possession: what chiefly hinders the Vizirs from raising commotions is, that they are sensible they never will establish their fortune by the Sultan's deposition And they can never place so sacred a diadem upon their own heads, by reason of the singular veneration the *Turks* have for the *Othman* race; nor promise to themselves the perpetual favor of the Sultan's successor, who never will place his confidence in a man that has been treacherous to his predecessor. When troubles arise, this is the only shield whereby the Sultans can defend themselves against the complaints and murmurs of the people, namely, by throwing the whole blame of the ill management of affairs upon the Vizir, and sacrificing him to the enraged multitude. That remedy has been seldom known to fail, nay, would never fail, did not the Sultans sometimes, out of too great a love for the Vizirs, neglect to punish them, and soften the discontented people by other proper lenitives. For many considerate persons think, the *Turks* would never have proceeded so far as to depose Sultan *Mahomet* IV. a Prince famous for his long reign and many victories, had he not been too much bent to protect *Aimaji Soliman Pasha*, (who had, according to the *Turkish* customs, forfeited his head, because the Imperialists had in 1686 taken *Buda*, whilst he was looking on, and defeated him near *Sicios*, and not put him to death till affairs were in a desperate condition neither would *Mustapha* have been turned out, had he but delivered *Rami Mahemed Pasha* and the *Mufti*, with their sons, into the rebels hands

(9) *Egen Osman Pasha*,] a man noted for his robberies in *Asia* He was at first appointed Basha in the neighbourhood of *Cazdagby*, with two horse tails, and when the *Othman* Empire was miserably distressed both within and without, he plundered all the adjacent provinces with the troops under his command, which were reckoned the stoutest in all *Asia*; nay, he threatned to destroy *Iskinder*, and even the royal city. but at last being reconciled to Sultan *Soliman*, and having obtained his pardon, he brought with him above a thousand *Freebooters* against the *Germans*, and yet he was put to death as soon as he came to *Constantinople*.

(10) *Izmid Giechid**,] so is the gulph of *Nicomedia* called, that reaches from the *Propontis* to the *Euxine Sea*. The name of *Giechid**, that is, *Passage*, was given to it, because the way leading from *Asia* to *Constantinople* lies near that gulph.

upon

upon which *Gieduk Pasha* retires with his party, and is soon after defeated by the bravery of the *Othman* army.

XII. While the whole *Alothman* Empire is thus shaken by intestine commotions, the imperial army subdues the most formidable bulwarks of *Hungary*. *Agria*, the strongest fortress of *Upper-Hungary*, after four months close siege, is obliged by famine, to surrender to the Imperialists on the 20th of the month *Muharrem* of the year 1099 The same fate befalls *Mongat*, a castle almost impregnable in *Upper Hungary*, which had been some years before not only fortified by *Tekeli* with a strong garrison and new works, but also made by him the repository of his wife, treasures, and records. He being siezed as I have related, and *Cassovia* lost, his wife, the heroine of our age, had assembled there what forces she could, and stored the place with plenty of provision, in hopes to defend it till the war should be finished, or the *Turkish* army march to her relief.

Agria and other cities of *Hungary* surrendered to the Imperialists.

H 1099.
A. C. 1688.

XIII After the *Turkish* forces were driven out of the neighbourhood, Count *Terci* in the year 1098, had attempted likewise to subdue their castle, and for several months assaulted it with cannon and bombs. But finding it ineffectual, on account of the heroic valour and singular firmness of that Lady, (who deserved commendation, if she had exerted her great qualities in defence of her country) he had blocked up the castle at a distance, and cut off all provision to such a degree, that *Tekeli*'s Princess, conquered rather by famine than the enemy's sword, on the 14th of the month *Rebiul evvel*, of the year 1699 *, surrendred herself and the castle to the mercy of the Emperor.

The Imperialists having taken *Mongat*, carry away *Tekeli*'s wife prisoner

* *Jan* 6. 1688

XIV When the accounts of these misfortunes are brought to *Constantinople*, they again inspire the common people and soldiers with seditious purposes. They had been in hopes, that since Sultan *Mahomet*, author of the unjust war was deposed, and the government conferred upon *Soliman*, a Prince, as they imagined, of great sanctity, that the divine wrath would be appeased, and the enemies repelled, who seemed to threaten the inner provinces of the Empire When they found themselves deceived in their expectation, they throw libels into the Jami and Divan, containing reproaches against the Sultan's negligence, and other devices both in prose and verse, by which not only the Vizir and Nobles, but the Sultan himself was sharply satyrized The Vizir very carefully watches these things, orders a guard day and night to pass through the city, prevents nightly assemblies, in which he knew such weapons were generally contrived, and siezes some persons, who had unwarily uttered, in publick, satyrical expressions, but not to add oyl to the flames, he dismissed them without punishment

The restless disposition of the *Turks* attempts a new rebellion

XV. At last, the Sultan's natural timorousness produces what courage could scarce have done, the best remedy for this evil. For *Soliman*, prompted by his fear, resolves to leave *Constantinople*, and withdraw from the authors of the sedition, which design being approved, under pretence of changing the air, he removes to *Adrianople* with his nobles and whole court. Indeed the people of *Constantinople* seemed to have cause to complain of the ill administration of affairs, though they did not impute it to the proper persons. For how much the treasury was exhausted, and to how great a necessity that opulent Empire was reduced, evidently appeared from what happened in that journey. For when the Sultan was just ready to depart, the master of the horse comes to him, and tells him, there are not in the stables so many horses, mules, and camels, as were necessary for the whole court The Sultan, as he was of a mild temper, orders what was wanted to be hired, and the money to be paid by the *Tefterdar*. He being sent for, and declaring, there was not so much money in the treasury, *Soliman* commands the gold and silver vessels and jewels to be sold in the publick market, and with the money his necessities to be supplied. Thus with difficulty he departs from *Constantinople* upon hired horses and chariots, and by this means prevents the sedition just ready to break out.

The fearfulness of the Sultan appeases the sedition, when even fortitude would scarce have had that effect.

He goes to *Adrianople*,

XVI. When he is come to *Adrianople*, he pretends to apply himself wholly to the care of the war, but as the law of the *Koran* and superstitious devotions were much more agreeable to him, than arms and soldiers, he sends *Zuulficar Effendi*

from whence he sends ambassadors to the Emperor to desire peace.

Effendi (11), clerk of the Janizaries, and *Alexander Maurocordatos* (12) interpreter of the *Divan*, ambassadors to the Emperor of *Germany*, under pretence of

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(11) *Zulficar Effendi*] A native of *Constantinople*, who was in great reputation at the *Othman* court on account of his learning. Besides his personal virtues, the place of *Yengicheri* * *Effendisi* or Clerk of the Janizaries, which he held, rendered him considerable at court. That officer's business is, to keep all the lists of the Janizaries, to give each of them a Testimonium subscribed with his own hand, to call them all by name to receive their pay, and in short to confirm whatever is transacted between the Janizaries, by setting his name thereto, by which means it is incredible what vast riches he can acquire by lawful and unlawful ways. For, besides his Salary, which is pretty large, he receives considerable presents from the Janizary-officers whenever they are promoted, and that oftener happens amongst them than any where else, partly by reason of the great number of officers in that body, and also from the frequent changes of the Aga of the Janizaries; for it is the custom every where in *Turkey*, not to appear before any Clerk without a present. Moreover, when the Janizaries receive their pay, he gives in the *Pusula* (or Note containing each Janizary's name, which all of them are obliged to have,) of many that are dead or absent, and by that means gets their pay for himself: Not to mention other ways of inriching himself, in which no people are equal to the *Turks* for invention. He left one son, *Osman aga*, who after the death of *Daltaban*, was, by the interest of *Maurocordatus*, promoted to the place of *Kiebaia*.

(12) *Maurocordatus*] A man so well known to all *Europe*, that there is no occasion to give a long history of his life· however for the sake of the curious I shall add something concerning his pedigree, of which there are only uncertain accounts. In the reign of *Murad* IV. famous for the taking of *Bagdad*, there lived at *Constantinople*, a very rich *Greek*, known by his registred name of σκαρλάτος, *(Scarlatos)* who was *Sorguj*, or purveyor to the court for sheep and oxen. That employment is commonly given to some *Greek*, because they can more easily buy from the *Christians*, the sheep and oxen that are to supply the Sultan's and the Janizaries kitchins. Having by that business raised a very large fortune, he began to be known, and to get some interest at court, as is very easy for rich people. There was at that time great enmity between *Basilius* Prince of *Moldavia* and *Matthew* Prince of *Walachia*, each endeavouring to thrust the other out of his respective Principality; but because they were both rich and powerful at court, they hurt only their own treasures. *Scarlatos* was of *Basilius*'s side, and making use of his credit with the Vizir and courtiers to *Matthew*'s prejudice, raised him daily almost insuperable obstacles. *Matthew* attempted several ways to draw him into his party; but all in vain. At last, upon the death of his wife, he demands his only daughter *Loxandra* in marriage, hoping, that alliance in blood, would easily do, what money had not been able to effect. *Scarlatos* giving his consent, *Matthew* has the Espousals solemnized at *Constantinople*, by their *Capukiehaia* in a splendid manner, and sends some Barons and Baronesses to *Constantinople* with a grand retinue to fetch the bride. But, a few days after the espousals, *Loxandra* falls ill of the small-pox, which not only spoiled her beauty, but also destroyed one of her eyes. *Scarlatos* carefully conceals that blemish, and sends his daughter to her spouse with a large portion, bidding her keep herself veiled after the *Turkish* fashion during her journey, and not show her face to any person, till after the marriage ceremony was over, hoping, that if that was once performed, the Prince would be obliged to keep her for his wife, whether he would or no. She veil'd herself in her journey without any suspicion; but arriving at *Targovistium*, where she was received into magnificent Lodgings, when she would permit none to come to her, except the maid-servants she had brought from home, the Prince suspecting something in that secrecy so unusual among *Christians*, asked leave first for himself alone, and then for some of the Baronesses to wait upon her, but he was refused both, the young Lady pretending, her father had laid a strict injunction upon her, and charged her with horrid imprecations, not to show her face to any person as long as she continued a virgin; which injunction included not only men but also women. The Prince, either out of good-nature, or for fear of her father's power, did not press her any further, but only intimated, that he guessed by her being so shy of showing herself, she had some imperfection or blemish in her body: To which she artfully replied, she had all that was requisite in a virgin, but if the Prince repented of his engagement, she was ready that very hour to return to her country; for that *Scarlatos*'s daughter would never want a husband. The Prince deceived

of informing him of his election, but in reality to settle a peace upon what terms they could procure.

XVII. The

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deceived by the young Lady's smart answer, immediately made very great preparations for his wedding. She is brought veiled from her lodgings to the palace, and from thence to the Church. When the Prince, after the marriage-ceremony, comes into his bed-chamber, and sees that his bride was very ugly, and had lost her right eye, he sends her immediately untouched, or as others say, two days after, from the palace to her old lodgings, and has her conveyed honorably to her father, with her whole dower, and the wedding presents, which were said to amount to an hundred and fifty purses. *Scarlatos* took this very heinously, and sought many ways to be revenged for the contempt of his daughter, but his death prevented his designs, for a few days after his daughter's return, he is stabbed by a Janizary, said to be bribed by [illegible] Prince of *Moldavia*. After his death, *Loxandra*, who was both a virgin and a widow, remained many years unmarried, though she was very rich. For the *Greek* nobles then at *Constantinople*, did not seek for riches, but beauty, and cared not to purchase money at the price of so disagreeable a marriage; and those that were of mean extraction she slighted, as being the daughter of one of the most considerable men of his time, and a Prince's spouse. There came at that time to *Constantinople*, one *Panteles Mau[illegible]dato*, a *Chian*, commonly called *Panteli*, who was indeed noble by birth, but reduced to that poverty, that he was forced to sell in *Constantinople* [illegible] silks, called by the *Turks*, *Hetay*. He was otherwise a tall, handsome, and skilful young man, and born of no inconsiderable family in *Chio*. And he had a paternal inheritance in that island, but not large, for it is sufficient there to make a man noble, if he has a vineyard and a [illegible] descended to him from his ancestors, because by reason of the smallness of the Island, no one can enjoy large possessions. This man coming sometimes to *Loxandra's* house to sell goods, she fell in love with him, and without consulting any one, resolved to marry him, so sending for a parish priest, she was married to him privately in her own house, according to the ceremonies of the Church. From this marriage are born two sons to *Panteli*, *Alexander* and *John*. *John* was hardly known to any *Europeans*, both because he was naturally of a weak understanding, and therefore made no progress in the sciences; and because he had no employment at court, nor was engaged in any affairs, he led a private life; and died in the same, leaving two sons *Scarlatos* and *Constantine*, not more famous than himself. As for *Alexander*, he was sent at twelve years of age to *Padua*, where he applied himself so closely to his studies for fourteen years, that he was not only created Doctor of Physick and Philosophy, but also was thought worthy, at his return to his own country, to fill the chair of professor of physick and philosophy in the patriarchal school. But this bringing him but a small income, he also began to practise physick among the *Turks*, and acquired so much fame, that he came in a short time to have most of the Great men for his patients. And to get to himself a greater name, the *Turks* not knowing his father, he called himself, not the grandson, but the son of the famous *Saruji Scarlatos*, which the *Constantinopolitans*, who are little inquisitive in such matters, easily believed, and gave him the name of *Skierlet ogli*, that is, *Scarlatos*'s son; from thence he took occasion to bear that name in *Europe*, as I have observed he does, in the Diploma of the Emperor *Leopold*, where he is called *Alexander* of the noble family of *Scarlatos*. In the mean time *Panagiotes Nicusius*, chief interpreter of the *Othman* court, dying, that office was bestowed by *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha* upon *Alexander*, on account of his great skill in the oriental languages, and he enjoyed it thirty years with some variety of fortune. For when his great patron *Cara Mustapha Pasha* was strangled, his successor *Cara Ibrahim Pasha* threatned him with death, because he was thought to have disswaded *Cara Mustapha* from taking *Vienna* by force of arms, and so being turned out of his place, deprived of his goods, and thrown into prison, he was succeeded by one *Sefferaga*, a renegado *Christian*, who had embraced *Mahometism*. But *Cara Ibrahim* finding in a few months, that *Sefferaga* was unfit for the place, restored *Alexander* to his former honour, and gave him an opportunity of amassing more riches, and of growing more in favour at court than before. Under *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*, he exposed himself to very great danger by his embassy to *Vienna*, and that would entirely have been the cause of his ruin, had he not by his many promises induced the court of *Vienna* to retain him, under divers pretences, till the death of *Kioprili*. When *Kioprili* was dead, he returned to *Constantinople* with *Zuulficar Effendi*, and his good success at the treaty of *Carlowitz* procured him so much esteem at the *Othman* court, that he was honoured with the new name and title of *Mubarremi Esrar*, that is,

The Vizir appoints a Seraskier against the enemy.

XVII. The Vizir also, *Tekkiurdaghy Mustapha Pasha* (13), either out of fear of the *Germans*, or apprehension lest the Sultan, during his absence, should be persuaded by his courtiers to put him to death, declines the command of the army, and appoints *Rejeb Pasha* (14) Seraskier of *Hungary*.

The Imperialists besiege *Alba Regalis*, and take it, with many other cities. † *May* 8 H. 1099. A. C. 1688.

XVIII. But before the *Turkish* forces took the field, the Imperialists had blocked up *Alba Regalis* the whole winter, so that on the nineteenth of the month *Rejeb* †, of the year 1099, the garrison, compelled by famine, offered the keys to the conqueror. *Caraffa* had by stratagem assaulted *Lippa*, and taken the city by storm, and obliged the castle in a few days to surrender, and soon after wrested *Solmoz* and *Logosh* from the *Turks*. *Caraffa*, to whom the command of the whole army was committed during the Elector of *Bavaria's* absence, after having taken *Illok* and *Peterwaradin* from the *Turks*, had sent *Wallis* and *Hensler* with several regiments towards the *Tibiscus*, to seize *Tiral*, a castle upon that river, because, till that was taken, it would be difficult to besiege *Belgrade*. When they approach the castle, the garrison, prepared indeed for defence, but being vigorously pressed, on the twenty eighth of the month *Ramazan*, surrender upon condition of having leave to depart.

The Elector of *Bavaria* subdues *Semandri* and *Belgrade*.

XIX. The neighbouring country being thus settled, the Imperial army, commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, turn their whole force against *Belgrade*; but in their way are opposed by the *Turks* at the isle of *Sabatz*, who endeavour to prevent their passage over the *Save*, but are repulsed by the foremost troops with great loss. These obstacles being surmounted, the whole army march to *Belgrade*, in order to attack the *Turks*, who had pitched their camp round the city, and fortified it with a trench. But the Seraskier, without waiting the approach of the *Germans*, sets fire to his camp and the lower part of the city, and, reinforcing the garrison, retires with the rest of his army to *Semandria*. The *Germans* seizing what the *Turks* had left, on the thirteenth of the month *Sheval* †, lay siege to the city on all sides, and opening their trenches, prosecute it with the utmost vigour. Mean time, being informed that the *Turks* had abandoned *Semandria*, the capital of *Servia*, they send thither a thousand *Hungarians*, who with ease take the city, destitute of defence. At length the *Ger-*

† *July* 30

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Keeper of Secrets, which he interpreted by the *Greek* word ἐξαπόῤῥητον, and required to be styled after ἐκλαμπρότατος by the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, and other *Christians* subject to the *Othman* Empire. He received some disturbance in his old age from *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha*, who endeavoured to obstruct the peace of *Carlowitz*, and kill the authors of it, as if, contrary to their orders, they had made some concessions to the *Germans*, and especially to the *Poles*. *Daltaban* being slain by the Mufti's contrivance, his favourers and adherents were so exasperated at it, that they rais'd a rebellion, and insisted upon having *Maurocordatus* delivered up to them; which Sultan *Mustapha* would have been forced to do, had not *Maurocordatus* retired to *Sozopolis* to his relations. But the conspirators being dispersed by the prudent management of Sultan *Ahmed*, and the rebellion appeased, he returned with his son to *Constantinople* in a monk's habit; and being restored by the Sultan to all his honours and riches, lived till the year 1709, towards the end of which he departed this life. He left as heirs to his immense riches two sons, and two daughters, *Nicolas*, *John*, *Alexandra*, and *Helena*. He had a third son, named *Scarlatos*, who was chief cup bearer of *Walachia*, and son-in-law to *Constantine Brancovan*, Prince of *Walachia*, but he died before his father, and without issue, being a very hopeful young man. *Nicolas*, upon his father's being sent to *Carlowitz* with the title of *Muharrem Esrar*, was appointed *Bashtercjman*, or chief interpreter to the court, and after his father's death was created Prince of *Moldavia*, and is now Despot of *Walachia*, being highly in favour at court. *John* was promoted after his brother to the place of chief interpreter, which he at present enjoys, and is the handsomest person of his time.

(13) *Tekkiurdaghy Mustapha*,] a native of *Rodostus*, called by the *Turks*, *Tekkiurdagi*, raised from a Janizary to the dignity of Vizir, but he distinguished himself by no remarkable action.

(14) *Rejeb Pasha*,] he belonged formerly to *Aineji Soliman*, and by him, whilst Vizir, was constituted *Chaush** *Bashi*, and at last being sent to the *Hungarian* army with three *Tugs*, and the title of Seraskier, he lost both his army and his life by his excessive Superstition

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mans, having demolished the walls of *Belgrade*, on the eleventh of the month † *Zulcade* surround the city, and after a sharp battle of six hours, force the *Turkish* soldiers from the walls, and penetrate into the city. The garrison, in despair, endeavour to retreat into the castle; but so uncautiously, that the *Germans* briskly pursuing and mixing with them, seize the gate. A fiercer battle ensues than the former, and at last the garrison, as 'tis said, consisting of nine thousand men, are all put to the sword by the *Germans*.

† *Aug.* 26.

XX. When the city was taken, the *Turkish* Ambassadors come and declare they are sent both to acquaint the *Germans* with the election of Sultan *Soliman*, and to settle a peace, desiring some persons might be named by the Imperialists, to whom they might communicate what they had in commission. The Elector of *Bavaria* answers, he is general of the Emperor's army, and not his counsellor, and sent by him to subdue *Servia* and *Bulgaria*, and not to make peace: if they had any thing to propose to his Imperial Majesty, they must go to *Vienna*, and open their commission.

The *Turkish* ambassadors come to the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Belgrade*.

XXI. The Prince of *Baden* had no less success with another part of the Imperial army in *Bosnia*. As he attempted to pass the river *Unna*, he was opposed by a considerable body of *Turks*, which having vigorously attacked, he not only defeated, but pursued them so briskly, that they abandoned *Gradisca* and *Costaniza*. Proceeding further, he was met at the little city of *Brod*, on the tenth of the month *Zulcade* *, by the Pasha of *Bosnia* with the whole army, who, the same day, was routed with such loss, that five thousand *Turks*, with their general, were slain.

The Duke of *Baden's* success in *Bosnia*.

* *Aug* 25.

XXII. Mean while, the *Venetians* carry on the war in other parts with doubtful success. In the *Morea*, the Seraskier is before them in the campain, and obliges the garrison of *Athens* to abandon the city with great loss. The *Venetian* army soon after march to *Egriboz*, and, passing the narrow sea which divides the island from the Continent, lay close siege to the city; but, by the disagreement of the officers, and the bravery of the besieged, are obliged to retreat with loss. Upon which Count *Coningsmark*, the general, eminent for his valour, who had been the instrument of almost all the victories gained by the *Venetians* in the *Morea*, fell sick and died.

The various success of the *Venetians*.

XXIII. On the other hand, in *Dalmatia*, *Kain*, of which *Steaglik*, the deposed Sopha of *Bosnia*, was governor, with several thousand soldiers, is taken, and the castles of *Verlicca*, *Quonigrad*, and *Grassach* *, are subdued by the *Venetians*.

The *Venetians* more successful in *Dalmatia*.

XXIV. In the mean time, the *Turkish* ambassadors *Zuulficar Effendi* and *Maurocordatus* were come to *Vienna*, and being introduced to the Emperor in the name of the Sultan, without any mention of peace, presented the letters *Julus Name* (15), informing him of the election of *Soliman* to the *Othman* throne, hoping the Imperial court would first propose a peace, and so render the negotiation more easy to them. But when they find nothing mentioned on the Emperor's part with respect to that point, they offer to *Leopold* two setts of articles for peace, namely, if a short truce only were desired, all *Hungary* should continue in the hands of the *Germans*, *Transylvania* be tributary to both Empires, *Caminiec*, with its walls demolished, be restored to the *Poles*, and *Belgrade* to the *Turks*: but if a peace were more agreeable, some part of *Hungary*, besides *Belgrade*, should be restored to the *Othman* Empire.

The *Turkish* ambassadors coming to *Vienna*, propose two setts of articles for peace.

XXV. The Emperor having consulted with the ambassadors of the rest of the confederated princes, returns this answer, that though from the present situation of affairs he had great hopes not only of recovering *Hungary*, but also of subduing the whole *Othman* Empire, yet he was ready to agree to a peace, provided

The hard terms proposed by the Emperor.

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(15) *Julus Name*,] so are the Sultan's letters commonly called which he sends to the Pashas, and Begs dignified with the title of Pashas, and to the neighbouring Princes with whom he is at peace, to notify his accession to the throne. they are properly called *Namei julusi humayun*, i. e. the letters of the most sublime new dominion.

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the Kingdom of *Hungary*, with the provinces belonging thereto, *Sclavonia*, *Croatia*, *Bosnia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Transylvania*, be resigned to him, *Moldavia* and *Walachia* remain free, the exercise of the *Roman-Catholick* religion be permitted in all parts of the *Turkish* Empire, and the *Franciscan* fryars put in possession of the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem*, and *Tekeli* be delivered up to him. The *Poles* demand, that the antient boundaries of their kingdom be restored, and all *Crim-Tartary*, *Moldavia*, *Walachia*, and the whole country extending on both sides of the *Borysthenes* as far as the *Danube* resigned to them; and to show themselves greater friends to religion than the other confederates, they insist, that all the *Christians*, who lived under the *Turkish* government, be exempt from tribute. The *Venetians* besides the *Morea*, and the cities and isles in their possession demand the sea-coast of *Negropont* from *Corcyra* to *Corinth*, and part of *Dalmatia*, with the demolition of the havens of *Dulcigno* and *Antivari*

The King of *France* dissuades the Sultan from this peace.

XXVI. The ambassadors immediately inform *Soliman* by a courier of the answer of the *Christian* Princes, and desire to be directed in what manner to reply And undoubtedly the peace would have been settled, if the most *Christian* Sun had not animated the waining Moon with his light, and prevented her from being totally darkened by the *German* arms. For the King of *France*, who had beheld with a jealous eye the delivery of *Germany*, and the victories of the *Christians* in *Hungary*, when he sees the imperial army had broken down all the fences with which *Constantinople* was defended, and was very near overturning the *Othman* Empire, is seized with envy, and though he has no just cause, proclaims war against the Emperor, and draws the *German* forces from the *Danube* to the *Rhine* But that he might not turn the whole burthen of the war from the *Turks* upon himself, he advises the Sultan by *Chateau-Nouveau* his ambassador at *Constantinople*, not to make peace with the *Germans*, since the next year he would with a strong army penetrate into the heart of *Germany*, and endeavour, that both the Padishahi's might in conjunction act against the *Germans*, and he had now four hundred thousand men ready for that expedition

He promises to divide the Empire of *Germany* between himself and the Sultan

XXVII He adds, if the event should answer his wishes, he would reserve to himself *Vienna* with all *Germany*, but restore *Hungary* to the Sultan. These promises revive the drooping *Turks*, and fill them with such hopes of success that the Sultan neglecting the ambassadors, whom he had sent to desire peace, thought of nothing but war.

All pretences of peace being laid aside, the war is renewed, and the rebels defeated in *Asia*

XXVIII. Wherefore he first applies himself to settle affairs at home, and as soon as he heard, the *Germans* were retired to winter quarters, sends the greatest part of his army against the two rebels, *Egen Osman Pasha* and *Gieduk Pasha* who had almost the whole year disturbed the *Othman* Empire. They bravely attack, defeat, and take the ravagers prisoners, and bringing them to *Constantinople*, deliver the *Othman* state from this intestine disorder.

The *Turks* constitute *Liberius*, Prince of the *Mainots*

XXIX. Moreover to avert the danger, which threatned *Greece* from the *Venetian* arms, and in some measure secure the southern provinces, he sets *Liberius Geralchari* (16) at liberty, who had been confined in the gallies, and appoints

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(16) *Liberius Geralchari*] He is better known to the *Europæans* by the name of of *Liberaki*, which is a corruption of the word *Liberius*, according to the manner of the *Greeks*, he was a native of *Mania*, the *Laconia* of the antients, from whence he went in his youth, and served in the *Venetian* fleet. Afterwards he fitted out a Pirate ship, and, under various colours, committed several robberies at sea for some years. Being at last taken by the *Turks*, he was sent to the gallies, where he lived miserably for seven years. At the end of which he perswaded the *Turks*, that if they set a *Christian* Prince over the *Moreans*, they would all in a short time revolt from the *Venetians*, and return to the obedience of their former masters For this advice he not only obtained his freedom, (the *Turks*, distressed and harassed on all sides, being willing to try every thing for their preservation,) but, with the title of *Maniabegi*, was honoured with a *Sanjak* but no *Tug*, and sent into the *Morea*. But before he departed from *Constantinople*, he married *Anastatia* of the noble *Moldavian* family of *Bususesty*, and widow of *Ducas* Prince of *Moldavia* (who died in his captivity in *Poland*)

points him Prince of *Mania* or the *Mainottæ*, in imitation of the despots of *Walachia* and *Moldavia*, though with a lower degree of authority. He was induced to this as well by the success of his arms in *Moldavia*, which convinced him, that a *Christian* governor could much more easily keep the subjects of his own religion in obedience, as by the assurances of *Liberius*, who perswaded him, that all the people of the *Morea* were alienated from the *Venetians*, on account of their endeavouring to impose upon them the *Roman*-Catholick religion. If therefore a Prince of the eastern church was made governor of the *Morea*, they would soon be engaged to abandon the *Venetians*, and submit again to the *Othman* dominion.

The Sultan promises to command the army himself

XXX. These affairs being thus settled, *Soliman*, to terrify the enemy, and animate his own men, declares, he will command the army in person against the *Germans*, and having raised as many troops as possible, marches towards *Servia*, as if he meant to besiege *Belgrade*.

Hearing of the approach of the *Germans*, he stops at *Sophia*

XXXI. But he was scarce come to *Sophia*, when he is informed, that *Segedwar*, a city famous for the martyrdom of *Soliman* I, had been obliged by famine to surrender to the Imperialists; and that the *German* army, which he had imagined was wholly employed against the *French*, was marching from *Belgrade* against him with great expedition. Whereupon in a fright, he remains at *Sophia*, and leaves the army to the conduct of the Seraskier *Rejeb Pasha*, with orders not rashly to hazard a battle, but only prevent the progress of the enemy.

The Seraskier being deluded by his astrologer, is twice defeated by the *Germans*

XXXII. The Seraskier, when he is come to the river *Morava* within sight of the enemy, being deceived by his astrologer (17), who from his observation of the

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land) to the great dishonour of *Ducas*'s posterity, by the following stratagem. *Liberius* having privately betrothed her, publickly demands *Anastasia* in marriage, but she refusing, and declaring that it was unbecoming a Prince's widow to marry a *Paizan* (for that is the name given to persons condemned to the gallies) *Liberius* presents an *Arzubal* to the Vizir, desiring that the Patriarch should be obliged by a *ferman* to celebrate the marriage. She still pretending to be unwilling, begs of the Patriarch, with tears in her eyes, that he, and the chief of the *Greek* nobility, would intercede with the Vizir, to put a stop to the marriage. The Patriarch complies with her request, but when he comes, attended with almost all the *Greek* nobility, to her house, she plainly discovers her designs, saying, that having duly considered the matter, her modesty would not allow her to come before the Vizir, and therefore she chose rather to marry any husband, than expose her self to so much infamy, whereupon the company going away, she was immediately married by a Priest whom she had got ready in her house for that purpose. But she, soon after, expiated the disgrace she had brought upon her family, for when her new husband was gone to the *Venetians*, she put on the veil, and died in the same some years after.

(17) his astrologer] Though the *Turks* are forbid all sorcery, and other kinds of divination, by the Law of the *Koran*, which expresly declares, *Kulli munejimun Kiezzabun*, i. e. *all astrologers are liars*; yet they very easily give credit to their predictions. And to have some specious pretence for this superstition, they fancy, that the heavenly bodies are the instruments of divine providence, by which it not only performs every thing, but hath also expressed by their figures what ought to be done: and moreover, that in the forehead of all persons, the first moment of their conception in their mother's womb, are written, according to the harmony of the heavenly bodies, whatever is to befall them, in characters unknown to mankind. For the reading and explaining of these, they boast of wonderful and ridiculous arts, especially the calculation *Reml* (invented, say they, by *Pythagoras*, whom they call *Feisagures*) by which from the even or odd number of letters contained in the mother's and child's name, by *ebjed*, that is, the value of the number, they pretend to foretell things. The Vizir's courts are full of such prophets, who never dare to foretell any unhappy events, but in order to preserve the fame they have acquired by their lies, promise nothing but victories, greater honours, long life, and a lasting enjoyment of the Vizirship. *Chorluly** *Ali Pasha* alone held those people in the utmost contempt, and one of them, who was provoked at it, having foretold, that he would be deprived of his dignity of Vizir at the end of three months, he confined him in prison the three months and eleven days, and then sent him to the gallies. But under *Husein Pasha*, the promoter

the stars promised him certain victory, bravely attacks the *Germans*, but is obliged with great loss to retire with the remains of his army to *Nissa*. But even this misfortune could not open the Seraskier's eyes, nor convince him how absurd it is to trust to the fallacious conjunctions of the stars, and the pretended interpreters of them. For he had no sooner re-assembled his troops after their flight, and strengthned them with new supplies, but, induced again by the promises of the same astrologer, he takes the field, and engages the *Germans*, but being quickly defeated, and his whole army almost destroyed, he escapes with a few followers, perceiving too late the vanity of his superstition.

The Imperialists subdue almost all *Servia*.

XXXIII. After this victory, the *Germans* overrun at once all *Servia*, take *Widdin*, *Nissa*, *Shehirkioi*, and destroy *Scopia*, a city of *Bulgaria*, by fire.

The Sultan returns an answer to his ambassadors.

XXXIV. Upon the news of these misfortunes, *Soliman* immediately hastens from *Sophia* to *Adrianople*, and returns an answer, till then deferred, to his ambassadors at the *German* court. But he orders them to make no new offer, besides what they had before in commission; and admonishes them to settle the peace agreeably to the precepts of the *Koran*, which were more favorable to those who receive, than those who give. He directs them therefore to persuade the Emperor, without mentioning the rest of the provinces of *Hungary* which he had demanded, to restore *Belgrade* to the *Othman* Empire, after which they might treat of peace. *Maurocordatus*, having received the Sultan's answer, finding that such things could not possibly be proposed or demanded, conceals his orders, pretending the Sultan would not give up any thing, except what he had before mentioned; but being afterwards put in mind by his collegue, *Zuulficar Effendi*, that both their lives would be in danger, if they should be found to neglect the Sultan's commands, he communicates the real state of the affair to the Emperor, and receives such an answer as he expected. For though the Emperor, perceiving that while he was engaged with two enemies, he could not carry on the war against either with success, would gladly have made a truce upon any terms, yet he was obliged to put off the affair to another time, because the *Turkish* ambassadors had not full power of making peace, and he thought it dishonourable, after so many victories, to send ambassadors to *Constantinople*, as it were, to sue for peace, and withal expose himself to the artifices of the *Turks*, whom he knew to be very subtle in protracting negotiations.

The *Poles* are quiet. The *Russians* attack *Crim Tartary*.

XXXV. Mean time, the two armies in *Poland* are quiet, and only shew themselves to each other, being divided by the river *Tyras*. But the Czars of *Russia* raise numerous forces, and send them against the *Tartars*, under the conduct

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ter of the peace of *Carlowitz*, there was a famous prophet at *Constantinople*, in the court of *Mehemmed*, *Reis Effendi*, who was commonly called *Nefi Ogli*, or *the Exile's son*, because his father had been banished by *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha* (for *Nefi* signifies an exile, or a banished person). I was intimately acquainted with him before and after the death of *Rami Pasha*, and he certainly was the most learned man among the *Turks*, skilled not only in *Arabic*, and other parts of learning in use among the *Mahometans*, but he also understood *Latin*, which he had learned by means of *Meninskius*'s *Turkish Grammar* and *Lexicon*, without the assistance of a master. And it was only by following his counsel, that *Rami Mehemmed Pasha* acquired so great fame in the *Otoman* court. For when any difficult matter occurred, it was customary for *Rami* to consult *Nefi*, and carry his opinion to the Vizir as his own. I know that most persons ascribe [illegible] to *Alexander Maurocordatus*, by reason of the close friendship between him and the *Reis Effendi*, but that *Nefi* alone was his adviser, hath been acknowledged by all who had an opportunity of being intimately acquainted with *Rami*'s court. It was he also who persuaded *Rami Effendi* to undertake an embassy, which he intended to decline, telling him, he would thence reap great honour and advantages, and put a happy conclusion to a very dangerous war. Adding, *Husein Pasha* would not long enjoy the Vizirship after that peace, and, after one successor, *Rami* himself would be advanced to that dignity; but he advised him not to accept of it, if he wished well to the Sultan, for the Sultan would be in very great peril under his administration. All which was afterwards observed to be as exactly fulfilled, as if it had been read out of the *Leuh* (the book in which, according to the *Mahometan* fictions, are written by angels all the actions of mortals.)

of

of *Basilius Galliczin*. It is said, that three or four hundred thousand men, and fourteen hundred cannon, were designed for this expedition.

But a sedition arising, they are obliged to return, not without great loss

XXXVI. But all these preparations are rendered useless by the treachery of the *Russians*; for while the army was employed in besieging the city *Or*, commonly called *Precop*, the Czar's own regiment revolted, and, by drawing into their party many of the most considerable officers, occasion the whole army to return home without success In their retreat they are attacked by the *Tartars*, and by the perfidiousness of their intestine enemies, suffer a great loss in their rear.

Peter Alexiowitz quells the sedition, and forms a regular militia

XXXVII. But when the *Russians* are returned, *Peter Alexiowitz*, to whom alone the goverment of that large Empire was committed by the unanimous consent of the people, makes a strict enquiry after the seditious; shuts up his sister, who had been the principal occasion of the rebellion, in the monastery of *Novodievicz*; removes *Basilius Galliczin*, as privy to the attempts against the Empire, and, confiscating his whole estate, banishes him to *Archangle*; puts to death eight of the Nobles, who are authors of the sedition; kills, like wild beasts, twelve thousand *Streltzi's* publickly in the market-places and streets; and having abolished this military order, forms a regular militia, after the manner of other Christian Princes.

The *Venetians* besiege *Monembasia*

XXXVIII In the *Morea*, the *Venetians* closely besiege *Monembasia*, and cut off all provision. *Liberaki*, lately appointed Prince of *Mania*, endeavouring to relieve the city, is repulsed with loss.

The Sultan returns to *Constantinople*.

XXXIX About the end of this campain Sultan *Soliman*, labouring under a dropsy, by the advice of his physicians, returns from *Adrianople* to *Constantinople*, where he puts to death the Seraskier of *Hungary*, *Rejeb Pasha*, for fighting with the *Germans* contrary to his orders.

The Vizir being deposed, *Kiuprili oglu* is advanced in his room

XL. Moreover, he removes the Vizir *Tekkiurdaghy Mustapha Pasha* from his post, as a man unqualified for war and the administration of the state, and confines him to a private life in *Malgara*, a little town near *Rodostus*, advancing in his room *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*, who, as I said, was *Caimacan* of *Constantinople* when Sultan *Mahomet* was deposed.

The Vizir calls a general council

XLI The new Vizir, immediately after his advancement, sends for the *Mufti*, the Cadiuleskers, with the rest of the *Ulema*, and the generals of the army, and orders the interpreters of the law to give their opinion, whether it was proper to desire peace of the *Germans*, or recover by force what the confederates had unjustly seized The *Mufti* first declares, it was not contrary to the divine law to desire peace even of infidels in times of necessity The same opinion is espoused by the *Rumeli Cadiulesker*, but the *Asiatic Cadiulesker*, either by the instigation of the Vizir, or because he saw his provinces out of danger, opposes this, and maintains it to be more eligible, that all the Musulmans should perish by the enemy's sword, than to make *Eimallak* with the *Giaurs*, since no sin could be imagined more heinous than this, by which the honour of the prophet and the *Koran* would be wounded. The Vizir approves of the speech of *Anadol Cadiulesker*. "And as often (says he) as I attentively consider our conduct for seven years "against the Emperor of *Germany*, I cannot sufficiently wonder at the imprudence of our generals, the blindness of our counsellors, and the fearful or perverse minds of the interpreters of the law. The Vizirs and Seraskiers, who "have been highly applauded for their wisdom, though they knew the war was "to be carried on with the *Giaurs*, never thought of any thing, but raising as "large armies as possible; the counsellors were only sollicitous about filling the "treasury by any means, and providing the soldiers with money and warlike stores, "as if the *Musulmans* had no other hopes of victory but in their arms and treasure The *Ulema*, whose office it was to advise them, and correct their mistaken conduct, content with their stipends, preferred ease to labour, without "any concern whether the *Othman* state was well administered, or not. On "these accounts, as the Empire could not but be involved in the most dreadful calamities, they never thought of removing the source of them, by reforming the vices of the people, but immediately gave the sanction of their "approbation to the proposal of peace, and almost forced it upon the true *Musulmans*.

"[illegible]. But when God was more provoked by this infidelity, and debarred "them of peace upon honourable terms, they immediately return to their old "customs, and cast the blame due to the subjects upon the Emperors. Having "obtained their ends, at their departure they foretold the soldiers out of the law, "that the *Giaurs* would be driven from our borders; not considering that the "promise of our prophet, of undoubted success to the *Musulmans*, depends up-"on certain conditions. There are required, for instance, a sure confidence in "God, the exercise of good works, purity of mind in the soldiers, who are to "fight against the *Giaurs*, and justice in the rulers towards their subjects. These "virtues being hitherto wanting, what wonder is it that God himself should re-"fuse to assist the *Musulman* forces, and that their valour should be defeated by "the art of the *Giaurs*. For my part, to demonstrate the truth of what I have "said, I desire only twelve thousand true followers of the *Koran*, men pure in "heart and mind. With these I trust not only to fight valiantly against the "numberless forces of the *Giaurs*, but likewise, by God's assistance, humble them "in such a manner, that they shall be obliged to restore all they have hitherto "taken from us" To this speech the *Mufti* replies, that the Vizir had indeed with great sagacity traced out the causes of the corruptions, and of the subsequent misfortunes to the *Othman* Empire, but that they could hardly be corrected by the method he proposed, since the army wanted spirit, and the treasury money, the sinews of war. Besides, all people were in hopes of an approaching peace, raised by the letters lately sent from the ambassadors at *Vienna*. Upon this, the Vizir asks who were the ambassadors, and what peace they were sent to make? And being informed by the *Mufti* of the whole state of the affair, he is fired with indignation, and in a long speech shows how much the authors of that embassy, of whom he deemed his predecessor to be the principal, had acted against the good of the Empire. At last, with a loud voice, he cries out, "I count the ambassadors, and those that sent them, *Giaurs*, and as such do I "think they will be treated in the divine judgment For no true *Musulman*, "skilled in the precepts of the *Koran*, could have thrown the Sultan, a prince of "great mildness and simplicity, into so heinous and execrable a crime

It is concluded to continue the war, and the Vizir denies that the Sultan had sent ambassadors to the Emperor

XLII. The Vizir, thus disposed to war, is urged still more to pursue his designs by the *French* ambassador, Monsieur *Château-Nouveau*, who possesses him and the whole court with such a confidence in the arms of *France*, that a *Galibe Divan* (18) being called, they unanimously determined to prosecute the war with the

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(18) *Galibe Divan*,] so is the Emperor's *Divan* called, which is held every *Sunday* and *Tuesday*, under a *Cubbe* in the large hall of the outer court, named *babi humayun*, the *sublime Port* The Prime Vizir presides in it, and has on his right hand *Rumeli*, on his left *Anadol*, *Kadulasker*, and the Mufti, if he is summoned by a particular order, as also the rest of the *Cubbe* Vizirs, and lower the *Tefterdar*. The *Reis effendi*, and the other chiefs of the *Calemu*, stand by . but the military officers, as the *Aga* of the Janizaries, *Spahilar agasi*, *Siludar agasi*, and the rest, sit without the Divan, at the gate *Babi humayun*. The Sultan hears, out of a window over the Prime Vizir's head, all that is done. When they first meet, they cause all the suits presented by the plaintiffs [illegible] be read aloud by the *Teskiereji*, and de-[illegible] their causes: after which the Vizir de-[illegible] to the great men, the *Ulema*, and the [illegible]ry, what the Sultan pleases should be [illegible]ed, and requires their opinion about it. Each having declared his opinion aloud, the Vizir waits upon the Sultan in *Arz odasi*, which is the first and the last room in court where strangers have admittance, and examines with him alone, (other persons being ordered to walk out) affairs that are of a private nature. After the Vizir, the rest of the assessors, the *Mufti*, *Cadiulaskers*, and the Vizirs, are admitted to the Sultan, and so may also the Aga of the Janizaries, and the other *Ojak Agalari*. It is the custom for those that enter the *Galibe Divan*, to wear at that time a particular dress. The Prime Vizir, and the rest of the *Cubbe* Vizirs, wear a triangular turban, named *Calevi*, above half a cubit high, folded all round with a very fine linnen cloth, which they call *Diulbend*, and adorned on the forehead with a gold border three fingers in breadth, and woven in the cloth in a circular form: the Vizir's robe is of white silk, not flowered, named *Ust Caftan*, lined with ermins, and having long sleeves hanging behind; that

the utmost vigour. And that they might not seem to break off the treaty begun at *Vienna*, without some reason, the Vizir informs the Emperor of *Germany*'s council by letters, that he had heard some persons were come to *Vienna* under the title of ambassadors from the *Port*, and had proposed terms of peace in the Sultan's name: but that these were impostors, and had either forged the letters which they pretended to have from the Sultan, or procured them from the former Vizir, without the Sultan's knowledge. That they should beware therefore of trusting them, since such persons neither were nor could be sent by the *Othman* Emperor.

XLIII. These affairs being thus settled, he prepares for an early campain, and applies his whole care to the raising an army, and providing warlike stores. But finding what the *Mufti* had said to be true, that the *Musulmans* were seized with such terror, that there was little hope of raising an army capable of opposing the *Germans*, that moreover the treasury was exhausted, and the people every-where unwilling to perform their duty, he takes another method of levying forces, which he executes with wonderful art and success. For as the former Vizirs, in their mandates, had required all persons, whose duty it was, to attend the wars, he publishes a *Ferman*, in a very different strain. He says in it, that after he was made Vizir by the Sultan, upon mature consideration, he found it necessary to trust the command of the *Othman* army against the haughty *Germans* to none but himself; that he would not employ in this expedition any soldiers forced into the service, as well knowing the will is of more value with God than the deed, but that he would only put the followers of the *Mahometan* worship in mind of the precepts of God and his prophet, by which every Musulman is commanded, neither to avoid martyrdom, nor despair of success in the defence of the law, and the extirpation of infidels. That every Musulman therefore, who thought himself obliged by that law, and had resolution to suffer every thing for the faith, should come, and list himself in his army, but that he, who was doubtful or fearful of Martyrdom, or detained by affairs, which he believed would excuse him before God from the service, should have the liberty of staying at home, and after purging himself from all criminal actions, intercede daily with God for the success of the army. Nay, though he should be of the military order, he should not only be exempt from punishment, but enjoy his pay during his absence. By this mandate, both the soldiers and the people of *Asia* are rouzed as it were from a profound sleep. For till then whenever they were called to the wars, the greatest part for fear of the punishment threatned to the unwilling, hid themselves, and evaded the enquiry of the Bashas, partly by gifts, and partly by artifice and false pretences. But when they find

The Vizir, with great dexterity, raises a vast army.

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that of the rest of the Vizirs is the same, only must be made of coloured silk. The Cadiulaskiers wear large Turbans, as big again as the common ones, called *Calavet*, and a brown garment made of *Sof*. The *Tefterdar*, *Reis effendi*, and officers of the *Calemy*, have likewise on their heads large round Turbans, which they call *Mujeveze*, and wear also brown garments, lined with Ermines, and made of the same stuff as those of the other *Caftans*. The military officers and *Capuji bashi* use a *Mujeveji* Turban, and an *Ust Caftan* made of cloth of gold, and lined with Ermines. *Capijilar Kiehayasi* wears a *Caftan*, and holding in his hand a silver-rod adorned with a ball of the same metal, carries the Sultan's orders to the Vizir. The *Chaush** *bashi*'s dress is the same, and his business is to bring the Plaintiffs into the *Divan*. The Vizir's officers have on their heads, a *Mujeveze*, and and wear an *erkian Kiurku* or a Coat of Ermines, with wide Sleeves. The *Kulkiehaia* an *Ust Caftan* lined with Lynx-skins, and on his head a *Cucca* adorned on the left side with a *Sorguj* of black feathers which also the rest of the *Ojak Agalari* wear, only they have the *Sorguj* on the right side. But when the Sultan orders a general council to be held, to which are admitted all the great men, the officers of every degree, and the eldest soldiers, then it is called *Ayak Divani*, the *Divan of Feet*: because all the assembly stand, or because every one may fix his foot, or remain firm, in his opinion. The several opinions are taken and laid, by the Vizir and the rest of the counsellors before the Sultan, to be discussed.

themselves excited by the motive of religion to war against the infidels, and that the unwilling had liberty to remain at home, not only those who received the pay, but others, who had been dismissed the service, partly to avoid the imputation of cowardice, and partly for fear of being counted *Giaurs*, prepare for the campain. Thus what the former Vizirs could not effect by the severest threats, by the Bashas, Capuji-bashis, and Chausses*, *Kiuprili Mustapha Pasha* accomplishes without any difficulty by one word of the *Koran*, and raises more numerous forces than any Vizir had done since *Cara Mustapha Pasha*.

He clears the treasury of money unjustly raised

XLIV. Having by this method assembled an army, he turns his thoughts to the purging of the treasury of money unjustly raised, and filling it by more honorable means. When he carefully examines the accounts, he finds the state of it no less confused than of other affairs For the Vizirs and other great men in the time of peace had consumed a great part of it under various pretences, and for bribes had granted to some an exemption from tribute, and laid a greater burthen upon others than they could bear. And afterwards upon the breaking out of the war, the Tefterdars had invented various schemes to fill their empty coffers, by which they had reduced the citizens to such necessity, that nothing was heard but the cries of the people calling for the vengeance of God upon their unjust oppressors. The Vizir with great application removes all those abuses restores to the treasury all the mony, which his predecessors, the Bashas, and Secretaries had taken away, establishes new laws for raising tribute, and orders that no person of a different religion should be exempt from tribute, and subjects to the *Haraj* (19) the *Greek* monks, (who ever since the taking of *Constantinople*

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(19) *Haraj*] A set tribute, which all persons that are not *Mahometans* are obliged to pay to the *Turkish* Emperors This imposition is grounded on the *Koran*, which injoins, that every person of a different persuasion shall pay yearly, when come to a ripe age, thirteen drams of pure silver, if he has a mind to be a subject to the empire, and not be obliged to embrace the *Mahometan* religion. But, in process of time, this sum seeming too small to those blood-suckers, three Rixdollars were set upon each person's head, as a tribute, under the first Emperors of *Constantinople*, *Mahomet* II, *Bajazet* II, *Selim* I, and *Soliman* I which sum was afterwards lessened, or increased at pleasure, by the following Sultans; till *Kiuprili Mustapha Pasha* divided it into three standing payments, *Ala*, *Evsat*, and *Edna*, ordering, that the rich should pay ten *Leonines*, persons of a middling fortune, six, and the poorer sort, three; and this appointment is observed to this day. And that they may not seem to their superstitious people to act, in those grievous exactions, contrary to the forementioned law of the *Koran*, the crafty Musulmans make use of a double pretence to reconcile the injunctions of the court with the precepts of their prophet. First, they have persuaded the people, that the price of all necessaries were much lower then, and the value of gold and silver much greater, than at present: and therefore the law of their prophet must be so interpreted, since it was ordained for the advantage of the *Othman* empire, that every person which does not profess the *Mahometan* religion, should pay every year as much money, as is sufficient to buy what might have been purchased at that time for thirteen drams of pure silver Moreover, to cut off all occasion of refusal, they have invented a distinction between *Sheran* and *Urfen*, that is, those things which the *Koran* has enjoyned to be done according to the divine will, and prescribed as a rule to the judges, and such things as are left to the disposal of the sovereign power, to enact and command for the good of the state, and have taught, that the same obedience is due to both, and that they ought to be performed with the same readiness For which reason, if a *Christian* or a *Jew* asks the Mufti by a *Fetuah*, how much tribute he is to pay yearly? he will be told, that, according to the law of the *Koran*, he is to pay but thirteen drams of pure silver But, if relying upon this, he refuses to comply with the other impositions laid upon him, he will immediately be seized, and the same Mufti will condemn him to die by a *Fetuah*, for his disobedience to the Sultan's commands. As to the *Haraj*, it is not as formerly, brought directly into the Sultan's treasury, but is let every year to certain persons in the provinces, who for a discount buy up such a number of schedules called *Haraj Kiebadi*, and, whether they circulate them or no, must pay it into the treasury. But at *Constantinople*, and in the neighbouring places, as *Adrianople* &c. it is collected by a *Jiziedar* or *Haraj bashi*, who, instead of a salary, has an allowance

ple by a writing given by the false prophet *Mahomet* to the *Sinaite* monks, had enjoyed that exemption †) alledging this privilege of *Mahomet* to be spurious, or if genuine, it declares the *Sinaites* only, and not all the monks in general, free from tribute. Besides lest the subjects might suffer by an unequal exaction of the tribute, he divides the *Haraj* into three parts; enjoining the richer sort to pay ten Leonines a year, those of a middle rank six, and the poor only three dolars. All the mony which the superstitious devotion of their ancestors had chose to leave for posterity to the treasuries of the *Jami*, he brings into the publick treasury, and answers the *Muteveli*, who call it sacrilege, that wealth designed for religious uses, ought to be employed in religious wars, and it is more conducive to the Musulman interest, to maintain with it the defenders of the holy edifices, than enemies and robbers. He restores to their former integrity the judicial proceedings, which till then had been almost entirely venal, punishes the judges convicted of corruption with great severity, rescues those who are oppressed by false accusations without respect of persons, and prevents every one from being injured. He orders, that corn and other provisions should not violently be demanded from the subjects (20), but purchased with ready mony at such a price, as they should think proper.

† See Part I. p.

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lowance of so many Aspers, out of every schedule he circulates In these schedules is set down, not only the name of the person to which each is given, but also his religion, stature, shape, hair, eyes, marks of his body, age &c. that no more than one person may make use of the same schedule, and so by imposing upon the *Haraj* gatherers, cheat the treasury. Here it will be proper to mention the remarkable way they have to find out when persons are of ripe age. For if any one pretends to be under age, and upon that account exempt from paying tribute, they immediately measure his neck with a thread, and apply that measure to his face, and if it does not reach from the chin to the top of the head, the person is dismissed as under age, but if it answers exactly, or exceeds, they oblige him to pay.

(20) from the subjects] Such was the justice of *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*, which recommended him both to the *Turks*, and to all the *Christians* subject to the *Othman* Empire And indeed, almost all his actions, as well as his judicial sentences, are evident testimonies of his equity to all persons without any regard to their religion, and of his political wisdom; one or two instances of which it will not be improper to relate In his first expedition, when he took *Belgrade*, being encamped near *Yagodin*, a large village of *Bulgaria*, and observing it to be almost all desolate, and without inhabitants, he sends for two of the oldest of the countrymen, and asks them the reason why their village was thus destroyed They assign two causes of it, first, that their temple being burnt, and liberty denied them of building another, most of the inhabitants had withdrawn to other places, secondly, that the *Othman* troops had so often passed through the village several years together, that they had hindered them from reaping their corn, which had brought a famine, and forced the rest to retire. Upon this the Vizir turning to the *Reis effendi*: "As, says he, a Musulman can "not live where he has not a *Jami*, so nei-"ther can a *Christian* be obliged to dwell "any where without a temple." And immediately gives permission to the inhabitants to build as large a Church as they pleased and by another *Ferman* denounces all those guilty of death, who should, either go out of the road, even a hand's breadth, into the countrymen's fields; or take from them an egg, or a hen. And to try, how much profit that regulation would bring to the state, he orders each inhabitant to give him a hen, for the licence of building a temple; and by that means collects fifty three. In his return from his expedition, he orders them to bring him the same present, and finds one hundred and twenty five: from whence he takes occasion to represent to the rest of the Vizirs, what an increase to the Musulmans treasury might be expected from good regulations. At his return to *Constantinople*, application is made to him for leave to repair the old temple there, or to build a new one; he readily grants the petitioners their request, from whence some country people took an opportunity of humbly desiring him to grant them permission to repair the temple of their village, which was in a ruinous condition. He setting his hand to the usual form, orders the *Buyuruldi Teskieregi* to confirm this grant to them by a particular mandate. And when the officer expressed the *Ferman* in the old form used in that case; namely, that they should repair their temple with the same wood, stones, and

lime;

[illegible] these measures having raised himself a great reputation for prudence, [illegible] and sanctity, he prepares with great application for the campain, and lest during his absence a sedition might be occasioned against the Sultan by so many [illegible] in affairs, he perswades him to go to *Adrianople* in the spring. From thence about the beginning of the month *Sheval*, of the year 1101, he marches towards *Belgrade* with his whole army, full of the hopes of victory. As he passes over mount *Hæmus*, called by the *Turks Kyz derbent* (21), he is inform- ed by the scouts, that several thousand *Germans* were coming from *Belgrade* to strengthen the garrison at *Nissa*.

[illegible] *Belgrade.*

H. 1101.

A. C. 1689.

The *Tartars* defeat several thousand *Germans*.

XLVI. To prevent their entering that city, he sends *Selim Gierai* Chan of the *Tartars* with part of the *Turkish* army, who falling suddenly upon the *Germans* now within sight of *Nissa*, after a short battle puts them to flight. The news of this victory being carried to the *Turkish* camp gives them almost inexpressible joy; and revives the hopes of the *Othmans*, and shews them that a herd of deer fight more bravely under the conduct of a lion, than a troop of lions under the command of a timorous deer.

The Vizir orders prayers to be made in the cities, and the boys to be removed out of the camp

XLVII. The Vizir himself to thank God for the prosperous opening of the campain, and to render for the future the supreme arbiter of all events propitious to the *Othman* arms, orders prayers to be made without intermission day and night at *Constantinople*, *Adrianople*, and in the camp, and finding there was in the army a great number of boys unfit for arms, brought by profligate persons for detestable uses, he commands publick proclamation to be made, that whoever had any boys attending upon him under any pretence, should send them back, and if any such boy should be discovered with any person for the future, he should be put to death without further examination, since that sin above all others deprives those polluted with it of the divine blessing, nor can the most pure God favour with his presence that camp, where such an impurity is practised.

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them; *Kiuprili* severely reproves him for it, and calls him stupid and senseless. The *Mufti* surprized, and trembling for fear, appeals to the ancient form, according to which he had drawn up the mandate. The Vizir provoked the more, replies, they were fools that first made use of that form, and they are no wiser who have followed them. For how can wood, after it is rotten, be restored to its former strength, so as to be able to support what is ready to fall; or Lime, after it has been worn out by time, be so tempered as to be sufficient not only to raise a new building, but also to secure the crevices against the injuries of the weather. Therefore if we grant our subjects liberty to repair their temples, we must permit them to do it in the way in which reason shews it is possible to be done. Let them have orders then, to repair their temple as well as they can; and if it is so ruinous as that it cannot be repaired, let them build a new one: Only, let care be taken, that they do not build it with the [illegible]ulman's money, but their own; and [illegible] they regularly pay the tribute impo[sed upon] them. On this account, it is at this [day a] common saying among the *Greeks*, [that Kiup]rili ugly built more Churches, than

(21) *Kyz derbent*] that is, the *Passage* [of] *the Virgin*. There are two passages over the long ridges of mount *Hæmus* towards [Bel]*grade*, *Kyz derbent*, the [illegible] which, the *Turks* say, was discovered by a certain virgin, a King's daughter, who was wandring by chance in those mountains, and *Capuly derbent*, the *Passage of the Gate*. In the eastern entrance of this passage are still to be seen the ruins of a very ancient and beautiful gate, which many take to have been the work of *Trajan*, being eight hours journey from *Tatar Pazajik*, and twelve from *Philippopolis*. On the west, those narrow passes are bounded by the village *Dragoman Kioi*, the last that was conquered by the Emperor *Leopold*'s victorious arms. But, whilst he was otherwise employed, some of his troops attempting to pass on the other side, the inhabitants, who, upon the approach of the *German* forces, had left their habitations and fled into the mountains, rolled down, from the high rocks, wherewith that road is lined on both sides, huge stones, which killed many, and obliged the rest to retire. And for this service to the infidels, they were declared free from all tribute, which privilege they enjoy to this day.

XLVIII. These

XLVIII. Theſe affairs being ſettled, he marches into *Servia*, and firſt aſſaults *Shebirkioi*, a little city better fortified by nature than art. The garriſon conſiſting but of five hundred men, and theſe *Haiduks*, ſeeing no ſuccours appear, on the fourth day of the ſiege erect the flag of peace on their walls, and promiſe to ſurrender the caſtle on condition of being ſuffered to depart. The Vizir, though diſpleaſed that ſo ſmall a number had detained his army four whole days, to prevent any further delay to the intended progreſs of his victories, grants their demands, and is admitted into the town by the *Haiduks*. The Janizaries endeavour to plunder the *Haiduks* at their departure, but are reſtrained by the Vizir, who commands them, under a ſevere penalty, to ſuffer the garriſon to depart without any injury, alledging it is neither honourable nor advantagious to take away the arms of the *Giaurs*, ſince they cannot injure the *Muſulmans* with them. He then admoniſhes the *Haiduks* not to go to *Niſſa*, but to retire to ſome other fortreſs, becauſe he intended to beſiege that city, and if any one of them ſhould be found there when the town was taken, he muſt not expect to eſcape death. The *Haiduks* however, as ſoon as they are gone from the *Turks*, enter *Niſſa*.

Shebirkioi ſurrender'd to him.

XLIX. The Vizir immediately following them, lays cloſe ſiege to *Niſſa*, which was defended by Count *Starenberg* with three thouſand *German* foot and fourteen hundred horſe. Though *Starenberg* made a brave defence, rather with a view to protract the time, and give the Imperialiſts an opportunity to ſecure *Belgrade*, than with any hopes of ſaving the place from the *Turks*, yet they proſecute the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that on the twenty-fifth day the garriſon promiſe to ſurrender on condition of having their lives and arms. Theſe terms being obtained, as they are leaving the city, the Janizaries diſcover ſome of the *Haiduks* of *Shebirkioi*, though diſguiſed, and by torture force them to confeſs that all their companions were mixed with the reſt of the *German* troops. Upon this the Vizir commands the *German* general to deliver up to him all the *Shebirkioi Haiduks*, and in the ſight of the garriſon hangs part of them, and condemns the reſt to the galleys, and withal, orders *Starenberg* not to go to *Belgrade*, ſince he was about to beſiege that city, and therefore would not have the garriſon reinforced, aſſuring him, if he diſobeyed his orders, he and his men ſhould ſuffer the ſame fate with the *Haiduks*, when *Belgrade* ſhould be taken. The *German* garriſons at *Semendria* and *Widdin*, aſtoniſhed at theſe ſucceſſes of the *Turks*, without waiting the approach of the Vizir, abandon the cities which they were appointed to guard, and fly to *Belgrade*. Theſe two cities are immediately ſeized by a party ſent by *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*, and again ſubjected to the *Othman* dominion

Niſſa being taken, the garriſons abandon *Widdin* and *Semandria*

L. Having thus ſecured all the country in his rear, he marches his hitherto victorious forces to *Belgrade*, and lays cloſe ſiege to it in the month *Zylcade* Having pitched his tents on every ſide, he calls a council of the other Baſha's, and orders them to declare their opinion, whether the city ſhould be immediately aſſaulted with their whole force, or inveſted by their ſtrong camp, and obliged by want of proviſions to ſurrender All the Baſha's adviſe the latter, alledging, that the city being well fortified by nature and art, and wonderfully (22) ſtrengthned with new works, beſides the old walls, and defended by a garriſon of eight thouſand *Germans*, and as many regiments of *Bulgarians* and *Servians*, could not be ſubdued

The Vizir beſieges *Belgrade*, and takes it by an unexpected accident

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(22) wonderfully ſtrengthned] This was done by *Andreas Cornaro*, a native of *Crete*, and a *Greek* by birth and religion, whom ſome authors, and among the reſt *Pietro Garzoni*, a ſenator of *Venice*, have charged with betraying *Belgrade*, perhaps becauſe he was afterwards in the ſervice of the *Turks*. But it was not willingly that he engaged in the ſervice of the infidels, for, after the loſs of *Belgrade*, being ſent by the general of the *German* army to fortify *Peterwaradin*, if I miſtake not, he and his wife were taken in the road thither by the *Tartars*, and brought to *Kioprili Muſtapha Paſha*; by whom being examined, he at firſt pretended to be a captain in a regiment of foot, but afterwards being diſcovered by his mathematical inſtruments, and ſome plans, to which he had ſet his name, he was compelled to new-fortify *Belgrade* and *Temiſwar*: which he certainly performed with ſo much art and dexterity, that, had not

[illegible] within the time still remaining for warlike expeditions, nor besieged [illegible] great loss to the *Othman* army. That if the *Germans* should make a [illegible] resistance, and, as it frequently happens in such sieges, repulse the be-[illegible], the whole army would immediately lose the courage they had hardly re-covered by their present successes. But if the Vizir, leaving *Belgrade* behind him, would with his army pass the *Save*, or at least strongly fortify the banks, to prevent the enemies from passing, the garrison would that summer, or at least the winter following, be obliged by famine to surrender. But nothing was to be feared from the Imperial army, since the greatest part of it was employed in the war against *France*, and the rest being abandoned by the *Hungarians*, would, from the smallness of their number, be more sollicitous to defend their own camp, than attack the *Othman*. The Vizir, though he was far from being of this mind, yet, that he might not seem to oppose the opinion of the whole army, and if any misfortune should happen, it might not be imputed to him, gives way to the majority, and determines to follow the advice of the Bashas. Having therefore surrounded the walls of the city for several days, he is informed that the Imperialists were advancing with great expedition to the relief of the city. Alarmed with the news, he discovers his error in complying unseasonably with his officers, and instantly opens the siege with half of his army, appointing the rest to hinder the Imperialists from passing the *Save*. But he would probably have failed in his design, if, upon the eighth day of the siege, the tower had not been blown up by means of a bomb, or by treachery, and by its ruins demolished a great part of the walls whereupon the *Turks* crying out, it is an evident demonstration of God's miraculous assistance, rush into the breaches, before the *Germans* could prevent them. The garrison oppose their whole strength in this extreme danger, and for almost an hour bravely resist the fierce assault of the *Turks*; but at last, overpowered with numbers, they are forced to retreat. Great part of them fall, though not unrevenged, by the *Turkish* sword; a few, with their general *de la Croy*, escape in boats to the other side of the *Danube*.

He relieves *Temiswar*, which laboured under extreme want of provision.

LI. Having thus reduced a city, the bulwark of all *Hungary*, sooner than he expected, *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha* sends to the relief of *Temiswar* five hundred *Spahis*, to each of whom he had given two horses and as many bushels of meal, to be conveyed thither. For the *Germans* had now invested that city three years, and at first had endeavoured to take it by assault, but afterwards, finding it impracticable, on account of the difficulty of its situation, cut off all manner of supplies. They had hitherto been opposed by the valour of *Coja jafer Pasha* (23), whose authority was so great with the soldiers, that tho many pe-

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not God blasted the designs of the infidels, the taking of those towns by force would have been almost impossible. How well skilled besides he was in the mathematicks, he plainly showed by turning the river *Bees* through the middle of *Temiswar*; a work which, as necessary as it was in a place that suffered extremely every summer for want of water, had yet been thought very difficult, and hardly possible to any before him. For this important piece of service, he was allowed by the Sultan a yearly pension of eight purses, which was continued to him after the conclusion of [illegible] war, and even to the day of his account. This man was very famous among the *Turks* for his knowledge in the art of war, his prudence and integrity, and for his many battles fought with the *Germans*. Having bravely defended *Temiswar*, he was rewarded with the government of *Belgrade*, which place he held with great resolution when besieged the second time by the *Germans*. And by this he acquired so great a reputation, that Sultan *Mustapha* would hardly do any thing in his last expedition without consulting him nay, he very often preferred his advice to that of the Vizir *Elmas Mehemmed Pasha*, whom he otherwise loved; and he would undoubtedly have succeeded him in the Vizirship, had they not been both cut off at the battle of *Zenta* by a troop of rebellious Janizaries.

[illegible] *Coja jafer*] He was surnamed *Coja*, [illegible] way of distinction from ano-[illegible] *Pasha*, commonly called *Ku-*[illegible] I shall hereafter give an

rished

rished by famine, yet the rest refused to feed upon the cats and dogs, which are esteemed impure animals by the *Turks*. They were now reduced to such a necessity, that when the *Spahis* arrived with the provisions, the Janizaries seized upon the sacks of meal like ravenous wolves, and could not be restrained by the entreaties or threats of the *Spahis* from plundering what was brought. This occasioned a contest between the two parties, and afterwards a sharp and bloody conflict. A great number of Janizaries, and as many *Spahis* are killed upon the sacks; and the rest with their Pasha are forced by the fury of the Janizaries to take to speedy flight.

The Vizir having passed the *Danube*, takes *Lippa*

LII. The Vizir in the mean time having allowed the soldiers a few days repose, and repaired the ruins of *Belgrade*, passes the *Danube*, and taking *Lippa*, drives the *German* garrison from *Orsova*. He then assaults *Essek*, a city situated at the conflux of the *Drave* and *Danube*, in hopes, that if he subdued it, he should not only secure his acquisitions from the enemy's incursions, but likewise reduce again all *Sclavonia* under the *Turkish* dominion. But he was forced to abandon this design by the approach of winter, and the resolution of the garrison, and especially by the alteration of affairs in *Transylvania*.

The *Turks* defeat the Imperialists in *Transylvania*; and *Tekeli* upon the death of *Apaffi* is appointed Prince

LIII. For about the beginning of this year, *Michael Apaffi* (24) Prince of *Transylvania* died without issue, and left all his dominions to the Emperor of *Germany*. On the other hand the *Turks* had appointed *Tekeli* Prince of *Transylvania*, and sent to his assistance the Seraskier with ten thousand *Turks*, the Chan of *Tartary*, and *Constantine Brancovan* (25) Prince of *Walachia*. The confederate

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(24) *Michael Apaffi*] He was of no great family in *Transylvania*, son of the chief magistrate of *Cibinna*, who, in the troubles raised by *Ragotzki* in the year 1661, when the Emperor of *Germany* had, after the death of *Ragotzki*, created *Kemeny Yanos* Prince of *Transylvania*, was set up by the *Turks* in opposition to him, and promoted to the same dignity. He was afterwards confirmed in it, as well by the Emperor as the *Turks*, upon the conclusion of a peace between them, when it was stipulated, that *Transylvania* should obey and be tributary to both Emperors; which *Apaffi* putting a different construction upon, as he saw fortune inclining to either side, sent assistance accordingly sometimes to one, and sometimes to the other: and though, in the beginning of this great and memorable war, he joined *Tekeli* by order of the *Othman* court, and sent him forces; yet afterwards, when all *Hungary* had submitted to the Emperor of *Germany*, he sided with him, and refused obedience to the *Turkish* court.

(25) *Brancovan*] He was known in *Europe* by the three names of *Cantacuzenus*, *Brancovan*, and *Bassaraba*, all which he pretended belonged to his family: but that this may be the better understood, it is necessary to trace back the order and succession of his family. I know indeed that a whole volume, containing his life and genealogy, was, by his command, penned by some learned men, whom he kept in pay at a great expence: but as it is uncertain whether that was not stolen by the *Barbarians*, among the rest of his effects, or whether it is preserved any where, I think it would be doing an injury to the reader to conceal from him what, as being a neighbour, I had an opportunity of knowing concerning *Brancovan*'s pedigree. There is no certain account of his ancestors beyond his great grandfather *David*. Though he did not inherit any large possessions from his father, (which is the chief and almost the only mark of Nobility among the *Walachians*,) though he was not eminent for any virtues, nor had any considerable post at court, yet Prince *Matthew* thought fit to make an alliance with him, by giving his sister's granddaughter, with a large portion, in marriage to his son *Preda*, whom he raised to the office of chief *Vornic*, one of the five first places in *Walachia*. But after *Matthew*'s decease, he was unjustly put to death, and, as some say, hanged by Prince *Michna*, because he would not join with him in his revolt against the *Turks*. *Preda* left one son, *Matthew*, sirnamed *Papa*, who, though he had no place at court, yet was very much respected for his father's sake, for his riches, and especially because he married *Helena* daughter of *Constantine Cantacuzenus*, the chief *Postelnic*. By her, whilst he was at the court of *Baron Serban Cantacuzenus*, he had *Constantine*, who took the sirname of *Brancovan*, from the village of *Brancovenius*, given to his grandfather *Preda* by Prince *Matthew*, as part of his wife's portion; and always joined it to his name in all his subscriptions. I am sensible that another reason has been assigned by some parasites for this appellation, and that they derive

[illegible]te forces under his conduct penetrate through the mountains of *Walachia* into *Transylvania*, and at the foot of these mountains unexpectedly inclose

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derive his pedigree from the ancient *Bulgarian* family of *Brancoviz*. But not to mention, that though this pedigree were right, yet it cannot be grounded upon any probable foundation, because, till the time of *Serban Cantacuzenus*, *Walachia* had neither historians, nor genealogical monuments, and, as I have said, had no other marks of Nobility but a paternal inheritance, it is sufficient, for the confutation of that fiction, to have showed the true origin of the name. *Constantine* being raised to the Principality by the forementioned arts of *Constantine Cantacuzenus Stolnicus*, to show himself the more noble, he used the name of *Cantacuzenus* in the subscriptions to his letters to foreign Kings and Princes. There lived then at *Vienna*, *George* brother of the late Prince *Serban Cantacuzenus*, who had been sent by him to the Emperor *Leopold* about some business to him the courtiers, or the Emperor himself, show the letters sent to them under the name of *Constantine Cantacuzenus*, and ask him, who that new Prince of *Walachia* was, that stiled himself *Cantacuzenus*? *George*, either vexed that his Nobility should serve as a cover to another man's ambition, or being unwilling to disguise the truth, ingenuously confesses, that he falsely assumed the name of *Cantacuzenus*, and was only descended from that family by his mother. Not satisfied with having exposed him at *Vienna*, he sent word to his own brothers, *Constantine Stolnicus* and *Michael*, who were in *Walachia*, that the Prince's new name had given occasion to several jests at the court of *Vienna*, and many of the courtiers had asked him, whether it was the custom in *Walachia* for a man to assume the name of what noble family he thought fit, or it could be transmitted by the mother? The *Cantacuzeni*, who had raised the Prince to that dignity for no other end, but to govern the Principality under his name, and engross to themselves all the riches of the Province, upon the receipt of that letter, severely rebuke the Prince for bringing so great a dishonour upon them and the whole family of the *Cantacuzeni*, and for pretending to persons who had from histories an account of almost all the families in the world, to be, what they knew he really was not. The Prince excusing himself, and endea[illegible]o ground his new name upon his [illegible]oble extraction, the *Cantacuzeni* [illegible] greater vehemence, and threat[illegible] not desist from his attempt, that they would have him deposed by the *Turkish* court, and would warn all foreign Princes by letters, to beware of him as an impostor, who falsely assumed the name of a royal family: that he might derive his paternal ancestors from what family he pleased, provided he did not meddle with the *Cantacuzan* name. *Constantine Stolnicus* put him moreover in mind of the *Turkish* fable, namely, that a mule being asked, who was his father? replied, his mother was a mare. The Prince, beaten from this name, and ashamed to resume that of *Brancovan*, which he had quitted, called himself *Bassaraba*, which was the name of a very ancient and noble family in *Walachia*, but long since extinct in the male-line. And this he also did without foundation. For *Barbul*, the first known by that appellation, upon the *Turks* invading *Bassarabia*, fled out of that country into *Servia*, and thence into *Walachia* to Prince *Heglul*, who kindly received him, and raised him by degrees to the office of *Ban*, the highest in that Province. His son, *Laiota*, obtained the Principality after the death of *Heglul*, and was the first that adorned his paternal name with the princely dignity. He left one son, named *Neagu*, who also governed *Walachia*, but it is uncertain, whether it was immediately after his father, or whether there was another between them. He was succeeded by his son *Sherban Bassaraba*, surnamed the Great, but he also died without male-issue, leaving only two daughters, *Ancuza* and *Ilinca*. *Ancuza* had been given in marriage by *Sherban* himself to *Petrasco*, son of *Michai* who, seizing the government, and attempting to shake off the *Turkish* yoke, was defeated, and forced to fly into *Transylvania*, where he was treacherously murdered in his own tent by *George Basta*, the *Transylvanian* general. *Petrasco*, the son of *Michai*, goes to *Vienna* with his wife and his sister *Ilinca*, to revenge the unjust death of his father, and, having spent almost all his fortune, dies there before the affair was brought to a conclusion. After his death, his widow and sister came to so great poverty, that they were forced to earn their livelihood by embroidering. While they were in that miserable condition, *Matthew* is created Prince of *Walachia*, who had formerly been chamberlain to *Sherban Bassaraba*, and was afterwards raised by him to the dignity of a Baron. This Prince, not unmindful of the favours he had received from his master, takes his name, styling himself *Matthew Bassaraba*, and as soon as he is informed of the poverty of his daughters, he has them brought out of *Germany* into *Walachia*. *Ancuza* not liking to marry a second

close *Heusler* general of the *German* troops appointed for the defence of *Transylvania*. *Heusler* finding himself drawn into this danger by the treachery of *Brancovan*, endeavours to open a passage with his sword, and bravely supports the first onset of the enemy. But in the heat of the battle, the *Hungarians*, who had engaged their faith to the *Germans*, revolt from them, and attack the Imperialists in flank, who terrified at this desertion, endeavour to escape by flight, but being inclosed on every side by the enemy are almost all either slain or taken prisoners, and among the latter *Heusler* himself. *Tekeli* after this victory marches further, and is received by all the inhabitants of the province with great acclamations.

LIV. But before he could establish himself in his principality, the Prince of *Baden*, who had intended to relieve *Belgrade*, hearing that city was lost, marches his forces into *Transylvania*, and having taken several cities, endeavours to subdue the rebellious Prince who upon the news of his approach, diffident of his strength, abandons *Cibinium*, and retires again into *Turky*, whence he never afterwards ventured to return or to recover the dominions he had lost

Tekeli driven out of *Transylvania*

LV. In the eleventh month of this year, the king of *Poland* at last brings also his forces into the field, and passing the *Tyras*, enters *Moldavia*. But *Cantemir*, Prince of that country, taught by former expeditions how troublesome guests the *Poles* used to be, under a severe penalty prohibits the inhabitants to sell or carry any corn to them Hence famine, that cruel enemy of the negligent, distresses the army, and obliges the king, who had already passed the *Hierasus* at *Stephanasti*, to send back some of his troops, to try to procure provisions from other parts. These forces suddenly assaulting *Soroka*, a city on the *Tyras*, and finding it destitute of defence, but full of stores, take it without opposition, and leaving a strong garrison, return with the provisions to the King's camp

The King of *Poland* entring *Moldavia*, takes *Soroka*

LVI The King relieved by these supplies, marches with his army to *Tacobeny*, a village five miles from *Jassii*, but hearing the Seraskier *Bayukli Mustapha*

Prevented by the *Turks* and *Tartars* from proceeding further, and obliged to return

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second time, he allows her a sufficient maintenance, but *Ilinca*, who was still a virgin, he endows with all her father's lands and villages, and gives her in marriage to *Constantine Cantacuzenus*, who was then his chamberlain, and from these two is descended the whole family of the *Cantacuzeni* now remaining in *Walachia*. Besides these daughters, *Serban* had, by a Priest's wife, a natural son named *Constantine*, and, after the Priest's death, who passed for his father, he had him brought up and educated at court. This son, *Matthew* kept as his own, during the twenty years he remained possessed of the principality, and appointed him his successor by will. Having obtained that dignity, he called himself *Constantine Bassaraba* after the example of his predecessor, but being shortly after expelled by the *Turks*, he fled into *Poland*, where he died without issue. Thus ended in *Serban* the true family of *Bassaraba*, the adscititious in *Matthew*, and the spurious in *Constantine*, the only memory thereof being preserved in the female line of the *Cantacuzeni*, descended from *Ilinca* daughter of *Serban*. *Brancovan* therefore chose to adorn himself with the spoils of that family above all others, because there was no one left that could call him to an account for usurping that name; and also because he had a good pretence for so doing, namely, his grandfather's marrying Prince *Matthew*'s sister's grand daughter, which Prince had now taken the name of *Bassaraba*, out of a good, though not so prudent a zeal for preserving his master's memory. What he did, and what he suffered, under that name, is too long to have a place here, and too well known to the *Europæans* to need being mentioned. He had four sons, *Constantine*, *Stephen*, *Raducanul*, and *Matthew*, who were all destroyed with their father by the tyrant's sword And seven daughters. *Stanca*, who married *Radul*, son of *Elias* Prince of *Moldavia*, *Mary*, wife of *Constantine* son of *Ducas* Prince of *Moldavia*; *Ilinca*, wife of *Scarlatos*, son of *Alexander Maurocordatus*; *Safta*, wife of *Creczulescul*, a *Walachian* nobleman, *Ancuza*, wife of *Nicolas* son of *George Rosset*, master of the wardrobe to my father; *Balassa*, wife of *Manuel* son of *Andronicus* a *Grecian* nobleman; and *Zmaragda*, married to the son of *Balan* a nobleman of *Walachia*. I have heard, there is one of his male-line alive, namely his grandson *Matthew*, son of *Constantine*, whom that Prince left heir to the great riches, he had dispersed in the banks of *Vienna*, *Venice*, *Holland*, and *England*.

Pasha with *Nuradin Sultan* were advancing against him, he resolves to return to *Poland*. But the provisions brought from *Soroka* being spent, he is again obliged to pass through the mountainous part of the country. In their retreat they are closely followed by the *Tartars*, who kill a great number of them, as they are gathering fruit in the woods, and take many prisoners. At last the King of *Poland*, after losing many of his men both by famine and sickness, returns with the rest of the army into *Poland*. His return would have been very difficult, if the Prince of *Moldavia*, who was desirous indeed to drive the *Poles* out of his country, but not entirely to destroy them, had not diverted the Seraskier from a pursuit, by telling him, that the *Poles* were now returning, and were not far from their borders; and since it was a maxim of military prudence to build a bridge of gold for a flying enemy, he would advise him not to fatigue the *Othman* troops to no purpose, especially when the *Poles* could do no damage to the inhabitants, who were all fled to the mountains. It is certain, if the Seraskier had advanced with his army, scarce a *Pole* could have escaped For their camp was so greatly distressed by famine, that the horse voluntarily submitted to the *Tartars* (26), declaring they had rather be captives, than expire with hunger. The prince after the departure of the *Tartars* found several *Polish* noblemen dispersed in the woods in search of food, and having supplied them, dismissed them to their own country

The *Venetians* take *Monembasia*

LVII. Amidst all these misfortunes of the *Christians*, the *Venetians* alone meet with success. *Monembasia*, which for so many years had solely opposed the *Venetians*, who were masters of the *Morea*, having been blocked up for two summers, and cut off from all supplies, in the beginning of the campaign is besieged, and soon after obliged by famine to surrender to them

The various successes of the *Venetians*

LVIII. At sea the *Venetian* Admiral *Daniel Delphinus* attacks *Capudan Pasha* near *Mitylene*, defeats him, and having sunk and taken several of his ships, obliges him to fly. After this victory *Cornaro* takes *Canina* and *Vallona* from the *Turks*, and subjects them to the *Venetians*. In *Dalmatia*, *Jin Ali Pasha* (27) Governo.

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(26) submitted to the *Tartars*] There is hardly an example in history, of an army that was ever so dispersed without fighting, and reduced to so much misery, as the *Polish* army then was; though the historians of that nation conceal it with much care, and extol their king's triumphs I my self saw some *Tartars*, who went out to pillage, bringing back each of them seven *Poles* fettered · and being asked, how they could master and bind such fierce enemies? they answered me smiling. That it was no greater wonder, than to see in *Bujak* one *Ainus* leading and guiding seven camels: For the *Poles* quite enervated with hunger, were now no fiercer than camels, and chose rather to live among the *Tartars* upon gruel, than to be destroyed either with hunger or the sword. The *Tartars* not having wherewith to feed all that were brought, sold them almost all for three *Yoachimics* a-piece; among these was a *Moldavian* seventy years old, named *Tamashausky*, who fifty years before, went with my father to *Casimir* King of *Poland*, and had spent almost all his life in wars. This man being put in mind by my father of his former bravery, when [illegible] accompanied him into *Poland*; and asking [illegible] he so shamefully laid down his [illegible] suffered himself to be bound by the *Tartars*? answered, "You know, most "gracious Prince, how I behaved under "*Thorunius*, and was not afraid then to "meet five *Swedes* at once. From that "time I have lived always in a camp, and "have often fought with an enemy, but "never with hunger This misfortune "having happened to me now for the first "time in this expedition, and easily conquered me as one not used to it, I left "the camp, and communicating my design "to some others, we retired into the woods, "where we expected to find fruit enough "to appease our hunger, and to be safe "from the *Tartars*: but we were disappointed. For as we were sitting each on "a separate tree, and appeasing our hunger "with apples and plumbs, we unexpectedly saw some *Tartars* brandishing their "darts, and aiming at us with their bows, "whereupon being defenceless, and despairing to escape, we came down, and "suffered our selves to be bound by them." This man was afterwards redeemed from the *Tartars* by my father, and sent into *Poland*, because he was naturalized, and had a village given him in that kingdom, where he had left also a wife and several children.

(27) *Jin Ali Pasha*] *Jin* among the *Turks* is the name of certain Devils, formed of a grosser

Governor of *Hercegovina*, and assaults *Nisichos* and *Cuzzos*, but is defeated by the *Venetian* army, himself taken prisoner, and his forces dispersed.

LIX. In the mean time the Vizir returns with his victorious army to *Adrianople*, and is received with great applause not only by the Sultan, but also the whole people, who publickly extolled him as their deliverer; but the Sultan labouring under a dropsy, and the physicians declaring, the air of *Adrianople* did not agree with him, the Vizir departs with him to *Constantinople*, and enters that city with great solemnity and in a triumphant manner. For three days, there were feasts and games, which were given with no less expence, than the rest by the *French* Embassador, by which he showed the *Turks* how acceptable the news of the defeat of the *Christians* was to the most *Christian* King. The Vizir applies himself to the raising of a new and more powerful army, which he promised to command himself, and to prosecute the *Hungarian* war.

The Vizir returns to *Constantinople* in triumph

LX. He appoints *Mustapha Pasha* Seraskier against the *Poles*, and *Caplan Ali Pasha* against the *Venetians*, who encamping at the river *Celidnus* restrains the *Albanians* just ready to revolt, and recovers *Canina* and *Vallona*, taken by the *Venetians* the last year, and now deserted by them.

The Seraskiers appointed against the enemy

LXI. In the mean time, he is detained from the *Hungarian* expedition by *Soliman*'s indisposition, because he was unwilling the Sultan should die in his absence, fearing lest one of *Mahomet*'s sons might succeed, and deprive him of the Vizirship, or his command of the army. At last, *Soliman*, exhausted by an inveterate dropsy, dies at *Constantinople* the twenty sixth of the month *Ramazan* †, of the year 1102, having lived fifty two, and reigned three years and nine months.

Sultan *Soliman* dies of a dropsy

† *June* 11 H 1102 / A C 1691

LXII *Soliman* was all along from his childhood a Valetudinarian, of a gross body, low stature, a pale and bloated face, with eyes like those of an ox, a black oblong beard, with a mixture of grey hairs, of a heavy understanding, and easily moved by the whispers of his chamberlains and of the *Coltuk Vizirleri* (28). But

His character

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grosser substance than *Shaitan* (*Satan*,) which they believe to be male and female, and to beget children like men. Hence, by a metaphor, very subtle and sharp persons are called *Jin*, and when they would denote a man that makes an ill use of his parts to the prejudice of another, they are wont to call him *Jin â kylli dur*, one that has the mind and wit of Devils.

(28) *Coltuk Vizirleri*] So are the chief courtiers of the Sultan called, (who have a prospect of being raised on the next vacancy to the post of Vizir or Basha) because they alone have the privilege of touching the Sultan, when he walks, or gets on horse-back, or of supporting him under the arm. For *Coltuk* among the *Turks* signifies the arm-pit. Among those, are the six chief officers of the court. The *Silahdar aga*, or *Sword-bearer*, who bears the Sultan's sword on publick occasions, and carves for him at table. He has the management of the Sultan's whole court, and has so much authority not only there, but also throughout the whole *Othman* Empire, that even the greatest persons never speak to him without the utmost reverence, and in their letters to him give him the title of *Musahib*, or *Privy Counsellor*, though he is not so called in publick instruments. Sometimes, if the *Silahdar* is a man of parts, he gets such an ascendant over the Sultan, that he neither does nor undertakes any thing without his knowledge or advice; and the Vizirs and other chief officers, receive the *Silahdar*'s letters (though by way of request) just as they do the Sultan's orders, and can hardly refuse them any thing they are pleased to ask The next in order, is the *Chohadar* *, who keeps the Sultan's cloak, and pulls off his boots in the Seraglio. Though he is inferior in degree to the *Silahdar*, yet he sometimes surpasses him in power, and governs the Sultan at pleasure. The third great officer, is the *Rekiabdaraga*, who holds the Sultan's stirrup when he mounts his horse. The fourth, is the chief *Dulbendaga*, (for there are three others under him) who puts the Sultan's Turban on. The fifth, is the *Imbrikdaraga*, whose business it is to bring the Sultan water, when, according to the custom of the *Mahometans*, he has a mind to wash his hands and head before the usual *Namaz*. The sixth and last, is the *Berber bashi* or the Sultan's chief Barber, of whom I have already given an account in (Part I.) Besides these six chief courtiers, the Aga of the Janizaries is also ranked among the *Koltuk Vesirleri*, because on Fridays, when the Sultan goes into the *Jami*, he helps him off his horse, and helps him on again and

also

But none among the *Turkish* Sultans was more eminent for sanctity, devotion, and observance of the law (29).

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also the *Bostanji Bashi*, who has the honour of holding the Sultan under the arm, when he thinks fit to go into his barge and the *Buyuk Emirahor*, and *Chuk* Emirahor*, the first and second grooms of the stables, who are allowed to help the Sultan on horseback when he has a mind to ride; and the *Capujilar Kiehaia*, or commander of the *Capuji Bashi's*. Whenever any of these leave the court, unless they happen to be banished or put to death, they must be sent as Bashas into the provinces with three *Tugs*; and upon that account they are called Vezirleri by way of anticipation. The *Kyslar Aga* formerly enjoyed that privilege, but it was afterwards taken from him, because it seemed unbecoming, that one who wanted the marks of manhood should command men. When these great officers quit the court, though they have as much power in their respective Bashalics as others, and are often raised to the dignity of chief Vizir, yet they are generally despised by the *Agavat* (those who have raised themselves by other means, namely, by their courage and virtues to the like dignity,) and are by them called *Cheleb**, which properly signifies, in the *Turkish* language, a herdsman, or a driver of cattle, but when applied to the courtiers, it seems to denote, that those men being destitute of experience in civil and military affairs, are fit for nothing but to drive their soldiers before them like cattle, as they are persuaded and directed by others. And so common is that figurative expression grown, that the word seems to have lost its proper signification; nor can even a Prime Vizir, who has from a courtier been raised to that dignity, take it as an affront, or punish any one for asking, in his hearing, whether he is a *Cheleb**, or one of the *Agavat*? For, it being almost impossible to root out an old custom among that people, the great men in *Turky* bear the affronts and reproaches of their fellow-citizens with much patience; so that it is a common thing to hear people in boats, just come out of the Vizir's *Divan*, railing at and abusing the Vizir, and sometimes the Sultan himself, in the most opprobrious manner, without being called to an account.

(29) observance of the law] These were the qualifications that raised this Sultan to his brother's throne. for he had nothing else to recommend him to the *Turks*. He had acquired this habit of superstitious zeal for his law, and fame for holiness, by applying himself closely to his studies, which he had entirely minded during his brother's reign, *Mahomet* being well pleased with it, as hoping that it would take from him all desire of reigning, and that a mind intent upon learning, would contrive no devices to raise himself to the throne. And indeed the *Turks* have had no Sultan, whose holiness they so much extol as this man's. They also ascribe some miracles to him. Among the rest, that as soon as he was placed on the throne, he immediately leaped from thence as from an impure place, and wanted to take the *Abdest*. For that purpose, he went to a cistern prepared to receive water, but which then had none, (for, by the ill contrivance of the first builders of aqueducts at *Constantinople*, though all the palaces in the city are well furnished with water brought thither from the mountains, yet the Seraglio being a high place, they have not been able to convey any thither to this day,) whereupon the [illegible] perceiving the Sultan's design, ordered water immediately to be brought, and withal, told him, there was no water in the cistern. but the Sultan not regarding what he said, pronounced the word *Bismillahi*, *In the name of the* [illegible] *God*, and by that brought water out of the dry marble, which, as soon as he had taken the *Abdest*, he commanded to disappear, and return again into the marble. But in all other affairs *Soliman* was so ignorant and stupid, that he knew not even the most common occurrences of life. One day there were brought to his table, among other dishes, some round fishes roasted, called by the *Turks*, *Pisi*, which he eat, taking them for cakes. The next day, not finding the like at his table, he asked, why they had not brought him the same cakes he had the day before? which question he still repeated till the cooks brought him again, by chance, the same mess of fish, and then they knew the way to satisfy the unexperienced Prince.

The End of the Reign of SOLIMAM II.

AHMET. II.

Twenty First EMPEROR of ye TURKS

in the Year 1691

From an Original in the Seraglio

The REIGN of

AHMED II, Son of IBRAHIM

Twenty-first EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK IV. CHAP. III.

The contests of the people concerning the choice of a Sultan

I. THE death of *Solıman*, though long expected and wished for, yet filled the *Othman* court with new and secret commotions. The Nobles, with almost all the People, were for placing on the throne *Mustapha* or *Ahmed*, sons of *Mahomet*, the deposed Sultan; and some few were even for *Mahomet* himself, whom they had deprived of the crown. The choice of any of these was dangerous to the Vizir. For if *Mahomet* was restored, he was apprehensive of his life, since he was thought to be no inconsiderable manager of the sedition which had deposed him; if either of his sons were chosen, he was afraid lest these youths, having been liberally educated in the palace, contrary to the custom of the rest of the *Shehzade*, and being already instructed in the administration of the government, might divest him of the Vizirship and absolute command of the army.

Ahmed the son of Ibrahim, and brother of Soliman, chosen Sultan

II. In order therefore to exclude them both from the throne, he resolves to advance *Ahmed*, younger brother of *Solıman*, and not superior to him in abilities. Accordingly, by the authority he had gained among all the people by his successes the last year, he procured *Ahmed* to be universally saluted Sultan the second day after his brother *Solıman*'s death.

The new Sultan goes to Adrianople

III. But lest the malecontents should take occasion from the Sultan's stupidity to raise a sedition, in the beginning of the month *Shevel* he departs with him to *Adrıanople*, appointing *Amukje Oglı Huseim Pasha* (1) *Caimacan* of *Constantınople*;

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(1) *Amukje Oglı Huseın*] A man very famous both among the *Turks* and *Christians* for the peace of *Carlowitz*, that happened in his time. *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha* had given him the name of *Amukje Ogly*, because his father was his uncle. Being first raised by *Kioprili*, he passed through the several offices of *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, of High-Admiral, or *Capudan Pasha*, and of governor of *Belgrade*, to the dignity of chief Vizir; which he obtained upon its becoming vacant by the death of *Elmas Mehemmed Pasha*, who was slain at *Zenta*, with the rest of the officers of the *Turkish* army. He was a just, and honest man, but not of a very quick understanding; however, not so stupid or obstinate, as not to suffer himself to be directed and advised by others, particularly by *Rami*, *Reis Effendi*, and *Alexander Maurocordatus*, which was the reason why his dullness brought no considerable detriment to the state. During his whole administration, he earnestly applied himself to put an end, some way or other, to the long and unhappy war which the *Othman* Empire was afflicted with, and most religiously to observe the peace he made, in order to gain a breathing time for himself and the provinces subject to the *Turks*. and his endeavors herein proved the cause of

stantinople; and afterwards advancing him to the post of *Capudan Pasha*, prefers *Arabaji Ali* (2) *Pasha* to his place. At *Adrianople* he applies himself entirely to preparations for war, which he had been prevented from doing before by the indisposition of the Sultan.

The wonderful dexterity of the Vizir in raising an army

IV. But the methods used by former Vizirs to increase the army, he, by a rare example among the *Turks*, is forced to employ for the lessening of it. For the *Musulmans*, encouraged with the success of the *Belgrade*-expedition, voluntarily come from all parts in such numbers, that there never was before seen so numerous an army in the *Othman* camp. The Vizir perceiving this, orders the Bashas not to bring more forces into the field than had been appointed, since the *Musulmans* being to fight against the *Giaurs*, had no occasion for a great army; and on the other hand, it was justly to be feared, lest before they reached *Buda*, as they were to pass through a long tract of the enemy's country, they might suffer some inconvenience for want of provision, if their troops should be too much increased.

The soldiers inlist themselves of their own accord. The Vizir exposed to the envy of the court.

V. But the soldiers, regardless of this order, flock together in still greater numbers, declaring they would not eat of the Sultan's bread, nor were engaged by the hope of pay, but out of zeal for the *Mahometan* law to enter into the service, and therefore would be content with their wallet, and place their whole happiness in either becoming *Gazi* (3) under so successful a *Musulman* general, or being crowned with *Shehadet*. The Vizir's fame thus greatly increasing, envy, the perpetual attendant upon merit, could not but cast her darts at him from the court, her favourite residence. *Kyslar Agasi*, and other officers of the inner palace, were uneasy that the favour and interest they used to enjoy with the Sultan and people, were transferred from them to *Kioprili Ogli*, and that they were despised by the populace, who had before highly revered them, and considered as persons entirely useless and insignificant. They all conspire therefore the Vizir's destruction, and abusing the stupidity of their master, fill his mind with suspicions against *Kioprili*.

The Vizir accused falsely to the Sultan

VI. *Kyslar Agasi* particularly pretending the utmost fidelity, informs the Sultan that the Vizir was contriving to depose him, and had drawn the Janizaries so far into his interests, that they had promised, as soon as he should decamp from

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of his disgrace, of which having given a large account in the history, it would be needless to repeat it here. He was so great a lover of a spiritous liquor (*Crematum*) that he could not live without it; and where he got that habit, I know not. It was extracted from wine by a Christian of *Aleppo*, whom he kept in his house as a physician, and was so strong, that one drop would burn a man's throat. That he might be the more at liberty to drink it, he had made the Sultan believe he was lame in his feet, and therefore was obliged to take physick every night; for which reason he had obtained leave, whatever business happened, not to be sent for to court after the ninth hour of the day, and by that means was at liberty to indulge himself till midnight, if he pleased. After he was deprived of the dignity of Vizir, being stung with the remorse of a *Musulman*'s conscience, he resolved to undergo that kind of penance which is called *Teube*, and to abstain from that liquor; but, a few days after he had begun to do so, he felt a very sharp pain about his lungs, and his whole body swelled as if he had a tympany. The physicians promised to cure him, if he would but make use again of his old liquor, but he chose rather to die, than, after penance, to return to his former course, and so he died at his country-house near *Chorlo**, thirty five days after he was deposed from his office of Vizir, and was buried in a *Turbe* at *Constantinople*, which he had made in his life time for his burial.

(2) *Arabaji Ali*] He was shortly after honoured with the dignity of Prime Vizir, but neither before nor after did any thing memorable, and within a few months was turned out. The *Turks* sirnamed him *Arabaji*, either because he or his father had been a waggon maker, or driver of the merchants waggons (those sort of people being called *Arabaji* by the *Constantinopolitans*) or because of his stupidity, and understanding, fitter for an *Arabaji*, than a prime minister.

(3) *Gazi*] The *Turks* have this notion, that every *Musulman*, killed in battle by an enemy, has all his sins forgiven him: but this I have already explained in (Part I.)

Adrianople,

Adrianople, to salute *Mustapha*, son of *Mahomet*, Sultan. That he had discovered this by means of his Secretary (4), who had an intimate friendship with some of the officers of the Janizaries; and that he thought himself obliged to give this information to the Sultan, since the danger, though concealed, appeared to be very great and imminent. The Sultan, perswaded by this speech, asks him, what he thought was to be done? The accuser taking this opportunity, says, " If you would establish your self in the throne, and remove the " cause of the seditious, send *Baltajılar Kiehaiasi* (5) to the Vizir, and com" mand him to come to you, as if you wanted to ask him some question. When " he is in your palace, you may treat him as you think proper."

The Vizir informed of this by a mute

VII. While *Kyslar agasi* is speciously suggesting these things to the Sultan, *Dilsiz Mahomet aga* a mute (6), holds the curtain of the door, and discovering by the motions of their lips and hands, that they are concerting to depose the Vizir, hastens immediately from the Sultan's chamber to the Vizir, and gives him by signs an exact account of the whole affair. Before he had concluded his story, *Baltajılar Kiehaiasi* comes to the Vizir in haste, and tells him the Sultan would have him come instantly to the palace.

The Vizir defers going to the Sultan, and makes a speech to the officers of the Janizaries.

VIII. The Vizir finding the mute's account true, immediately orders a horse to be ready for him, and *Baltajılar Kiehaiasi* to go before, telling him, he would presently follow. When he is gone, the Vizir privately sends for the *Janizar-Aga*, and some other *Ojak Agalari*, whom he knew to be his friends, and addresses himself to them in this manner. " Be not surprized, Brethren, that " I have sent for you at an unusual time and in such haste. The importance of " the affair required this expedition, since it threatens destruction not only to you

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(4) Secretary] Namely *Sari yaziji* Secretary to *Kyslar aga*, *Karakullak aga*, a very ingenious man, and privy to all his master's affairs, mortal enemy to *Kioprili*, though he was a person of no great dignity, was yet highly honoured by all the great men in the *Othman* Empire, on account of *Kyslar agasi*'s credit at court, through which he could do many things. This officer's business is, to keep an account of the revenues of the *Jami* built by the Sultans, to pay the *Baltaji*, the maid-servants in the Seraglio, and the other officers under *Kyslar agasi*, their wages; and to transmit to the Sultan, by the *Kyslar aga*, lists of them, written with his own hand, out of all which things he gets as great an income as the *Janizar Effendi* Whenever he comes into the presence of the Sultan or Vizir, he must always have his ink-pot hanging at his girdle, and cannot appear without it, which the *Janizar Effendi* is obliged also to wear

(5) *Baltajılar Kiehaiasi*] The chief officer of the Regiment of the *Baltaji* He is subject in other respects to *Kyslar agasi*, and, in the absence of *Kapijilar Kiehaiasi*, whenever the Vizir is to be sent for to court, he is dispatched by *Kyslar agasi* to that purpose. But if he is otherwise employed, the Vizir must be sent for by the *Hasseki aga* the second officer of the *Baltaji*, or by the *Koshbekchi** the third officer in the same Regiment

(6) a mute] There are many dumb and deaf persons kept in the Sultan's palace, whose only business is to hold up the curtain before the door of the room, where the Sultan is talking in private with the Vizir, *Kyslar aga*, or any other of his great men, and to take care that no body comes nigh I find, that most of the *Europeans*, who give an account of the *Othman* court, affirm, that these persons are often employed to put those privately to death, whom the Sultan has a mind to dispatch; but I cannot so much as guess what has occasioned this mistake. For it never was heard in *Constantinople*, that *Mutes*, *Dwarfs*, and *Buffoons*, who are all upon the same foot in the palace, were ever employed about any serious business, or sent any where, but out of a jest. Nature having denied these persons the use of speech and of hearing, has, to supply that defect, endowed them with so quick an apprehension, that they can, by the motion of the lips and gestures of persons speaking, understand what they are saying. Besides, they have invented a way of talking by signs, which agreeing with that more than *Pythagorean* silence in the Sultan's court, there is, for that reason, hardly any courtier but what understands it· The Sultan himself must know it too, because he can use no other when he has any orders to give to his mutes, or has a mind to talk with them for diversion.

" and me, but even to the whole Empire. You know, Brethren, yourselves, what
" labours I have hitherto sustained, not for the preservation only, but the reesta-
" blishment of the *Othman* Empire, and how faithful my services have been.
" The commendation of them belongs to others, and not to my self. You
" have been eye-witnesses of the great danger we were exposed to at that time,
" when I, though unwilling, took upon me the post of Vizir. The *European*
" provinces, which for two ages had not seen any enemy, were subdued by the
" *Germans*; and the *Giaurs* flushed with their successes in their second campain
" resolved to attack *Adrianople*, and even *Constantinople* itself. The streights of
" the *Hæmus*, the bulwark of those cities, were possessed by them as far as
" *Dragoman Kioi*, *Sophia* the capital of *Bulgaria* was burnt, and all parts as far as
" *Taratbazarjik* through the negligence of my predecessor laid open to the ra-
" vage and devastation of the *Germans*. We suffered still greater calamities
" within our own walls. The treasury was filled with paper, not mony, the
" subjects reduced to extreme poverty by the exactions of the *Tefterdars*, all
" the people struck with dread of the enemy; the magazines and store houses
" every where empty; in short, all was full of confusion and madness. But un-
" der my conduct, and through the assistance of Almighty God, in one cam-
" pain the *Othman* forces have driven the haughty *Germans*, who imprudently
" rejected the terms of peace offered more imprudently by my predecessors, be-
" yond the *Danube*; recovered *Belgrade*, *Nissa*, *Semendria*, *Widdin*, and many
" other places sanctified by the prayers of the *Mahometans*, restored them to
" their former splendor; subjected all *Ardal* to its former prince, defeated *Heus-
" ler* a general of known valour, with his whole army, and to compleat the
" victory, taken him prisoner; in short, have so weakened the enemy, that we may
" infallibly promise our selves this year the conquest of *Buda*, the capital of *Hungary*.
" For we have God, the author of victory, now appeased and propitious to our
" arms, who was averse to our predecessors, and whose assistance last year we expe-
" rienced in a miraculous manner. We have a numerous army, ready to execute
" our commands, and what is of the greatest moment, full of the hopes of con-
" quest. While our foreign enemies are unable to contend with this army, do-
" mestic enemies arise within our walls, and actuated either by a spirit of envy
" common to courtiers, or led by an evil genius to interrupt the progress of
" the *Othman* victories, endeavour to betray us and the whole strength of the
" Empire to the enemy. For this purpose they labour above all things to
" remove us from the army, perswading the Sultan, that the Vizir and Janiza-
" ries are plotting to depose him. By these artifices they have induced the Sul-
" tan, a Prince of great goodness, but unskilled in the administration of the
" Empire, and who knows not how to return any other answer to what is pro-
" posed to him, but *Khosh*, *Khosh*, to resolve not only to deprive me of my
" post, but likewise to punish you all with the utmost severity. To acquaint
" you with this, and exhort you to take proper measures in this dangerous exi-
" gence for the good of the state, I have called the present council. I am not
" indeed so vain as to imagine no person besides my self capable of supporting
" the *Othman* Empire in its distress, nor do I regret diminution of my honour,
" as being ready to expose my life it self for the advantage of the publick. But
" as I foresee, that upon my removal, one of our haughty courtiers will succeed
" me, and am apprehensive he will disturb the successful progress of the *Othman*
" affairs, and reduce them to a worse situation than ever, I was willing to re-
" mind you, that after my removal or death, which I wish for, that I may not
" see the approaching ruin of the Empire, you will take upon you the care of
" the state, which the Emperor is incapable of, and secure it from injury. For
" I scruple to make any resistance to my Sultan's commands; and therefore have
" determined to morrow with your consent to resign to him the seal of the Em-
" pire, and desire leave to go to *Mecca*. May God direct you by his spirit to
" the right way, and protect you in your battles against the *Giaurs* with his all-
" powerful right hand."

IX. The *Janizar-aga* and the rest of the officers, upon hearing the Vizir's speech, shew the utmost resentment, call the Sultan stupid, imprudent, simple, and cry out, he is swayed by his courtiers like boughs shaken by the wind; adding, if the Sultan should persist in his design, they had rather depose him than *Kioprili ogli*, the defender of the law, the restorer of the *Othman* Empire, and the invincible general; they promise to shed their blood in defence even of a single Hair of his head, binding themselves by oath, never to suffer any other general during his life, and to execute his commands with the utmost alacrity

The officers of the Janizaries promise with an oath fidelity to the Vizir

X. The Vizir, who had sent for the officers with no other view, than to discover how they were affected towards him, finding he might trust to their fidelity, sends an answer the same day by a *Talchysh* (7), that he had intended to come to the palace according to his Majesty's command, but while he was mounting his horse, he was informed that the soldiers having received some injury from the courtiers were raising a sedition, upon which he thought that danger of such importance, that he imagined he might safely defer his obedience to the Sultan's command, in order to put a stop to it. To this end he had sent for the officers of the army, and what course should be taken for appeasing the commotion, he would acquaint his Majesty with on the morrow.

The Vizir politely excuses his not appearing when sent for

XI. Next day he informs the Sultan by another *Talchysh*, that he had used his utmost efforts to extinguish the latent flame among the soldiers; but found them so inflexible and presumptuous as to refuse to return to their duty, till *Kyslar agasi* is dismissed, and his Secretary delivered up to a tryal. He intreats therefore his Majesty, that now when the army was ready for the expedition, and himself full of hopes of success, he would not by an unseasonable indulgence to his officers stop the progress of victory, and expose himself to great danger This letter being brought to the Sultan, *Kyslar agasi*, who now perceived his designs were betrayed to the Vizir, desires the Sultan to sacrifice him, though a faithful servant, to the good of the Empire. But the Sultan refusing, as being too fond of the cunning deceiver, the Vizir sends a third *Talchysh*, and obliges the Sultan, for fear of worse consequences, to do as he had desired, and banish *Kyslar agasi* into *Egypt*, the Vizir orders the Secretary, when brought to him, to be immediately hanged in his habit, with a silver ink-pot at his girdle.

By two letters he prevails upon the Sultan to banish the *Kyslar agasi*, who had falsely accused him, and to order his Secretary to be hanged

XII Being thus confirmed in his post, to cut off all opportunity from the other officers of making the like attempts against him, on the third day he removes the army out of *Adrianople*, and encamping near the city, prepares every thing necessary for the campain.

Kioprili being confirmed in his post of Vizir, leads the troops out of the city

XIII. Here an ambassador from King *William* III. of *England* comes to him, and offers his master as a mediator for settling a peace. The Vizir receives him

He receives with great civility the *English* ambassador, who proposes peace, but marches with his forces immediately to *Belgrade*

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(7) *Talchysh*] A word properly signifying a relation or account. This is the name given in the *Othman* court to the letters, sent by the Vizir to the Sultan about any publick affairs The Sultan seldom rejects them, and if he doth not comply with the Vizir's desires therein contained, the honour and dignity of the Vizir are reckoned to be in great danger The *Talchysh* must be written by the *Reis effendi* or High Chancellor, and then wrapped up in a very thin cloth called *Tulbend*, and tied up with a fine silken thread, sealed with the Sultan's seal, which the Vizir carries with him as a badge of his dignity. Being thus prepared, it is delivered to the *Talkhyshchi**, an officer of very great consideration at court, answering to the ῥεφερενδάριος under the *Grecian* Emperors. When the *Talkhyshchi** has got the letters, he doth not hide them in his bosom or elsewhere, unless it is to keep them from the wet, but holds them in his hand, and carries them thus to the palace as fast as he can, where when he comes, he delivers them to the *Kyslar aga*, by whom they are carried to the Sultan The *Talkhyshchi** waits in the outer court, till the *Chatisherif* or the Sultan's answer to the Vizir's letters is brought him by the *Kyslar aga*, which he carries to the Vizir, in the same manner as the *Talchysh*. But very often the Sultan sends the *Chatisherif* to the Vizir by *Baltajilar Kiehaiasi*, *Hasseki aga*, or *Roshbekchi**, whom I have before described.

with great honour, and declares himself ready to agree to a peace upon honorable terms; but in reality intended only to amuse the *Germans*, and in the mean time make himself master of *Buda*.

The Vizir calling a general council, determines to pass the *Save* against the enemy

XIV. To this end having reached *Belgrade* with his army, he is informed that the Imperialists, under the command of *Lewis* Prince of *Baden*, had taken the field, and were already advanced to *Peterwaradin*. Upon this he immediately calls a council of his officers, and requiring their several opinions, with the consent of the rest, determines to march against the *Germans*, and attack them wherever they should be found, and if they refused to fight, to follow them to *Buda*. He instantly commands his soldiers to decamp, and passing the *Save*, advances near *Peterwaradin*. The general of the imperial army hearing of the Vizir's approach, pitches his camp near *Islankamen* on the banks of the *Danube*, and strongly fortifies it.

He comes to *Islankamen* within sight of the enemy, and cuts off several of the *German* troops

XV. The Vizir soon after comes up, and places his troops to the right of the Imperial camp, in order to intercept their return. At the same time five thousand Imperialists, which the Prince of *Baden* had sent for to his assistance, happen to be marching with full speed towards his camp; but are intercepted by the Vizir, who incloses them, and by numbers overpowers them, though they fought with great bravery, in the sight of the Imperial army, killing some, and taking the rest prisoners, so that not one of the whole party escaped.

The Imperialists troubled at this, engage the *Turks* in a battle

XVI. This loss exhibits to the rest of the *German* army a dreadful image of their imminent danger, and takes away their former resolution of attacking the enemy. The general himself likewise too late perceives his error in suffering himself to be shut up in so narrow a space, where he could not open his troops, nor defend them from the enemy's cannon. There being no other way therefore of extricating himself out of this dangerous situation, he resolves to force a passage with the sword. While he was meditating this design, the *Turks* flushed by their late victory, with fury rather than ardour rush upon the *German* camp, as if they would destroy the whole army at one effort. The battle continues six hours doubtful, with equal courage, but unequal strength.

The success of the battle for a long time doubtful

XVII. The *Germans* now turning despair into resolution, pass the *Turkish* trenches, and the *Turks* out of shame for the loss of the victory snatch'd out of their hands, drive the *Germans* back into their works, which they likewise penetrate, both sides being in their turns conquerors and conquered.

At last, upon the death of the Vizir the enemy gains the victory

XVIII. At last, when the victory seems to incline to the *Turks*, the Vizir, to confound by his presence those, who still resisted, with his own troop attacks the right wing of the *Germans*, where he saw the greatest opposition. But in the heat of the battle being wounded in the temples by a musket ball, he falls from his horse, and by his death transfers the victory already obtained to the *Germans*. For his chamberlains confounded at the unexpected fall of their master, as soon as they see him prostrate on the ground, call their companions and the other officers present to take up his corpse, during which the *Tubulchana* (8) ceases to sound. This occasions great confusion among the *Turkish* troops now victorious. The horse seized with a panic, and abandoning the foot, fly first, and are soon followed by the Janizaries.

The Imperialists open a passage for the enemy, who fly, and take their camp.

XIX. The *Germans*, who were fighting not with the hopes of victory, but that they might not die unrevenged, seeing the unexpected flight of the enemies, advances though slowly, that the Janizaries might have time and opportunity to retreat, and not be forced by being pressed to return to the battle, which, their

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(8) *Tabulchana*.] Warlike musick, of which an account has already been given (Part I.) This musick in a battle is [illegible]ys to be near the Vizir, and to conti[illegible] playing, in order to inspire the combatants with courage. And if it happens to cease, the Janizaries will immediately think it an omen of defeat, and be hardly restrained from flight.

strength

ſtrength being ſpent (9), they could not have ſuſtained. The reſt of the foot perceiving the Janizaries to fly, leave their cannon and camp, and follow them with the utmoſt precipitation. The *Germans* having made themſelves maſters of their booty, ſeek nothing more, and allow their ſoldiers ſome days to refreſh themſelves There fell in the battle twenty-eight thouſand *Turks*, and of the *Germans* (beſides the forementioned five regiments, incloſed and cut off by the *Turks*) not above three thouſand.

XX. However, when *Leopold* was informed of the victory, he is reported to ſay, that he ſhould be unwilling to conquer often upon ſuch terms, ſince he could ſcarce recover the loſs of eight regiments of *Germans* in three years; whereas the *Turks* could ſupply even the loſs of eighty thouſand men in eighty days

The ſaying of the Emperor *Leopold*.

XXI After this victory, the Prince of *Baden* recovers *Lippa*, taken by the *Turks* the laſt year, and cloſely beſieges *Waradin*. The *Turkiſh* army, on the other hand, ſtop their flight at *Belgrade*, and make *Hali Paſha* their Seraskier.

The Prince of *Baden* takes *Lippa*, and beſieges *Peterwaradin*

XXII. During theſe tranſactions at the *Save*, the *Poles* in the laſt month of this year paſs the *Tyras*, and pretend an expedition into *Baſſarabia*, but preſſed with want of proviſions, at the rumour of the approach of *Buiukli Muſtapha Paſha*, the Seraskier, they retire, and without any remarkable exploit return home.

The *Poles* pretend rather than perform an expedition into *Baſſarabia*

XXIII. The war between the *Venetians* and *Turks* is carried on by artifice rather than arms. The latter became maſters of *Garbuſa*, a caſtle in *Candia*, almoſt impregnable, by the treachery of a *Spaniſh* officer (10), who was in the garriſon.

A *Spaniſh* officer betrays *Garbuſa* to the *Turks*

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(9) being ſpent] I ſaw my ſelf a Janizary at *Conſtantinople* after this battle, whoſe turban, folded round with damask ſilk, falling from his head in the flight, was found by a *German* ſoldier The *German*, upon his endeavouring to recover it, freely gives it him, ſaying in the *Turkiſh* language, "My life, "here is your turban, as you are a ſoldier, "if I am ſo too, we are brethren." The Janizary was ſo well pleaſed with the *German*'s civility, that, upon receiving his turban, he made him a preſent of a musket, ſaying, "there would be no further occa-"ſion for it among brethren."

(10) *Spaniſh* officer] *Aloyſius* by name He ſaid that his wife had been raviſhed by the governor of *Grabuſa*, and as he could not be revenged for that injury any other way, he and his enſign *Joſeph* formed the pernicious deſign of delivering up the caſtle to the *Turks*, which they ſoon found an opportunity of putting in execution. In recompenſe, the *Turks* gave him the licenſe of ſelling what he would at *Conſtantinople*, and allowed him and the enſign a daily ſalary, and to twenty five ſoldiers who were concerned in the treachery, they promiſed two *Leonines* a day The *Turks* ſtood indeed to their agreement at firſt, and not only granted them their ſtipulated ſalaries, but alſo many other honours and privileges; perhaps with a view of alluring other garriſons to imitate their example. But when they ſaw the bait did not take, they reduced their ſalary at firſt to ten crowns, then to two, and at laſt quite took it away, ſo that they were forced to keep an eating-houſe for their livelihood. *Aloyſius* had often promiſed the *Othman* court, that if they would truſt him with one ſhip of war, he would burn the whole *Venetian* fleet with an artificial fire But being deſired to make a trial of his ſkill at *Conſtantinople*, he refuſed to diſcover his ſecret before the time, however, he ſhowed privately ſome irons and other inſtruments, whereby he maintained he could dart the fire at ſuch a diſtance. But the *Turks* not being ſatisfied with it, and thinking ſome treachery lay under it, would never believe him, nor truſt him with the command of a ſhip. At laſt, the year before the peace of *Carlowitz*, he went, through the perſuaſion of the *French* ambaſſador, to *Adrianople*, where the Sultan then reſided, to make there a trial of that fire, but being rejected by the Vizir *Amukje Ogli Huſeim*, as a mad-man, he returned to *Conſtantinople* without ſucceſs. At laſt, being accuſed before the Vizir, by the *Jews* of *Ortakioi*, of many murders daily committed in his houſe, and being convicted of the ſame, he was baniſhed to *Trebiſond*, where he died. His enſign *Joſeph* fell ſoon after into a very grievous diſtemper, ſo that he was given over by all the phyſicians; for his body was covered with horrible running ſores, extremely painful, and which increaſed every day. While he lay in that miſerable condition, there came to him the Abbot of a monaſtery in *Mauromolum*, and promiſes him he ſhould be cured by the miraculous aſſiſtance of the *Virgin Mary*, if he would but forſake the *Popiſh* ſchiſm, and declare himſelf a member of the *Orthodox* Church.

garrison. They attempt the same at *Suda* and *Spinalonga*; but the *Venetians*, alarmed by their late misfortune, watch these fortresses more narrowly, and punish the conspirators with death.

Ali Pasha succeeds in the post of Vizir.

XXIV. In the mean time, Sultan *Ahmed* being informed of the death of *Kiuprili Mustapha Pasha*, promotes to the Vizirship *Arabaji Ali Pasha*, *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, a man inferior to many in abilities, but to none in wickedness.

Peace mentioned, but diverted by the *French* ambassador.

XXV. As soon as he is appointed Vizir, he revives the talk of peace at *Constantinople*, and lends a favorable ear to the ambassadors of the foreign Christian Princes, especially *Paget* (11), the *English*, and *Colliere* (12), the *Dutch* ambassador, who were sent for that purpose to the *Othman* Port. But these hopes are soon disturbed by the management of the *French* ambassador, who, by large presents of gold and silver, persuades the Vizir and other great men, that war was more conducive to the *Othman* interest than peace. This negotiation receives still more weight from the letters of *Maurocordatus*, in which he informs the Vizir, that *Germany* was so distressed and exhausted of men and money, that very probably the Emperor could not support the burden of the war above a year or two longer.

The Vizir is deprived of his post on account of his avarice and cruelty.

XXVI. The Vizir, moved by these considerations, immediately cuts off all hopes of peace, and applies himself wholly to renew the war, pursuing such measures, as that he might at once supply the exigencies of the treasury, and remove men of superior parts to himself, who were suspected by him. Accordingly he puts to death many eminent persons of the first rank by the hands of the executioner, under various pretences, and confiscates their estates. Not content with this, he orders the Janizaries and common soldiers, distinguished for their bravery, to be thrown privately by night into the sea, that there might be no person living who should be esteemed more worthy of the Vizirship than himself. This cruelty being frequently complained of to the court, and those persons whose lives were spared by accident, or the Vizir's ignorance, representing to the Sultan, that by this means all the defenders of the *Othman* Empire would be destroyed, *Ahmed* at last, after six months, removes him from his post, and having stripped him of his wealth unjustly acquired, advances *Tarposhchi* * *Ali Pasha* (13), governor of *Damascus*, in his room.

Ali Pasha, the new Vizir, thinks of peace; but his good intentions are diverted by the ambassadors, who returned from *Vienna*.

XXVII. The new Vizir having concerted measures for settling a peace with the Christians, the ambassadors who had been sent four years before to *Vienna*,

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Church. The sick man accepting of the condition, causes himself to be carried in his bed to the *Mauromolensian* monastery, and prayers being said over him night and day, he was restored to his health in twenty-four hours; whereupon, publickly abjuring, in the great church at *Constantinople*, the errors of *Popery*, he became a member of the *Greek* Church.

(11) *Paget*] of a noble family in *England*, and ambassador from that Kingdom to the *Othman* Port. He left a very good name behind him among the *Turks*; for he was not only very learned, and well skilled in the *Greek* and *Turkish* languages, and other sciences, but was also a very prudent man, and perfectly understood the way of obtaining [illegible] thing from the *Turks*.

(12) *Colliere*] being born at *Smyrna*, where [illegible] was consul, he not only learned [illegible] the functions of an ambassador, [illegible] himself perfect master of the [illegible] *Turkish* languages: for which reason, he is reckoned the wisest and most civil of all the ambassadors among the *Turks*, and as he freely entertains at his house the courtiers, that are extremely greedy of wine, there is nothing so secret in the Vizir's court, but what he can sift from them by that means. The *Staurodrome*, where he dwelt at first, being burnt down, he bought the palace of the famous Vizir *Ameji Soliman Pasha*, on the *Bosphorus*, in the village *Kuriksesmen*; but he received orders from *Chorulu* * *Ali Pasha*, not to live there, who alledged it was unbecoming that a *Musulman*'s, nay, a Vizir's palace, should be possessed by *Giaurs*, and a place sanctified by so many *Namaz* and prayers, be polluted with wine and swine's flesh.

(13) *Tarposhchi* * *Ali.*] *Tarpus* is a sort of cap worn by the *Turkish* women. This Vizir seems to have been a maker of such caps in his youth, and from thence to have received his name.

return home; and being bribed, it is said, by the ambassador of his most Christian Majesty, put an end to all his pacifick intentions, and excite the *Turks* to continue the war with the Emperor. For they relate, that *Germany* being distressed and exhausted of all its strength, longed for peace; that the Emperor was obliged to send the greatest part of his army against the *French*, and could not raise new supplies, not only for want of money, the sinews of war, but because he was above an hundred millions in debt. That besides these misfortunes, God had sent a dearth upon *Hungary* and *Germany*, which had reduced both those Kingdoms to such distress, that the principal Bulwarks of *Hungary*, through which they had passed, namely, *Buda* and *Essek*, much more the lesser castles, wanted both men and provisions. These representations were not so false, as agreeable to the court.

The reason of making new preparations for the war.

XXVIII. The Vizir therefore laying aside all pacifick measures, applies himself wholly to renew the war, enrolls new Janizaries, whose number had been extremely lessened by the sword of the *Germans*, and the cruelty of *Arabaji Ali Pasha*, and orders, under a severe penalty, the other Pashas to be ready at a certain time with their troops.

He sends the Seraskier before, and orders him to maintain a defensive war. But *Waradin* is surrendered to *Heusler*.

XXIX. But as the soldiers, terrified by the late defeat, could not be assembled with such expedition, he sends the Seraskier with what forces were ready towards the borders of *Hungary*, with orders to avoid a battle with the *Germans*, and only to guard the boundaries of the Empire from the incursions of the enemy, and relieve the cities of *Hungary* still in the hands of the *Turks*, if they should be attacked. The Seraskier kept indeed the *German* troops at a distance from *Belgrade* and the *Save*, the latter, sensible of their weakness, not being very desirous of an engagement, but he could not prevent *Heusler*, who had been lately set at liberty, from obliging *Waradin*, blocked up the last year, to surrender it for want of provisions on the twenty-first † of the month *Ramazan*, of the year 1103.

† *May* 25. *H.* 1103.

A. C. 1692. The *Turks* besiege *Soroka* in *Moldavia* without success.

XXX. About the same time the Seraskier of *Babadagy*, *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha*, in conjunction with *Arap Pasha*, governor of *Trebizond*, marches into *Moldavia*, and passing the *Danube* about the end of the month *Zylcade*, proceeds directly to *Orheyus*. Having sent for the Prince of *Moldavia*, and about twenty thousand *Tartars*, under the command of *Shehbaz Gierai* Sultan, proceeds against *Soroka*, but in the march near *Orheyus*, a town of *Moldavia*, being seized with a bloody flux, which held him several days, he gives the *Poles* time to fortify the city, which was to be besieged, and to reinforce the garrison. The enemy also, who was before negligent, takes this opportunity to strengthen *Soroka* with a rampart and new works, and send four hundred *Cossacks* to its relief. The Seraskier, though he perceived the siege by this delay to be more difficult, as soon as he is recovered, that he might not perform so long a march to no purpose, prosecutes his design, and on the fourth day appears before the city. The garrison are at first terrified at his approach, but afterwards, seeing their walls could not be demolished by the enemy's cannon, who had brought but seven small pieces and two mortars, resume their courage, and, not content with defending themselves within their walls, frequently sally out, attacking the trenches of the *Turks* by night, and destroying great numbers of them. The Seraskier, finding this method unsuccessful, endeavours to undermine the walls; but in vain, they being built upon a rock. At last the winter approaches, and having lost near three thousand men, after thirty days siege, he is obliged to retire.

The Chan of *Tartary* attempts to divide the Kingdom of *Poland* from the Confederates, but without success.

XXXI. At the end of the campain the Chan of *Crim Tartary*, *Kior Sefa Gierai* (14), by the advice of the Seraskier, sends *Dervish Shaban Aga*, one of his

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(14) *Kior Sefa Gierai*] This was the only one of the family of *Choban* * *Gierai*, (mentioned in Part I. B. 2.) that arrived to the dignity of Chan of *Tartary*, which he did not enjoy above a year. After his being deposed, the Empire of *Tartary* returned again to the legitimate *Gierai's*, who have possessed it to this time.

officers to the King of *Poland*, to persuade him to make peace with the *Othman* court, offering, that if he would abandon his alliance with the Emperor, to restore to him *Caminiec*, with all *Podolia* and *Ukrania*. But the *Poles*, who had conceived new hopes from the ill success of the *Turks* against *Soroka*, of subduing all *Moldavia*, pay no regard to the Chan's advice, and dismiss his messenger.

The *Venetians* besiege *Canea* in *Candy*, but obliged to retire with loss.

XXXII. The same year the *Venetians* having entirely subdued the *Morea*, resolve to turn their arms against *Candia*, and, transporting their whole army to that island, besiege *Canea* with great vigour; but the *Turks*, informed of their design by a *French* ship, had put so strong a garrison into that city, that the *Venetians*, who thought to surprize it, are not only repulsed with great slaughter, but, after a siege of fifty days, obliged to retire with the loss of many of their men, and to confess the *Turks* conquerors, who had been saved by the favour of the most Christian King.

The different success of the *Turks* and *Venetians* upon the Continent.

XXXIII. With equal success *Soliman Pasha*, governor of *Arnaud*, attacks and defeats the *Montenegrini* meditating a rebellion, and recovering *Zuffa* and *Pandurixa*, reduces them to submission. The Seraskier of the *Morea*, flushed with these successes, makes several incursions upon the *Venetians*; but attempting to seize *Naupactum*, is repulsed with great loss. In *Dalmatia*, the Pasha of *Hercegovina* endeavours, by *Alibeg*, to recover *Gracovum*, but in vain. For the *Turks* engaged in the siege, are suddenly attacked by the *Venetians*, who defeat and put them to flight, and take the general prisoner.

Twin-sons born to the Sultan
H. 1104.
A. C. 1693.

XXXIV. The campain being ended, in the year 1104 the Sultan, at *Constantinople*, has twins born to him, namely, *Selim* and *Ibrahim*. As this had never happened to any Sultan before, the *Turks*, considering it as a presage of their future success, devote eight whole days throughout the Empire to rejoicings, every where both day and night celebrating the *Donanma*, and other sports usual upon such occasions.

The Vizir *Ali* is removed, and succeeded by *Mustapha Pasha*

XXXV. Amidst these rejoicings of the people, the Vizir, *Tarposhchi* * *Ali Pasha*, endeavours to renew the negotiations of peace, which had been interrupted; but being reprehended by the *Mufti*, the Sultan declaring it done without his command or knowledge, he is deprived of his dignity, as a betrayer of the law and the Empire.

The new Vizir puts a stop to a sedition just ready to break out.

XXXVI. His successor, *Buiukli Mustapha*, endeavouring to put a stop to the depredations of several Nobles, which the negligence of the former Vizirs had suffered to pass with impunity, occasioned some of the offenders to form a secret conspiracy against him, and others to murmur openly. But the assemblies of the seditious being disturbed by *Junizar Agasi*, the Vizir's friend, and the leaders being partly put to death, and partly banished, the city is restored to its former tranquillity, and the Vizir applies himself to make preparations for the campain.

The wonderful conduct of *Misri Effendi*.

XXXVII. While he is thus employed, and had now encamped without the city, the *Sheik* of *Prusa*, *Misri Effendi* (16), erects his standard at *Prusa*, and lists

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(15) *Donanma*] So the *Turks* call their public rejoicings for having gained a victory, or taken a fortified place from the enemy. Whenever these are enjoined, the merchants are commanded to keep their shops open night and day, and to adorn them with their most valuable goods. Upon such occasions, no kind of plays or diversions are forbidden, nay, people are allowed to [illegible] wine publickly, and those that get [illegible] and are at other times punishable [illegible]izar-*Aga*, can neither be punished [illegible] called afterwards to an account. [illegible] the mean time keep patrolling about the city, but their business is only to take care to prevent quarrels, riots, murders, and thefts, for they cannot meddle or interfere with any thing that tends only to mirth and diversion.

(16) *Misri Effendi*] A man in great renown among the *Turks* for his sanctity though many think he was too great a favourer of the *Christian* Religion. This suspicion is confirmed by several divine Poems, which he published, and ordered to be sung in the *Jami*; some parts of which, supposed by many to relate to the mystery of the incarnation, I have translated

lists above three thousand Musulman volunteers under the title of *Derwises* without pay or allowance of provision, merely in the name of God, and in confidence

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translated word for word from the *Turkish* language, and thought it worth while to insert them here.

" I am he, that am acquainted with the
" secrets of human learning,
" I reckon up the treasures of justice, and
" am the life of the World.
" Within me is included every hidden
" thing, and the mystery of hidden
" things,
" With me is the mystery intrusted, and I
" am the rich possessor thereof
" I have seen the divine beauty much more
" plainly than others,
" Wherefore when I see that spectacle, I
" am ravished with joy
" Whatever is in Earth and in Heaven, is
" subject to me,
" I am the most excellent seal of things
" visible and invisible.
" I have given my only substance for all
" creatures,
" I am always with *Jesus*, and with him
" do always agree.
" I am that *Misri*," [this word signifies *Cairo* the Metropolis of *Egypt*, as also the whole province of *Egypt* itself, from whence the author took his sirname,] " who have been King of my body to
" *Misrius* or *Egypt*
" My oracle, though profound, yet in its
" secret interpretation contains an eter-
" nal mystery"

He seems to have alluded to the same in the following Epigram.

" In divine names I have an infinite know-
" ledge
" At every breath I travel to the heavenly
" sciences [that is, am wholly taken up with heavenly sciences]
" In the Heaven of my heart there is no
" number of the stars. [that is, there is no numbring of them]
" In each *Zodiac*" [that is, in each sign of the *Zodiac*, for the *Turkish* word *Burj* denotes both,] " I reckon a thou-
" sand Suns, and a thousand Moons.
" In comparison of these, the knowledge
" of the Empyreal [Heaven] and of
" the other Orbs, is despicable.
" Since I have also on earth lasting essences,
" I am ashamed to be master of the Al-
" phabet in the Worlds.
" But yet I highly value that Alphabet,
" which is little esteemed,
" For in it is joined the agreement of *Je-*
" *sus* and *Misri*.
" Therefore my will neither has nor wants
" any thing. [that is, I desire nothing earnestly, and yet want nothing that I can desire.]

Besides the evident testimonies of *Jesu*, contained in these verses, what I learned concerning the same *Mysri Effendi* from the mouth of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, *Callinicus* of blessed memory, is also worth mentioning. When he was Metropolitan of *Prusa*, *Mysri Effendi*, who then possessed the dignity of *Mollah* in the same city, had contracted a close friendship with him, and used frequently to visit him. Coming one day to the Metropolitan, he saw a *Greek* Book lying upon a Table. And enquiring what book it was, he was told it was the Gospel. Whereupon he said, " O
" Metropolitan, what you have once ob-
" tained by the grace of God, That keep
" as long as you live. For the Gospel,
" and Christ himself is the word of God."
And though all this was whispered about among the *Turks*, yet it could no way hurt his reputation. Nay, when the fore-mentioned verses were presented to the Mufti, that he might declare, whether they were orthodox, or contrary to the doctrine of the *Koran*, he suspended his judgment, and pronounced the following *fetvah*, or sentence, " The interpretation of the mean-
" ing of them is known to none but God
" and *Mysri*" Which sentence, though pronounced by an infidel, I acknowledge to be true, thinking it extremely difficult to give a full explanation of that man's profound learning. However, after this declaration of the *Mufti*, *Mysri Effendi*'s Poems were made publick, and came to be received by all the *Turks* as Orthodox But the reading of them is not allowed without some caution, and to the copies that are sold, the following advertisement is prefixed.

" These Poems and Maxims are compo-
" sed by *Mysri Effendi* of blessed memory,
" in which though some sayings and ex-
" pressions are found different from the
" Musulman Faith, and offend Orthodox
" ears, yet these are to be ascribed to his
" Enthusiasm. By these errors of his En-
" thusiasm he has drawn away some Mu-
" sulmans from the right Faith: which
" coming to the knowledge of the sublime
" Port, it has ordered the Mufti to col-
" lect his Sayings and Poems into one Vo-
" lume, and to examine them. The Muf-
" ti, after having read them, has commit-
" ted them to the flames, and hath passed
" this

dence of the divine assistance, and transports them by sea to *Rhodostus*, and afterwards by land to *Adrianople*. When he is come to the city, he marches with his followers directly to *Selim*'s temple, where finding the people intent upon their *Namaz* at noon, he first performs the prayers with great appearance of devotion and zeal, and afterwards makes a speech to the people. He tells them, that hearing a new army was raising against the *Germans*, he had long considered what he could do for the service of the *Othman* interest agreeably to the precepts of the *Koran*, and had tacitly examined with himself what were the causes of the many and great losses sustained by the *Othman* armies from the *Christians*. That amidst these reflections it was revealed to him from Heaven, that the cause of it was not the valour of the *Germans*, nor the sins of the whole nation, but the ill conduct of seventeen great men and governors of the Empire, who being influenced by a *Giauric* mind, faith, and manners, are ignorant, that there is no occasion of a numerous army against the infidels, but of faith in God, purity in heart and works, and justice towards the subjects. And that the people might know to whom they ought to impute the ruin of the Empire, there had been named to him by the divine revelation those *Giaurs*, who were proudly vested with the Musulman turban and habit, the Vizir, the *Janizar-aga*, the *Caimacan* (17), the *Tefterdar* (18), the *Reis Effendi*, and other great officers of state, whom he particularly mentioned. Unless these are put to death, no advantage can be hoped against the *Germans*, but still greater calamities, and even the destruction of the whole Empire are to be expected. He has by the command of God collected a body of Musulman soldiers, few indeed in number, and destitute of arms, but animated by a divine power, strengthened by the precepts of the *Koran*, untainted with sin, white and pure, with whom he would venture not only to stop an innumerable host of infidels, but likewise to drive them from the borders of the Empire. Upon the report of this affair, not only the common people fond of novelties, but the Janizaries, *Spahis*, and other military officers flock thither in great numbers, and as the *Jami*, though very large, could not contain all the hearers, the outward porches are also filled, upon the sight of which, the orator animated by a spirit of zeal, continues his speech four hours. The Vizir, informed of the affair, dreads a sedition, to obviate which in time, he sends the *Caimacan* to the *Sheik*, to desire him to come to him. The *Caimacan*, after a respectful compliment having delivered the message, *Misri Effendi* answers, "I am the servant of God, and sent to the servants of God, to acquaint them with what has been revealed to me from heaven. But I know not what *Giaur* thy Vizir is, and see no reason to abandon my call in obedience to him." The *Caimacan* perceiving on account of the crowd of people, who stood round and heard him with great attention, he could use no compulsion, returns to the Vizir, and tells him what he had heard and seen, advising him to endeavour immediately to prevent the danger, and disperse the concourse of people, since the *Sheik*'s whole discourse tended only to sedition against the nobles, and probably the Sultan himself. The Vizir sends for *Janizar aga* and the other officers stigmatized by the *Sheik* with the name of infidels, representing to them the common danger, and asking what measures they

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"this *fetvah* or sentence, whoever speaks "and believes as *Mysri Effendi*, ought to "be burnt, except *Mysri Effendi* alone "for no *fetvah* can be passed upon those "that are possessed of Enthusiasm."

(16) And this disgrace is thought to have moved him to raise those commotions, which I have related in the course of the history.

(17) *Caimacan*] Namely, *Othman Pasha*, a *Grecian*, born in *Crete*, who being taken at the siege of *Candia* by *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha*, and persuaded to embrace *Mahometism*, was raised by several degrees to that dignity. He was a very artful man, and knew how to adapt himself to the times.

(18) *Tefterdar*] This dignity I have elsewhere described. He that enjoyed it now, was *Kirli Ismail Effendi*, whom the *Turks* commend to this day for his great skill and experience in affairs.

think are to be taken in this exigence. Having considered the several opinions, they unanimously resolve to attempt nothing without the Sultan's consent, but to use all methods to induce him to oblige the *Sheikh* to leave the city. They immediately inform the Sultan by a *Talchysh*, that a certain *Sheikh* is come to the city attended with a considerable body of soldiers disguised like *Dervises*, who is haranguing the people in *Selimiè*, and exciting the inconstant multitude to sedition. For this purpose he is casting out many reproaches against the great officers of state, giving odious appellations to the Sultan himself, charging the Vizir and other Nobles as infidels, and publickly declaring, that the *German Othmans* are carrying on war against the *German Imperialists*, and therefore the divine blessing cannot be expected upon the *Othman* court. By these and the like false representations, the Sultan is so enraged, that he commands the rebel to be seized, and since he could not, as wearing the *Tiara*†, be put to death, to be banished with his followers to *Prusa*. The Vizir rejoicing to have it in his power under the Sultan's name to execute his desire, sends again the *Caimacan*, but attended with *Janizar agasi* and a good band of soldiers to *Misri Effendi* in the *Jami*. The *Caimacan* and *Janizar-agasi*, leaving the Janizaries in the street, enter the temple, and in the Sultan's name salute the *Sheik*, who is still speaking and inform him, that the Sultan hearing of his sanctity and reputation, wishes to enjoy his conversation, and therefore desires him to come instantly to the palace. The *Sheik* either informed of their designs, or guessing some snake lay concealed in the grass, answers; "You seem to me from the intent, with which you "are come, to be sent by *Sheitan*, and not by the Sultan (19). But I, like "a champion for God, who ought to be indifferent whether he be applauded or "exposed to contempt, will go wherever you will lead me, so that I give no of-"fence to this assembly of Musulmans, or appear unwilling to obey the Sultan's "command However that you may be convinced, I have spoken not of my-"self, or out of any perverse ends, but by divine inspiration, I declare to you "beforehand, that within a few hours after I am gone, you will receive to-"kens of divine evidence" Having said this, he leaves the *Jami*, and mounting the Sultan's chariot which was brought for him, attended with the guards, he passes with great honour through the people flocking from all parts. As soon as he is at some distance from the populace, he is put into a covered waggon, and immediately conveyed first to *Rhodostus*, and afterwards to *Prusa*.

† Gree[illegible] ban

XXXVIII. His superstitious prediction was attended with the event. For two days after, about noon a great whirlwind and storm arises, and throws down the tents of almost all the soldiers and principal officers. There happened at that time to be a fire in several tents for dressing of dinner, which seizing the tents when overthrown, and suddenly communicating itself to the rest, within the space of an hour consumes above a thousand tents, with the pavilions of the chief officers. The people stand unmoved at this sight, and crying out, God showed his vengeance for the unjust banishment of his servant and witness of truth, refuse to give any assistance. At last, the soldiers with great difficulty save the rest of the camp from the flames. The Sultan himself struck with terror, sends a respectful letter to the *Sheik*, and intreats his pardon, confessing himself deceived by the treachery of his ministers, and desiring him to return to *Adrianople*, and give his benediction to the army. *Misri Effendi* answers, he had discovered at first, that he was banished through the fault of the great men, and not of the Sultan himself, and therefore had long since obliterated the remembrance of it, and wholly forgiven the crime, but could not return to *Adrianople*, because

The p[illegible] which *Misri's* ture

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(19) by the Sultan] *Sultanden, Sheitanden* This saying of his was afterwards interpreted two ways; literally, That the Sultan was stirred up by a diabolical spirit to put to death a man, who reproved him for his vices: And metaphorically, as if *Mysri Effendi* had said, They who came to call him were not sent by the Sultan, but directed by the Devil; and tempted by him to commit that crime.

cause the same spirit, which had prompted him to the first journey, would not permit a second.

The Vizir about to pass through *Walachia* into *Transylvania*. The Imperialists besiege *Belgrade*

XXXIX. In the mean time the Vizir, *Buiukli Mustapha Pasha*, having assembled his whole army, marches from *Adrianople* to the *Danube*, from whence he designs to pursue the former rout of *Tekeli*, and penetrate through *Walachia* into *Transilvania*. But before he had passed the *Danube*, the *Germans*, having taken *Gena* and *Villagosbuar*, under the command of *De la Croy*, besiege *Belgrade*. Upon this the Vizir alters his intention and march, and returns from *Distra*, where he had encamped, towards *Chenge* * *Daghlary*, and with great danger and difficulty conducts his whole army through the straits of those mountains, scarce wide enough for an unarmed man to pass through. The *German* general being informed by his scouts, that the Vizir is attempting to make himself master of *Transylvania*, he views the outer walls of the city besieged for twenty days, rather like a traveller than a soldier, because either he intended to reduce it by famine, or imagined the Vizir would be prevented by the narrow passes from relieving it in time. But finding the Vizir approaching, and now passed the mountains, he prosecutes the siege with greater vigour, and in eight days not only demolishes the outer walls by his cannon and mines, but also shakes the inner in such a manner, that he seemed ready to take the city, though defended by sixteen thousand *Othmans*, if the Vizir, leaving behind him his baggage and larger cannon, had not on the eighth day advanced to its relief.

The Vizir raises the siege of *Belgrade*

XL. For the *Germans* perceiving, from the smallness of their number, they could not at the same time carry on the siege, and make a stand against the Vizir, who was about to attack their camp, that they might not instead of victory receive a defeat, raise the siege, and pass the *Save* with their whole army. The Vizir, though he had done them no other damage in their retreat, than the taking several waggons and four small cannon, imagining their retreat to be a flight, informs the Sultan that he had gained a victory over the enemy.

The *Tartars* attempting to lay waste *Hungary*, are inclosed and defeated by the *Germans*.

XLI. But not daring to pursue them, or pass the *Save* to attack their camp, he sends *Selim Gierai*, Chan of the *Tartars*, with his troops into *Hungary*, with orders to ravage the neighbouring provinces, and cut off the *Germans* from all opportunity of procuring provisions. The Chan roving about incautiously, is surrounded at *Chonad* by the Imperialists appointed to guard those parts, under the command of *Hofkirchen*, and shut up in such a narrow space, that he could not make use of his horse, or find any means of escape. In this situation, the *Tartars* must have necessarily submitted to the enemy, or perished with hunger, if the invincible resolution of *Selim* had not surmounted all obstacles, and engaged the *Tartars* in an attempt not only unusual to the *Scythian* hords, but never heard of before since the *Scythian* name had been celebrated in the world. For there being no room for the cavalry to fight, by his command they all kill their horses, fall upon the enemy with their swords, and rush boldly into the thickest ranks of the *Germans*. So unexpected an attack at first confounds the *Germans*, but resuming their courage, they inclose them again, now almost escaped, and make such a slaughter, that except a few attendants of the Chan, scarce a man was saved.

The *Poles* continue quiet at home. The *Venetians* do nothing in *Greece*, and make but little progress in *Dalmatia*.

XLII. Thus the *Germans* take a bloody revenge upon the *Tartars*, for the *Polish* armies so often defeated by them, while *Poland* it self continues unactive, and either amused with hopes of peace, offered again by the ambassadors of *Selim Gierai*, or deterred by former misfortunes, dares not bring an army into the field. The *Venetian* arms are likewise quiet in *Greece*. However, in *Dalmatia*, under the command of *Erizzo*, governor of *Catarri*, they attempt the siege of *Chlbuchi*, but are repulsed with considerable loss by the Pasha of *Hercegovina*; who, notwithstanding, is soon after defeated by *Canegotti*.

The Vizir *Mustapha* removed from his post, ...

XLIII. The Vizir, *Buiukly Mustapha Pasha*, returning to *Adrianople*, while he expects to be rewarded for raising the siege of *Belgrade*, and forcing the ... to abandon the borders of the Empire, is deprived of his dignity by the ... upon a slight occasion. For, going out of the city one day to relax his ... cares, and divert himself with hawking, *Coltuk Vezirleri*, who had long

long been his enemies, immediately inform the Sultan of it, representing that the Vizir, laying aside business and the important affairs of the state, minded nothing but his pleasures; and by these calumnies make such an impression upon the easy and credulous Sultan, that he instantly takes away the seal of the Empire from the Vizir, and delivers it to *Sham Tarabolus Ali Pasha* (20). But that he might not seem ungrateful for his services done to the Empire, nor raise a sedition among the people, he does not keep him in custody, nor deprive him of his estate, but makes him governor of *Damascus*, a very rare instance among the *Turks*.

XLIV. *Ali Pasha*, seeing the distressed state of the Empire, and despairing of victory, as soon as he is advanced to the Vizirship, endeavours to make a peace with the *Germans* and *Poles*; but as he resolved to exclude the *Venetians*, and afterwards turn his whole force against them, he does not succeed. For, on the one hand, the Emperor would not abandon the confederates, and expose them to danger, and obstinately refused all terms of peace, how plausible soever, if they were not included; and on the other, the most Christian King's ambassador, by presents and great promises, had gained both the Nobles and *Ulema* so firmly to his party, that they unanimously opposed all pacifick measures, and broke the Vizir's designs.

The Vizir *Ali Pasha* endeavours to make peace with the Christians.

XLV. The Vizir, seeing himself by this means disappointed, in the latter end of the year 1105 sends the Seraskier into *Hungary*, who assaulting *Titul*, is repulsed with great loss by *Caprara*, general of the Imperialists. But this victory of the *Germans* caused no great detriment to the *Turkish* Empire; for the Emperor of *Germany*, intent upon the war with *France*, had left but a small army in *Hungary*, which was obliged to be rather upon the defence, than to make further progress. The *Polish* and *Russian* forces likewise continue to guard their own borders, neither attempting nor performing any thing memorable.

The peace being prevented by the French ambassador, the Vizir sends a Seraskier into *Hungary*. H. 110[5] A. C. 16[93]

XLVI The *Venetians* alone this year push the *Turks* with vigour, and make an attempt which would have gained them the dominion of the sea, if they had known how to execute their undertaking with prudence and moderation. Early in the spring they send out a fleet, which, upon the invitation of the inhabitants of *Chios*, devoted to the *Roman-Catholic* religion (21), attacks that Island with great

Chios surrendered to *Venetians*.

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(20) *Sham Tarabolus*] *Tripoli* of *Damascus*, a city in *Palestine*, so called by way of distinction from *Tripoli* in *Africa*, a noted nest of *Moorish* pirates.

(21) to the Catholick Religion] A considerable part of *Chios* was formerly inhabited by people of the *Romish* Church, whose ancestors had many ages before the island came under the power of the *Turks*, transplanted themselves thither from *Venice*, and other provinces of *Italy*, and having brought the religion of their country with them, transmitted it down to their latest posterity. They enjoyed not only the free exercise of their religion, and the same privileges with the rest of the inhabitants, but also had built more Churches, and by the assistance and authority of the ambassadors of *France*, and of Princes devoted to the *See* of *Rome*, had obtained from the *Othman* court more immunities and prerogatives than the rest of the subjects of the same Empire. Afterwards a war arising between the *Turks* and *Venetians*, after the *Vienna*-defeat, the people I am speaking of performed the office of spies to the Republick of *Venice*, and whatever was done about the *Turkish* fleet, either at *Constantinople* or in the Isles, an account of it was industriously sent by them to the admiral of the enemy's fleet. At last, their spirits were raised upon the conquest of all the *Morea* by the *Venetians*; and they began to think of putting also their Island under St. *Mark*'s banners. The better to accomplish their designs, though they were already possessed of best part of the Island, they thought it adviseable to sound the inclinations of the *Greeks*, that they might not receive from them an unexpected obstacle to their designs. But not daring openly to disclose their intentions, they do, in private discourse, undervalue the strength of the *Turks*, and magnify that of the *Venetians*; saying, there was reason to fear, that after the sea was cleared of the *Turkish* fleet, that Republick would make her self mistress of all the Islands in the *Archipelago*. Therefore it would be adviseable, before summer, to ingratiate themselves with the *Venetians*, by sending a letter to their admiral, to entreat him to protect a people of the same religion with him against foreigners;

[illegible] *Silabdar Hassan Pasha* was then governor, who hearing of the ap[illegible] of the *Venetians*, had resolved to make a brave defence; but after he found

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[illegible]ghers; and, (if it could be) that a Chri[illegible] should appear to the assistance of Christians. This advice was not relished by the *Greeks*, both because they suspected the faith of the *Venetians*, and also believed that they could receive but little protection from the *Venetians*, who were at so great a distance, against the present power of the *Turks*. But foreseeing that the *Latins* would, without their concurrence, attempt something in favour of the *Venetians*, they sent word to *Huseim Pasha*, who was at that time admiral of the *Turks*, that they would remain faithful to the *Othman* court, even to death; but they had many *Latins* among them, united with the *Venetians* by consanguinity and religion, for whose fidelity they could not answer. They had in this a double view, namely, if their town was taken by the *Venetians*, and recovered by the *Turks*, they might have the excuse ready at hand, that they gave the admiral notice of it; and withal, might not destroy their fellow-citizens, who, if the thing should come to be known by the *Turks*, would be exposed to the most cruel torments. But before this letter could reach *Huseim Pasha*, the *Latins*, having information of the matter, and thinking there was no time to lose, dispatched a swift frigate to the *Venetian* admiral, and entreated him by all that was sacred, to come as soon as possible to their assistance; that their designs being now discovered, they were utterly undone, if he made the least delay: and he had no occasion to fear any thing, for the town was quite defenceless, without soldiers, without ammunition, or provisions, and rent by factions, wanted nothing to make it surrender but the sight of an enemy's fleet. Upon the receipt of this message, the *Venetian* admiral sails to *Chios* with all expedition, and finds the town, as the *Latins* had represented, destitute of all things necessary for sustaining a siege, attacks it, and obliges it in a few days to surrender. At that time *Damad*, or *Silabdar Hassan Pasha* lived there, not as governor, but as a private person, having been sent thither by the Sultan to get a maintenance out of the revenues of the Island, till he could be provided with a Bashalic. This man, finding the general in want of all things made the defence of the place impracticable, asked the Mufti, who lived there as an exile, whether a [Mus]ulman could, with a safe conscience, de[liver] up to the Christians a place that had [no sol]diers to defend it, in order to preserve [the Ma]hometan inhabitants? And receiving [the Fetv]ah, that the good thereby done to so many *Musulmans*, would blot out the sin committed against the law of the *Koran*, by the delivery of the place, he surrenders the town to the *Venetians* upon certain conditions on the fourth day of the siege. After the taking of the place, the *Venetians*, grown more insolent, equally exercise cruelties upon the *Greeks* and *Turks*, and knowing of the message sent by the former to *Huseim Pasha*, they shut up all their Churches, confiscate the goods of many, forbid the *Grecian* priests the exercise of their function and the administration of the sacraments, and will suffer none but *Latins* to confess dying *Greeks*, or to baptize infants. The *Grecians* use entreaties, tears, and even presents, and desire only the free use of their churches, and of their religious worship, but all in vain, they can obtain nothing, and are ordered to frequent the *Romish* churches, unless they had a mind to pass for rebels, and despisers of the *divine* worship. But this insolence of the *Latins* did not long remain unpunished. For, the next year the *Venetians* being driven out of the Island by *Medzomorto*, the *Latins* earnestly desired to be re-admitted into that fraternity from whence they had excluded the *Greeks*, but, far from obtaining their request, they could hardly avoid the most severe punishments. It is a law in the *Othman* Empire, that every country that has been but three hours in the enemies possession, is taken away from the antient owners, and confiscated to the Sultan's treasury, like a new-conquered country, unless the inhabitants redeem it at a set price. In conformity to this custom, a fine of fifteen hundred purses being set upon the whole Island, the *Greeks*, who were quite oppressed with so great a burden, send a petition to the Sultan, representing, that before *Damascus* was conquered by the *Musulman* arms, they paid tribute to the governors of the Empire, and from that time had never refused to pay it, nor attempted any thing to the prejudice of the state; that they were not the authors of the late calamity, but the *Latins*, who were united with the *Venetians* in blood and religion, had betrayed their town to the enemies. Lastly, they pray, that in consideration of their perpetual fidelity to the *Othman* Empire, the sum laid upon them may be lessened; and, to the end they may live with greater safety in the Island, that the *Latins* may be deprived of the privilege of citizens; or, if that could not be, that the Sultan would grant them some desert Island, where, leaving their country, they would willingly go and settle with their wives and children;

found the Christian inhabitants had deserted him, and were endeavouring to deliver up the city without his consent, as he had but few *Turkish* soldiers in the garrison, that he might not be made prisoner himself, surrenders the city to the *Venetians*; who, to oblige the Pope, shut up the *Greek* churches; prohibit divine service in the *Greek* tongue, and other rites used in the Eastern church; induce the inhabitants partly by force, and partly by artifice, to conform to the *Roman* church; and act in many other things contrary to justice, and the terms of the surrender.

They wou[ld] likewise h[ave] taken *Smy*[*rna*] if they ha[d] not been [dis]suaded by Christian [con]suls from [be]sieging it

XLVII Having settled at pleasure the affairs of the city, they resolve to besiege *Smyrna*. But the *French*, *English*, and *Dutch* consuls, meet the *Venetians* in their march, and intercede for the city, urging, among other reasons against the siege, that almost all the Warehouses at *Smyrna* were full of the merchandize of their respective nations, which, if they should be lost in the siege by fire, or plundered by the soldiers, would be required by their masters with interest of the *Venetians*. Upon this the *Venetians*, fearing the resentments of the other Christian Princes, desist from their design, and return home with their fleet.

The succe[ss of] the *Veneti*[*ans*] arms in *D*[*al*]*matia*

XLVIII. In *Dalmatia* the *Venetians* under the command of *Delfini* besiege and take *Ciclut*, and subdue *Clobuch*, in vain attempted the last year. The Seraskier, *Soliman Pasha*, governor of *Albania*, twice assaults *Ciclut*, in order to recover that city, but is as often repulsed. For which reason being accused of negligence to the Sultan, he is deprived of his post, and succeeded by *Elmas Mehemmed Pasha*, governor of *Bosnia*, lately sent from the Seraglio.

The *Arab*[*s*] revolt fro[m] the Sultan and attem[pt] to seize *M*[*ecca*]

XLIX While the *Othman* arms are thus unsuccessful in all parts of *Europe*, a new sedition breaks out in *Asia*. *Emir Mahomet*, one of the Princes of the *Arabs*, with several thousands of his countrymen, attacks, plunders, and despoils the caravan going in pilgrimage to *Mecca* (22); and afterwards increasing his

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children, for they chose rather to live poorly and quietly, than to be in perpetual fears of losing their lives and estates. Finally, they add, that it was impossible for them to be safe in the Island as long as they remained mixed with the *Latin* inhabitants, who had lately betrayed the town to the *Venetians*, and would again assist them to recover the same. In the mean time, *Hussein Pasha*, who was admiral when *Chios* was taken by the *Venetians*, had been raised to the dignity of prime Vizir, and he being asked by the Sultan, declared that what the *Greeks* alledged was true, and mentioned at the same time the information they had formerly given him. The Sultan, hearing the truth of the case, reduces the fine upon the Island to five hundred purses, but condemns all the *Latins* to the gallies, and orders all their effects to be distributed among the *Greeks*. And this rigorous sentence, justly due to their unheard of cruelty, would have actually been put in execution, had it not been for the *French* ambassador, who partly by his credit, and partly by money, got them exempted from the gallies, which yet he could obtain upon no other condition, but that they should publickly renounce the *Romish* religion, and declare themselves members of the *Greek* church by which means, there is not at present the least sign of a papist in *Chios*.

(22) to *Mecca*] Because the wandring *Arabs*, who dwell in the deserts between *Damascus*, *Bagdad*, and *Mecca*, used to infest chiefly the road to *Mecca* with their robberies, and to render it dangerous to the superstitious pilgrims who went to visit *Mahomet*'s tomb, the *Othman* Emperors, after *Selim* I. conqueror of *Egypt*, resolved to pay them out of the treasury of the women's Seraglio forty thousand crowns of gold, by way of bounty, under the title of *Surre*; on pretence as if it was paid them for securing the roads and the fountains, but in reality because they could not otherwise remove such troublesome enemies from the *Hajı's*. But the money not being sent for some years on account of the *Hungarian* war, *Sheik Emir Mehemmed*, with his tribe, inclosed the pilgrims in a narrow place, and forced them to surrender for want of water. There was then taken among them the most illustrious Chan of *Tartary*, *Selim Gierai*, whom they obliged, by the *Arabian Ras*, to carry their complaints to the Sultan, and procure the continuance of the usual bounty, and so they dismissed him upon his parole. He stood to his engagement, and never ceased to importune the *Othman* court, till the arrears of the *Surre* were sent to the *Arabs*; which done, they remained quiet.

number, besieges *Mecca* it self; but, touched with reverence of the place, and the dread of sacrilege, retires from the city. *Shambeglerbeg*, attended with the other Bashas of those parts, is sent against him; but the *Sheikh* defeated them all by a stratagem, and puts them to flight.

Sultan *Ahmed* dies.
† *Jan.* 27. H. 1106
A. C. 1695.

L. The Empire being surrounded with so many enemies, and almost entirely ruined, Sultan *Ahmed* in the year 1106 leaves it †, and resigns his soul to *Mahomet*, having lived fifty years, and reigned four.

His character.

LI. In his temper and disposition, he entirely resembled his brother *Soliman*, but of a little more lively, though not acute genius. He listened to the calumnies of his domestic officers, and upon their instigation, for slight causes often changed the most important affairs. He affected to appear a lover of justice, though by reason of his stupidity, he could not perfectly discharge the function of a judge, and believed every thing which his friends, bribed by the contending parties, represented to him.

His person.

LII. He had large black eyes, a pale complexion, a round beard, inclining to red, with a mixture of black, a strait and long nose, a middle stature, a prominent belly, occasioned by the dropsy rather than fat. With respect to devotion and zeal for *Mahomet*'s law, he is said to have have been a little inferior to his brother *Soliman*.

The End of the Reign of AHMED II.

The

Mustapha II.
Twenty Second EMPEROR of ye TURKS
in the Year 1696.
From an Original in the Seraglio.

The REIGN of

MUSTAPHA II,

Twenty-second EMPEROR of the TURKS.

BOOK IV. CHAP. IV.

Sultan *Mustapha*, son of Sultan *Mahomet*, chose Emperor

I. THE same thing which had been attempted upon the death of Sultan *Soliman* by *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*, namely, to deprive *Mustapha*, the son of *Mahomet* IV. of the throne, is attempted, though not with the like success, after *Ahmed*'s death, by the Vizir, *Sham Tarabolus Ali Pasha*. To gain this point, he calls a council of the principal officers of state, and persuades them to place *Ibrahim*, son of the deceased *Ahmed*, a Prince of three years old, on the throne, alledging, it was unjust to deprive the son of a Sultan, who had died in the imperial honour of the crown due to him, and confer it upon the son of his brother, who, though a Sultan, had been deposed. These were his publick pretences, but in reality his only reason for defrauding *Mustapha* of the throne was, that he feared to lose the absolute power he had enjoyed under *Ahmed* over the state and army, if a Prince of vigour, and versed in affairs, as *Mustapha* was, should obtain the crown; and had rather have an infant Sultan for his pupil, in whose name he might do what he pleased, than under an Emperor of ripe age be exposed to perpetual danger. But before he could gain the great men to his opinion, *Nezir Aga* (1), the *Haznadar bashi*, informs *Mustapha* of the death of his brother, and releasing him from his confinement, calls upon him to assume the *Othman* sceptre. *Mustapha* readily agrees to such grateful advice, and while the Vizir is consulting with the Nobles concerning the election of a Sultan, ascends the throne without his knowledge, and is first saluted Emperor by *Chalyk* * *Ahmed Aga* (2), and *Cherkies* * *Mahomet Aga* (3).

II. They

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Nezir Aga*] At that time the *Haznadar bashi*, or keeper of the treasure deposited in the women's Seraglio. He was, shortly after raised to the dignity of *Kyslar Aga*, and had so much interest with the Sultan, that the Vizirs were more afraid of him, than he of the Vizirs, and the Sultan himself would do nothing of publick concern without consulting him. This authority he retained by his great skill the whole reign of Sultan *Mustapha*; but after this Prince was deposed, he was in no small danger, because the rebels laid upon him the blame of all that had been done amiss by Sultan *Mustapha*. He had however his life granted him by Sultan *Ahmed*, and being dismissed the court, was sent into *Egypt*.

(2) *Chalyk* * *Ahmed Aga*] a native of *Red Russia*, who being taken in the *Caminiec*-expedition, and turning *Mahometan*, was admitted into the Sultan's palace, where, in the reign of Sultan *Mahomet* IV. he was *Chohadar** to *Mustapha*, then a child. When this Prince ascended the throne, he was made, first *Kiuchiuk**, then *Buiuk*, *Imrahor*; and being discharged from this office, because he would not accept of a *Pashalic*, he is even now held in great esteem; and, though but a private person, lives in a splendid manner

The Vizir, who designed to procure the election of *Ibrahim*, desists from his purpose.

II. They having informed the rest of the courtiers of the election of the new Sultan, all meet to pay their obeysance to the Emperor, who was extremely acceptable to them. The Vizir also, finding his designs prevented by the domestic officers, with joy in his countenance hastens with *Janizar-Agasi*, and other great men, to kiss the Sultan's robe.

The Sultan taking no notice of the Vizir's attempts, confirms him in his post.

III. *Mustapha* taking no notice of the Vizir's attempts against him, and deferring his revenge till another time, confirms him in his post, and presenting him with a robe lined with sables, orders him to take a particular care of the affairs of the war and state.

He declares that he will command the army himself, and administers the affairs of state alone.

IV. On the third day after his advancement, the Sultan publishes his intention to command the army himself against the *Germans*; and, not content with the name of Emperor, endeavours to discharge all the duties of a good general. He examines, orders, and disposes every thing, appoints new and large cannon to be cast; procures, and distributes the warlike provisions and military pay; convenes his father's ministers and officers, dispersed in distant countries, and rewards them with new posts, in which they might distinguish themselves to more advantage; sends for *Elmas Mahomet Pasha* (4), his father's most beloved chamberlain, out of *Bosnia*, appointing him first *Nishanji Pasha* (5), afterwards *Re-kiub*

ANNOTATIONS.

manner at *Constantinople*. The name of *Chalyk** was given him, because he had the scar of a wound in his face, for that is the appellation given to those that have been maimed or wounded, as *chalyk* Cholak**, who had lost a hand or some fingers. But it is to be observed, that this man must not be confounded with another of the same name, who, in the beginning of the reign of *Ahmed* III, was made *Janizar-Aga* by the rebels, concerning whom, see more hereafter.

(3) *Cherkies* Mahomet Aga*] He was brought away in his youth from *Chercassia** to *Constantinople*, among other captives, and educated in the palace. When *Chalyk* Ahmed Aga* was dismissed from his office, he was made *Buiuk Imrahor* in his room, and thence sent with three *Tugs*, first to the government of *Aleppo*, then to that of *Jerusalem*, and afterwards to some others. Upon the recovery of the *Morea* by the *Turks*, he was made Seraskier of that Kingdom, as he is at present, and is in great reputation at the *Othman* court for his justice and courage.

(4) *Elmas Mahomet Pasha*] an *Asiatick*, or, as some say, a *Bosnian* by birth, who was in his youth taken into the palace by Sultan *Mahomet* IV for his great beauty, and sirnamed by him *Elmas*, *The Diamond*. There was a report, that he served the Sultan a great while in his detestable lusts; but many, as well *Turks* as *Christians*, believe, that there was no other proof of *Mahomet's* being addicted to that vice, than his giving particular names to the handsomest of his chamberlains. After the death of Sultan *Mahomet*, he had several places at court, and at last was sent by Sultan [illegible]. with three *Tugs* to the Pasha-[illegible]. Being raised by Sultan *Mustapha* II, to the dignity of Vizir, he seemed to have the better of the *German* army in two battles, first, when he obliged *Veteran* to retreat, and next, when he rendered fruitless the designs of *Frederic Augustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, against the camp. At last, at the battle of *Zenta*, where the *Turks* were defeated by Prince *Eugene*, being too eager to engage the *Germans*, contrary to the opinion of the rest of the wisest of the Bashas, he was slain by the seditious Janizaries as the army was preparing for battle. An ingenious *Turkish* poet has expressed the time of his death by the following chronostick; *Nemche* cu shunle sildi elmai*, i. e. *The* German *hath cleaned the diamond with lead* in which saying, allusion is made both to the common opinion, that lead corrodes diamonds, and also to this other notion, that a diamond cannot be brought to its lustre except it is polished in lead. He was, after all, a discreet, sober, and prudent man, free from covetousness (a rare instance among the *Turkish* Nobility,) a great lover of justice, except when reason of state caused him to supplant or dispatch out of the way rivals, though innocent. He had not indeed so much experience in military affairs as other old Bashas, because he had been brought up in the palace, but what he wanted in education, was supplied by good natural parts, by a wonderful readiness in counsels, and great quickness in executing affairs; so that by common consent, he passed for no ill general of an army

(5) *Nishanji Pasha*] He that sets the mark or character of the Sultan's name to all the orders that are made. This is reckoned a very honourable place in the *Othman* court, especially if it be held by a Basha with three *Tugs*, who is upon that occasion ranked among the *Cubbè*-Vizirs, and in the *Galibè Divan*

Rekiab Caimacan (6), and sending him to conduct the *Valide Sultana* from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*, makes *Hassan Pasha*, his kinsman, governor of *Diarbekir*, and confers various honours upon those who had served the Empire under his father. By this means he gains such a reputation, that not only all the *Musulman* common people revered him as a sun rising from behind a thick cloud, and promised themselves more auspicious times, but also the soldiers voluntarily came in great numbers, and offered themselves to serve in the campain under so prudent an Emperor.

He views the camp unknown, and puts the Vizir to death.

V. All things being thus ready, and the hearts as well as hands of the soldiers prepared to renew the war, early in the spring he commands the Vizir to encamp without *Adrianople*. Three days after, disguising himself, he mixes among the soldiers, impatient to know what was publickly said of himself, the Vizir, and the rest of the great men. And finding from thence, that himself, though superior in many points to his uncles and predecessors, is supposed still to be subject to the Vizir, and the latter to dispose of every thing at pleasure, without his knowledge or consent, he is more incensed against the Vizir, and resolves to punish him as he deserved. For this purpose, he carefully examines all the warlike stores, and perceiving the carriages of the larger cannon not to be sufficiently strengthned with iron, at first sharply reprimands the Vizir, who endeavouring to clear himself, and cast the blame upon *Topchi* bashi* (7), this last is sent for, and being ordered to declare the reason of it, answers, he had desired of the Vizir as much iron as was wanted; but meeting with a repulse, had appointed the carriages to be made as the Vizir thought proper. The Vizir not being able to deny this, the Sultan immediately commands him to be put to death, and his body to be exposed for three days in *Sirik Meidan*, under pretence indeed that he had been negligent in executing the Sultan's orders, but in reality, because he had endeavoured to raise young *Ibrahim* to the throne, to the exclusion of *Mustapha*.

Elmas Mehemed Pasha made Vizir

VI He is succeeded by *Elmas Mehemed Pasha*, who had been before made *Caimacan*, a person of a most acute genius, and worthy of the dignity he possessed; but not without the murmurs of the old Bashas, who resented that they should be commanded by a youth unexperienced in affairs.

ANNOTATIONS.

Divan sits with them, by the side of the chief Vizir, under the place where the Sultan sits to hear whatever affair is in agitation but if this office is possessed by *Ekitugly*, or one having two *Tugs*, or by an *Effendi*, it is not then in so much esteem. All the Sultan's *Ferman's*, that are sent from the Vizir's chancery into the provinces, and those that are issued out of the *Tefterdar's* offices concerning *Malir* and *Beglyk*, must be read to him by *Nishanji Kassedar Effendi*, and then he confirms them, by setting down on the top the *Tura*, or character of the Sultan's name, and lays up copies of them in particular chests. But when any orders are made that do not reach beyond the walls of *Constantinople*, they need not have the *Nishanji Pasha's* confirmation, but it is sufficient if the Vizir's name is set to them. The *Nishanji Pasha* must be always near the Sultan's person, nor can he go from thence, or be sent any where, unless he is turned out · but when the Vizir goes upon any expedition without the Sultan, he gives him a *Nishanji Effendi* in his room to accompany him.

(6) *Rekiab Caimacan*] When the Vizir is engaged in warlike expeditions, the Sultan always appoints one of the *Cubbè* Vizirs, or Pasha's that have three Horse-Tails, *Rekiab Caimacan*, which signifies a *deputy stirrup-holder*; whose business it is to dispatch all such affairs relating to the Sultan, as properly belong to the Vizir to decide, and with the same authority as the Vizir himself, except that he cannot create new Bashas, nor turn out the old, nor put any of them to death. but upon the Vizir's return, his authority ceases. There is another *Caimacan*, namely, that of *Constantinople*, who is usually appointed when the Sultan and the Vizir are absent; and of him I have given an account in (Part I)

(7) *Topchi* bashi*] overseer of the cannon and soldiers thereto belonging, with the *Kombaraji's*, or gunners. And over these alone his authority reaches; but the gun-powder, balls, and the rest of the artillery, are under the jurisdiction and care of the *Jebeji bashi*.

VII. How-

VII. However, regardless of these murmurs, Sultan *Mustapha* passes with his army the *Danube* near *Belgrade*, attacks and takes *Lippa* and *Titul*, and demolishes their walls. While he is thus engaged, he is informed by the parties of *Tartars* sent before, that *Veterani*, with seven thousand *Germans*, had marched out of *Transylvania*, and was eight hours distant from the Imperial army, commanded by *Frederic Augustus* (8), Elector of *Saxony*. To intercept this body, he sends *Mahmud Beg Ogli*, Beglerbeg of *Rumelia* with the light-armed forces, and immediately follows with the rest of the army. With great speed he comes the second day in sight of the *Germans*, whom, I justly doubt, whether I should not call the stoutest and most couragious troops which *Germany* ever produced; for without any sign of fear, and as if their bodies were invulnerable, they halt, and in a manner challenge to battle the *Turks* pouring upon them in prodigious numbers. *Mahmud Beg Ogli*, though much superior to the Imperialists in strength, not thinking proper to venture an engagement before the Sultan was advanced, orders his troops only to annoy the enemy in slight skirmishes, and prevent their escape. In the mean time, the Sultan comes up with the Janizaries and the rest of the army, and commands the *Germans* to be fiercely attacked on all sides. On the other hand, the Imperial general having left two regiments to guard the camp, had drawn out but five thousand men into the field, who sustain the shock of the *Turks* with such bravery, that the latter, after a short opposition, are obliged to retire. The Sultan, who saw the battle at a distance, perceiving so unexpected a slaughter of his men, is enraged, and advancing, kills several of the run-aways with his own hand, and urges the rest to renew the fight. The *Turks*, excited by the shame of their repulse, passing by the left wing of the *Germans*, attack the carriages with which the enemy's camp was surrounded, and penetrate it, though with a considerable loss. Upon this *Veterani* leads back his troops towards the camp, falls upon the plundering enemies, and makes a greater slaughter than before. The *Turks* again fly without stopping, till met by the Sultan, who first seeing *Shahyn Mahomet Pasha*, reproaches him in these terms: "He was guilty of a great error, who first call'd thee *Shahyn*, "that is, the *Falcon*, since thou dost not, like a Falcon with rapacious talons, "strike at thy enemy's head; but, like a Crane, draw after thee a company of "fugitives." *Shahyn Mahomet Pasha*, touched with these reproaches, joins with *Mahmud Beg Ogli* in rallying the flying troops, and with a resolution to conquer or die for their superstition, they make a third attack upon the *Germans*. The *Janizar Aga*, on his part, attempts the same, who being also severely reprimanded by the Vizir, assembles the dispersed Janizaries, and leads them back into the field. Thus both sides meet the third time with equal resolution, and fight several hours with great ardour, excited the one side by the hopes of victory, the other by despair. But the *Germans* would probably have withstood all these shocks, if *Veterani*, their general, in the heat of the battle, had not been obliged by a wound to quit his horse, and go into a waggon. For upon sight of this the Imperialists, destitute of a commander, retire, though in such order, that it was doubtful whether they could be said to fly or retreat. The Sultan, seeing it difficult and dangerous to pursue and drive them to despair, privately orders the Mufti, by some means, to keep the *Othman* army in the camp. He, in obedience to his sovereign's command, declares by a *Fetvah*, that it is contrary to the precepts of the *Koran* to pursue too closely a flying enemy; and that he would lose the crown of martyrdom, who should perish in such a case.

[...] bloody [...]ry of the [...] over the [...]

VIII. And indeed the Sultan had many important reasons for restraining his soldiers from any further engagement. A thousand horse and fifteen hundred

ANNOTATIONS.

(8) *Frederic Augustus*] This Prince is called to this day by the *Turks Naal-Kyran*, the horse-shoe-breaker, on account of his great and wonderful strength in his youth: for, that it is usual among the *Turks* to give particular names not only to generals, but also to whole nations, is what I have observed in (Part I.)

foot,

foot, slain on the enemy's part, had been revenged by the slaughter of the chief officers of the army, *Mahmud Beg Ogli*, *Beglerbeg* of *Rumelia*, *Shahyn Mehemed Pasha*, *Ibrahim Pasha*, brother of *Coja Jafer Pasha*, and others of the first rank, with about ten thousand *Turkish* common soldiers: the victory it self too would have seemed very doubtful, if on one hand, the presence and resolution of the Sultan had not brought back the *Turks* from their flight; and on the other, the misfortune of *Veterani* disheartned the *Germans*; and a much greater loss was to be feared, if the remains of the Christian forces, being too closely pressed, should be reduced to despair, and obliged to exert their whole strength in this extreme danger. Content therefore with repulsing this body of *Germans*, and thereby gaining the reputation of a victory, he neglects the rest of their army, and leads back his forces towards the *Danube*.

IX In this march, he takes *Logush* and *Caransebes*, places destitute of defence, and demolishing them, returns triumphant through *Walachia* to *Constantinople*

In his ... he tak... towns

X. *Frederic Augustus* does likewise the same, though without any trophies; and having rather shown his troops to the enemy, than led them to battle, sends them into winter quarters.

The ... perial ... retires ... ter-qu...

XI. The *Poles*, either on account of the King's indisposition, or deterred by their former losses, do not venture to pass the *Tyras*, or re enter *Moldavia*, imagining they had done enough in securing their conquests, and defending their borders from the perpetual incursions of the *Tartars*. For however the *Othman* Empire was pressed in other parts, these scourges of Christendom never failed one year to lay waste *Podolia* and *Pocutia*, as far as *Leopolis*, and take the inhabitants prisoners, who confided too much in the *Polish* arms. The winter was hardly over, when the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, *Caplan Gierai*, assaulted the very suburbs of *Leopolis*, carried off four small cannon from the gate of the city, was like to have seized general *Tablonowski* himself, and with above fourteen thousand prisoners returned safe to *Crim-Tartary*.

The ... ing ne... the *Ta*... shame... vage ... dom

XII *Peter* the first, Czar of *Russia*, in order to the entire destruction of this pest, in the beginning of the summer attacks *Azac*, the strongest bulwark of *Crim-Tartary*, but his soldiers not being yet used to sieges, and the garrison making a stout defence, he is forced to retire without success

The ... *Russia* ... *Azac*, ... tires ... succes...

XIII The war is much more fortunately carried on this year against the *Venetians* For the *Venetians*, flushed with their conquest of *Chios*, having claimed the dominion of the sea, and the *Turkish* ships not daring to appear, frequent consultations were held at *Constantinople* for the restoration of their naval power. In these the name of *Medzomorto* (9), at that time only the commander of

Medz... defeat... *netian*...

ANNOTATIONS.

(9) *Medzomorto*] an *African*, born of *Moorish* parents, who in his youth exercised piracy in the *Mediterranean* from the Port of *Tunis*, and by that rendered himself very famous He was at last overpowered in an engagement with the *Spaniards*, and taken by them, when he received so grievous a wound, that his life was despaired of, and upon this occasion the name of *Medzomorto*, or half-dead, was given him, which he retained ever after. For he recovered from that wound, and, after a seventeen years imprisonment, being redeemed by his countrymen, returned to his old trade, and did great damage to the *Christians* He was afterwards, for his good services at *Chios*, made captain of a galley, and at last commander of the whole *Turkish* fleet. Being brought to *Adrianople*, when the Sultan was going to confer upon him the honour of admiral, and three *Tugs*, he particularly desired to have leave to instruct the sailors and marine forces in the art of fighting at sea, and bind them to some certain regulations; and, not to be obliged, on account of the honour of Vizir conferred upon him, to quit his sailor's habit both which requests he obtained. The Vizirs often tried to prevail upon him to change his dress, telling him, that so mean a habit was unsuitable to his dignity: but he always remained immoveable, and, when they pressed him, used to tell them, that he thought it much more unsuitable for the fleet of so great an Empire to be left a prey to a few fishermen; which disgrace was owing to nothing but this, that the latter minded arms, and the ministers of the other nothing but dress and finery; that, for his part, he made the honour of Vizir,

of a single ship, made a figure, who being sent for to the council, not only dissuaded them from a defensive war, which seemed most adviseable to the majority, but proposes the recovery of *Chios* as very practicable, promising, to regain it himself, provided four Sultana's were allowed him, with part of the galleys. *Amuje Ogli Huseim Pasha*, the admiral, treats him with contempt, as a presumptuous and rash man, and even mixes his reproaches with threats. But the Seraskier, *Mysirli*(10) *Ogli*, who had the chief command of the war against the *Venetians*, having maturely considered the affair, approves of the scheme, and delivers to *Medzomorto* the ships and eight galleys, which he wanted. With these *Medzomorto* sails towards *Chios*, followed soon after by the whole *Turkish* fleet, and not only bravely withstands the *Venetian* fleet appointed for the defence of the haven, but repulses them, and having taken two of their ships, obliges them to fly. The garrison seeing the *Turks* approach, at first, through confidence of their own strength, contemn them; but afterwards, perceiving their ships driven from the port with loss, their courage entirely fails them: for they had never imagined that the *Turkish* fleet, so often defeated, could be repaired so soon; or that there was any person among the enemy who could teach them the art of naval war. wherefore their care and business had been, not to fortify the city, but to shut up the *Greek* Churches, and commit other things in breach of their faith. Finding therefore that since their fleet was forced to quit the sea, their walls, exposed on all sides, could not be defended against so numerous an army, they turn their resentments from the *Turks* upon the *Greeks*, calling them perfidious traytors, and not only resolve to plunder and kill them, but even clearly discover their design. The *Greeks* seeing themselves in this dangerous situation, at first endeavour to mitigate the fury of their tyrants by persuasion, and incline them to mercy by strong demonstrations of their fidelity, but perceiving the calumnies of their Catholick countrymen to prevail above truth, for want of a better method, privately inform the Seraskier, that they are in great danger, and the *Venetians* have resolved their destruction, because, struck with a panic, they found none else to cast the blame of their approacing misfortune upon. But this very thing proved the occasion of safety to the *Venetians* For the Seraskier imagining it to be a stratagem of theirs, in order to prevent an unexpected defeat, resolves to examine the affair, before he undertakes the siege, and so gives the *Venetians* time to imbark their effects, and after plundering the inhabitants and churches, to escape by means of their ships that were in the harbour.

[The *Turks* at first take the city of *Chios*, and oblige the *Roman* Catholicks to conform to the *Greek* religion.]

XIV. On the morrow, the Seraskier discovering the flight of the *Venetians*, takes the city, and dragging out from their lurking-places, such *Venetians*, as their ships could not contain, puts them to death He obliges the *Chians*, who had professed the *Roman-Catholick* religion, either to conform to that of the *Greeks*, or submit to captivity; restores to the *Greeks* the churches taken from them, shutting up those of the *Roman* Catholicks; and thus, not with a divine interposition, returns upon the *Venetians* all the acts of tyranny, they had exercised on the *Greeks*.

[The *Venetians* gain a victory]

XV. This misfortune was a little alleviated by a victory gained by the *Venetians* near *Argos*, in which four hundred *Turks* are said to have been slain. But this was of no great detriment to the *Turks*, nor of much advantage to the *Venetians*.

ANNOTATIONS.

Vizir, bestowed upon him by the Sultan, to consist not in dress, but in bravery; and would show, how much the most slovenly men excel the best dressed ladies.

(10) *Mysirli ogli*] A very famous *Turkish* general, for bravery, next to *Coja Jafer* mentioned above. He fell with the rest of the *Turkish* officers, by the hands of the rebellious soldiers, when preparations were making for the battle of *Zenta*, to the Sultan's great grief He was named *Mysirli ogli*, either because he was born of *Egyptian* parents, or of parents that lived in *Egypt*.

XVI. In *Arabia*, the rebel *Sheikh Emir Mahomet* is defeated by the Pilgrims guarded by *Arslan Pasha* Governor of *Tripoli*, with some troops, and his followers are put to flight; thus that intestine and dangerous wound of the *Othman* empire is healed, though but for a time.

The rebel *Arabs*, attacking the Caravan going to *Mecca*, are defeated

XVII. Sultan *Mustapha* considering these victories as fortunate omens of his reign, upon his return to *Adrianople*, solemnizes them with great pomp, and appoints *Medzomorto*, by whose conduct he had recovered *Chios*, Admiral, and rewards the rest, who had distinguished themselves in this campain, by suitable honours and posts

The Sultan triumphs on account of victories, and gives *Medzomorto* the command of the fleet

XVIII Having afterwards issued out his commands through the whole empire for raising a more numerous army, the *Turks*, animated by their late successes, list themselves voluntarily in great numbers But before he had made the necessary preparations for the campain, *Frederic Augustus*, Elector of *Saxony*, at the end of the year 1107, with the Imperial army besieges *Temiswaare*. The Sultan hearing of this, immediately leads his army over the *Danube*, with a resolution either to relieve the city, or force the *Germans* to a battle.

Frederic the Emperor's general besieges *Temiswaare*. The Sultan marches to its relief

H. 110[7]. A. C. 16[95]

XIX The *Germans*, on the approach of the Sultan, abandon the siege, rather resolved upon, than begun, and encamp in a proper place, about eight hours distance from the city, where they are determined to wait for the *Turks*.

The Imperialists abandon the siege of *Temiswaare*

XX The *Turkish* forces soon after come up, and pitch their tents in sight of the enemy, though beyond cannon shot, and by the advice of *Tekeli*, who attended upon the Sultan, fortify their camp with strong ramparts, and wide and deep trenches, a method unusual with the *Turks*. The first day is spent within the camp in consultations, without, in skirmishes between the *Hungarian* light-armed troops, and the *Turkish* advanced guards. The night at last restraining the fury of both, and each party returning to their camp, the Imperial general resolves upon a bold attempt, which would have been very glorious, if crowned with success. There lay between the camps a place full of briars, surrounded with a marshy ground, scarce an *Italian* mile broad, but so thick, that a person unarmed could not pass through it. Here, he orders in the night, four and twenty different paths to be secretly cut, and at day-break, the army, with as many cannon, to pass through, and attack the *Turkish* ramparts. The soldiers execute these orders with great bravery, and having discharged their cannon three or four times, make a vigorous assault upon the Sultan's camp But unfortunately for the *Christians*, they happened upon the strongest part of the camp, where the Janizaries and *Mysirli* were placed. They penetrate indeed their trenches, where they kill a great number of the Janizaries and *Egyptians*, and by their first onset, strike such a terror into the whole army, that the Sultan himself left his tent, and retired to the farthest part of the camp; but soon after, they are overpowered by the *Turkish* troops, and repulsed with great loss

A [...] with [...] attack upon the *Turkish* camp

XXI This victory was chiefly gained by the bravery of the Vizir *Elmas Mahomet Pasha* For when the army was thrown into the utmost confusion by the sudden irruption of the *Germans*, he first with his men stopped the foremost of the *Germans*; now pressing to the Sultan's pavilions, and by his example, incouraged the Janizaries, upon which, the *Germans*, finding themselves incapable of sustaining the fury of the *Turks*, were obliged to return to their own camp, with the loss of many of their men, and the twenty four cannon they had brought When the *Germans* had begun to give way, they were entirely routed by three thousand *Bostanji* (11), who were advanced to the assistance

The Viz[ir's] bravery in battle

Annotations.

(11) *Bostanji*] The first *Turkish* Emperors, who made it their chief study to have an army inured to labour, and accustomed to hardships, instituted this order, with this view chiefly, that while they exercised themselves in the culture of gardens, they might be accustomed to heat, and cold, and other injuries of the air, and so become fitter to bear the fatigues of war. From these *Bostanji* were chosen the *Azapli*, or the *furious*, who were the lowest kind of soldiery among the *Turks*, and out of them the

assistance of the Janizaries, and who, though designed only for the Sultan's guard, and never employed before in any other military service, yet were sent to this danger by *Mustapha*, and ordered to assist the rest of the army. However the *Germans* did not fall unrevenged. For there were slain in this battle, besides *Mustapha Pasha*, Governor of *Temiswarе*, the Vizir's brother, and many other *Turkish* officers of the first rank, with several thousands of Janizaries and *Egyptians*. Of the *Germans*, those only were killed, whom the Janizaries had found within the trenches.

...armies ...to their ...r-quar-

XXII. The rest of the Imperial army, that they might not publickly own themselves conquered, stand the whole day in order of battle, and immoveably wait the approach of the *Turks*. But the Sultan, who was particularly careful to animate his soldiers with the name of victory, not thinking proper to try again the hazard of a battle, orders the Mufti, by his *Fetvah*, to prohibit any farther engagement, and a few days after, marching his army towards the East, puts an end to the campaign. The *Germans*, though very near, would not venture to interrupt the retreat of the *Turks*, imagining they had done enough in guarding their own borders, since the *French* war, in which they were involved, would not suffer them to extend their conquests.

...leath of *Sobieski* ...f *Poland*.

XXIII. The *Poles*, besides their usual slowness, have a new pretence for delaying their campaign this year, on account of the death of their king *John Sobieski*, who being exhausted by a long indisposition, died on the 17th of the month *Zylcade* †, in the year 1107. For being employed in the cabals which always attend the election of a king of that nation, they had not leisure to think of raising an army, much less of making a campain.

...e 6 1107 1696.

...Czar of ...takes

XXIV. While the *Poles* continue inactive, *Peter* Czar of *Russia*, having sent for persons skilled in the arts of war and gunnery, from *Germany*, marches again with a larger and better disciplined army to *Azac*, and assaults the walls with such vigour, that the garrison, of which the *Russian* sword had left but four hundred, on the 18th of the month *Zilhije* †, surrendered the castle. Their example is soon followed by the garrison of *Luttich*, opposite to *Azac*, who deliver up that castle to the Czar upon terms.

...y 6

...*enetians* ...liged to ...on the ...of *Dul*-

XXV. In the mean time the *Venetians* besiege *Dulcineum*, a port famous for being the receptacle of the *Turkish* pyrates, but though they had bravely repulsed *Omerbeg* Basha of *Arnaud* from their trenches, they are obliged by the valour of the garrison to raise the siege, and probably they would have received a notable defeat, the Seraskier marching against them with his whole force, if *Liberaki*, who had been appointed by the *Turks* Prince of *Mania*, had not drawn his countrymen by a stratagem to a revolt from the *Othman* Port. For the Seraskier perceiving his forces by this means weakened, and the enemy strengthened, chose rather to retreat, than commit the safety of all *Greece* to the hazard of a battle. The *Venetians* on the other hand content with defending their former acquisitions, proceed no further, but apply themselves to repair *Hexamilon* in order to secure the *Morea*.

...morto ...tes the ...s fleet.

XXVI. At sea *Medzomorto Capudan Pasha* regulates the fleet agreeably to the maxims of the naval science, in a manner before unknown to the *Turks*, avoids the battles, in which his predecessors used to engage without regard to the wind or situation; and perpetually watches the motions of the *Venetian* fleet. The *Venetians* do the same, and struck with admiration at the conduct of the *Ca-*

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the Janizaries, this being the direct step to that order: But now, when the militia of Janizaries is easily made up out of their own sons, and such as willingly inlist themselves, the antient manner of chusing them ...of the *Bostanji* is laid aside; and they are ...no other employment, but to guard ...'s palace, to dress his gardens, and to row his barge. They have a commander named *Bostanji bashi*, whose dignity and office I have before explained. It never happened but this once, under Sultan *Mustapha* II, that they were used as soldiers, to repel the assault of the *Germans*, when attacking the *Turkish* camp.

pudan,

pudan, dare not hazard an engagement; so that one observing the others designs, they perform nothing memorable the whole year.

XXVII. The months proper for military expeditions being passed, *Mustapha* leads back his army to *Adrianople*, and disbanding his forces removes to *Constantinople*, where he enters with such pomp, that if you had considered the magnificence only, you would have imagined his victories had been much superior to those of the conquerors of *Constantinople*, *Hungary*, and *Egypt*. The greatest ornament of this triumph was, the twenty four cannon taken from the *Germans* this campain, which led the way, and were followed by several noble captives taken in the former battle against *Veterani*.

The Sultan returns in triumph to Constantinople

XXVIII. On the third day after this publick entry, the Sultan visits the monument of *Ebi Eyub ensari* with great appearance of devotion, and agreeably to the custom of the *Turkish* Sultans is girt with a sword by the *Sheik* of that *Jami*. These ceremonies being finished, he applies himself wholly to warlike preparations by land and sea with the utmost expedition, orders six and thirty large ships of war to be built, designing part of them against the *Venetians*, and part against the *Russians*, (who since the taking of *Azac* had begun to build a fleet in the *Euxine*-sea) with a great number of galleys and galliots; honours *Medzomorto* the admiral, habited in a mariner's dress, with three *Tugs*, and gives him the command of the whole sea and all the islands, and also confers handsome rewards upon the rest of the sea officers, who had distinguished themselves in former expeditions. For the supply of his army he inrolls twelve thousand *Yamagy* Janizaries (12) and eight thousand *Levendi* (13); exercises both the soldiers and courtiers every day in *Kiagizchane* (14) in the use of muskets, cannon, mortar pieces, darts, jirids, and other arms common among the *Turks*; and having published a *Ferman*, orders the whole strength of the Empire to be assembled at *Adrianople* about *Hedrelez* †. Thus *Constantinople*, which under the preceding Sultans regarded nothing but pleasure, and seemed in the midst of war to be dissolved in luxury, under *Mustapha*'s administration resounds nothing but arms, and not only presages, but even promises itself future conquests from what were already gained.

The Sultan girt with a sword, and orders great preparations of war to be made

† St George's day.

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(12) *Yamagy* Janizaries] This is the name given to those men that are newly listed among the Janizaries, to make up their number, or that are taken into that order out of other cohorts and it is most commonly done, when they are sent to garrison a town newly taken For in that case, if there is occasion, for instance, for six thousand men, not above two or three *Oda's* from the *Ojak* are sent, and as they do not amount to above three thousand, the other three thousand taken from the *Jebeji's* or other new soldiers, under the title of *Yengicheri* imagy*.

(13) *Levendi*] This name, which is a corruption of some *Italian* word, denotes the marine forces, consisting of very disorderly men, hardly obedient to their commanders. Formerly they were very unskilful, but having been brought under some regulation by *Medzomorto*, they seem to have lost some of their fierceness and barbarity. The usual number of them in time of peace is fourteen thousand; but in case of a war with the *Venetians*, or upon some other occasion, there are new ones raised for six months; as many as the Sultan pleases, who have an allowance each of twenty five dolars for those six months. There are admitted among them *Greeks* and other *Christians*, which is not allowed in any other branch of the *Turkish* militia.

(14) *Kiagizchane*] The *Paper-shop*, or *house*, a very pleasant place, not far from the suburbs *Eyub*, near a river of the same name, that runs into the inner port; so called, because there formerly stood paper-mills. But those being demolished, a foundary was built in their room, where are cast mortars, balls, and other kinds of ammunition. The river that waters that place, has in the bottom of it mud, very good to make bricks and tyles, and in such plenty, that it hath afforded materials for the many buildings that have been for so many ages erected in *Constantinople*. It is encompassed with very large and fine meadows, in which the Sultan's horses are turned out to grass in the spring, about St. *George's* day, which is also a holiday among the *Turks*, being called by them *Hedrelez*.

XXIX. The

XXIX. The Sultan relying on this confidence, though informed that the *French* had concluded the war with the Emperor, rejects the peace offered by the *Dutch* and *English* ambassadors, boasting he was alone, without the assistance of the *French*, able not only to repress, but subdue the Emperor.

XXX. At the approach therefore of that pleasant season, which usually invites the soldiers into the field, he departs from *Constantinople* with the same magnificence, with which he had entered it, and marches through *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade*. There he again musters his army, and finds, that besides the families and servants of the Bashas, (a very great number of which always attend a *Turkish* camp,) and a multitude of other useless persons, he had an hundred and thirty five thousand men in the military list.

XXXI. To this strong army the Emperor had only opposed forty six thousand *Germans* under the command of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, with orders not to attack the *Turks*, or engage in a battle without compulsion, and only to guard *Peterwaradin* and the other fortresses of *Hungary* situated upon the *Danube*.

XXXII. The *Turks* having extorted the intelligence of this from the prisoners by torture, a private consultation is held first at *Belgrade* between the Vizir and principal Bashas, and afterwards a *Galibe Divan* in the presence of the Sultan. Here it is determined to leave the *Save* on the right, and to pass the *Danube* below *Belgrade*, and avoiding the *Germans*, who were encamped near *Segedin*, to penetrate with the army into *Transylvania*. This advice was suggested by *Tekeli*, who was present in the *Turkish* camp, and perswaded the Sultan and great officers, that it would be easy to reduce *Transylvania*, both because the *Hungarian* rebels, who were now assembled from several parts, to the number of fifty thousand, offered to join their troops, and because the Emperor's General had sent for most of the garrisons in *Transylvania* to reinforce his army, and left the cities almost empty, and destitute of defence.

XXXIII. The Sultan approving this advice, and passing the *Danube*, orders his army to move towards *Temiswar*, but in his second day's march hearing the *Germans* were advanced to *Titul*, he again calls a *Galibe Divan*, and enquires whether it was proper to pursue the resolution of the former Council to invade *Transylvania*, and leave the enemy behind, or to march against the enemy, and engage them in open field, wherever they should be found. The former opinion seemed to the majority very hazardous in the present state of affairs, since there was reason to apprehend, that while the *Othman* forces were engaged in *Transylvania*, the *Germans* would besiege *Belgrade*, and take that city, though strongly fortified and garrisoned, if no relief could be brought. The Vizir urged this particularly, and observed, that the *Othman* troops could not without extreme danger make any attempt, till the enemy's army was defeated. On the other hand, if the *Germans* were once driven out of the field, all *Hungary* would lie open to the *Turkish* arms. This advice being recommended to the Sultan by the authority of the giver, they unanimously resolve to attack the enemy; for which purpose the Sultan not only marches his land forces towards *Titul*, but orders his fleet in the *Danube* with his ships of burthen to sail as far as the *Tibiscus* †. In the mean time the *Germans* perceiving the approach of the *Turks* from the high mountain, on which *Titul* stands, though their army consisted of but six thousand horse, determine bravely to resist, and not sell the passage of the *Tibiscus* to the enemy without blood.

XXXIV. For this purpose the Imperialists fortify the banks of the *Tibiscus*, extending in a plain under the castle with ramparts and cannon, and resolutely show themselves to the enemy in the rear from an eminence. The Sultan soon after approaches, and seeing so small a body as it were provoking him to battle, orders several Bashas to pass the river in open boats, (which the *Turks* use to carry with them in waggons for the forming of a bridge,) and to animate his men, promises fifty gold crowns for every *German* taken alive, and twenty five for the head of every *Christian*. They obey with great alacrity, not knowing the banks were fortified by the *Germans*, pass over without any order. The *Germans* are quiet at first, but when they see several thousand *Turks* had passed,

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and the enemy's number to increase, they discharge their cannon upon the thickest of them, and mounting their ramparts, attack them sword in hand. The unexpected noise of the cannon had now struck the Janizaries with such terror, that forgetting they were soldiers, like women they thought of nothing but flight, by which however they could not prevent the slaughter of three thousand of their companions, nor would one have escaped, but that by good fortune the fleet came up just at the very time, and seized the island in the middle of the *Tibiscus*, by which means the Janizaries first pass over from the lower part of the river, and march in a body against the *German* ramparts. A second but lighter engagement ensues. For the *Germans* seeing the Janizaries continually increase, and that there was reason to fear, if they persisted to defend the place of battle, they might at last be overpowered with numbers, abandon their ramparts, and retire first to the city, and afterwards, mounting their horses, to *Cobila* (15). Some hundreds of the *Haiduks* make a little longer stay in the castle, but in the evening setting fire to it, follow their companions. After the *Germans* were gone, the Sultan with the rest of his forces passes the *Tibiscus*, and in his march the Vizir, to remove the remembrance of the defeat, exposes the dead bodies of about three hundred *Germans*, having before buried those of the *Turks*.

The third consultation, in which the Sultan resolves to besiege *Waradin*

XXXV. Without staying long there, he marches the same way, where the *Germans* had joined each other, and finding in the plain of *Cobila* the bridge left intire by the *Germans*, (whether through design or haste is uncertain) he turns his army towards the *Danube*, and stops at the lower part of the island formed by the *Ister* opposite to *Peterwaradin*. Here is held a third consultation, in which it is determined immediately to run a bridge over the *Danube*, and besiege *Peterwaradin*, which might be done in two days, and before the Imperialists could march thither from *Segedin*.

Slight skirmishes during the building of the bridge

XXXVI The inhabitants of that city had indeed a bridge intire in the lower part of the island, but so strongly guarded, that the *Turkish* army could not come near, much less pass over it without great loss. Upon this account they vigorously begin a new bridge, and would have finished it the second day, if some of the garrison of *Peterwaradin*, who had concealed themselves in that island with four cannon, had not thrown an unexpected obstacle in their way. For when they saw the *Turks* near the bank, they discharge their cannon upon them, piercing several boats, upon which the bridge was founded, and though upon the coming of the *Turkish* fleet, they are soon obliged to abandon the island, yet they prevent the *Turks* from finishing their work till the third day, and by that means occasioned them to lose the victory, which seemed already to be in their hands.

Prince *Eugen* with great hazard comes to the relief of *Peterwaradin*.

XXXVII. For on that day Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who immediately on notice of the march of the *Turks*, had prepared for the relief of *Peterwaradin*, and left *Segedin*, with great expedition, arrived at sun set, and passing by the camp of the enemy, hastens towards the head of the bridge. *Shabbaz Gierai* Sultan (16), son of *Selim Gierai* Chan of the *Tartars* (17), had attempted indeed to

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(15) *Cobila*] So the *Turks* call that large plain, which reaches from the Town of *Titul*, between the *Danube* and the *Tibiscus* to *Segedin* and *Peterwaradin*

(16) *Shabbaz Gierai*] He was afterwards, upon the death of his father, *Selim Gierai*, advanced to the dignity of Chan, under *Ahmed* III Sultan of the *Turks*; but shortly after preparing to make war against the *Chercassians**, he was surprized by them in an ambuscade, and slain Of which I have given an account in (Part I.)

(17) of the *Tartars*] It will not be improper to relate here a remarkable instance of dexterity and nimbleness performed then by the *Tartars*. Both armies stood opposite to one another near *Peterwaradin*, and neither of them could be informed of the others number, nor had they been able to take any prisoner on either side. In this exigency, Sultan *Mustapha* writes a civil letter to *Shabbaz Gierai*, desiring him to take, some way or other, if it was but one *German* soldier, prisoner, by whom he might

to stop his swift progress, and with twelve thousand *Tartars* had burnt up all the grass far and near; but these obstacles could not repress the ardor of the *Germans*, though they met with no lake, spring, river, or field for the space of nine hours.

The fourth consultation of the Turks.

XXXVIII. This unexpected arrival of the *German* army obliges the *Turkish* officers to consult again, whether it was proper to attack the *Germans* in such an open plain, before they had fortified their camp, or to wait till they should assault the *Othmans* in their trenches.

The advice of the young Vizir worthy a man of years.

XXXIX. The Prime Vizir endeavours to the utmost of his power to perswade the Sultan to the former opinion, alledging, it was not for the honour of the *Othmans* to suffer the enemy, who was so near, to escape without trying the fortune of a battle, since the Musulman forces were not brought into the enemy's country, merely to shew themselves to their enemies, and then retire, but to gain the lawrels promised by the prophet, and recover the provinces unjustly seized by the infidels. That God, by inspiring the soldiers with an impatience for battle scarce to be restrained, sufficiently declared, that now was the time to defeat the enemy; and if this ardor should be repressed, and the army, eager to fight, be prevented, it was to be feared, this excessive caution would throw the whole army into a pernicious languor, or excite in them thoughts of sedition for want of other employment.

It is disapproved of by the rest.

XL. This opinion of the Vizir is boldly opposed by *Coja Jafer Pasha*, a veteran soldier, who had been present in almost all the battles of the *Turks* with the *Germans*, from whence he had acquired a great experience in war. He vehemently contended, that the army might not be led into the field against the *Germans*, urging, he had observed, that the *Germans*, as often as they had fought in an open plain, in which they could at pleasure open their front, advance or retire, had always gained the victory. That they had never before brought so great an army into the field as at present, and formerly had defeated the *Othman* troops, though much superior in number, when opposing them in the manner prescribed by the Vizir. That they were now commanded by a prudent general of approved valour and conduct in war, who, as he imagined, would not provoke the *Turks* to a battle, unless he had placed his own troops to such advantage, as to be in a manner sure of victory. Almost all the Pashas inclining to this opinion, the Vizir, that *Jafer's* authority might not prevail over his, uses all his efforts to engage the Sultan on his side, stiling *Jafer Pasha* an infidel and traytor, who gave such advice concerning the *Othman* affairs, as if he was bribed by the enemy to prevent all wholsom counsels, which should be suggested to the Sultan. *Jafer Pasha* seeing the Vizir's obstinacy could not be surmounted any other way, desires the Sultan to remove the curtain (18), and hear in person what he should speak for the advantage of the *Othman* interest. This being granted, *Jafer* says, " But if, Brother, you have gained such

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might be informed of the state of the enemy's army. This seemed indeed difficult, and almost impossible, because the *German* army stood then in order of battle, and to make any attempt against it, would have been running one's head against a wall of brass, and writing upon it a memorial of rashness in bloody characters. The *Tartarian* Prince however willing to comply with the Sultan's desire, calls a council, and orders four hundred chosen men, who willingly undertook to go round the *German* camp, and to bring away some of the enemies, either from among the baggage or the carriages. These dividing themselves into several bodies, attack the *German* army, but not without losing many of their men, and would have been obliged to return without success, had not three brothers, who had desired to be of the party, though against their father's will, attacked the rear of the *German* wing, with so much dexterity, as to take a man from the midst of his companions, and carry him away bound.

(18) curtain] When, upon an expedition, a Council is called by the *Turks*, to which they give the name of *Galibe Divan*, the Sultan sits indeed in it, but in a particular place, with a *Perde*, that is a curtain drawn before him, where he can hear all that is said, without being seen.

" high

" high favour with God, that he inspires you with counsels, and assures you of
" the events, you cannot blame me for not knowing or believing it. But if it
" shall please his Majesty, let him order me to be bound here, and kept in
" irons, and you to attack the enemy in the manner you think proper. If, with-
" in an hour or two, you do not betake yourselves to a shameful flight, I will
" submit to suffer as a stinking dog, whatever punishment his Majesty pleases to
" inflict upon me. But if (which God forbid) my prediction shall be fulfilled,
" may you give an account of your imprudence to God and the Sultan. But
" whatever shall happen to myself, I still adhere to my former opinion, and with
" due fidelity to the *Othman* empire, advise not to engage the enemy in open
" battle, but only to fortify our trenches, and sustain their attacks with our can-
" non and soldiers. By this means, though God should not favour us with vic-
" tory, I can certainly promise, we shall not be defeated. But if, passing by us,
" they shall advance to the head of the bridge, I am of opinion, we ought not to
" march against them openly, but surround them with ramparts For thus they
" will be obliged, by want of provisions, to leave their camp, and attack us in
" our works, or pass the *Danube*, and so give us an opportunity of falling upon
" them in their passage, without any hazard."

By the adv of *Jafer P sha*, the cou cil and batt are deferred till next day

XLI. The Sultan, though he approved of *Jafer*'s advice, yet adjourns the council till the next day, in order to further deliberation, but commands his men to keep in their trenches, and those, who of their own accord, had already taken the field, to be beaten back by the *Chaushis** (19). This not being sufficient to restrain the ardor of the soldiers, impatient for a battle, the Mufti proclaims by a *Fetvah*, that whoever should fall in that battle, would not only lose the expected crown of *Shehadet*, but also eternally lament their unseasonable boldness in hell.

The Vizir en deavours by means to p swade the S tan to a bat

XLII Mean while, Prince *Eugene* had advanced as far as the bridge, and having refreshed his soldiers, almost dead with thirst and heat, with the waters of the *Danube*, had drawn them up, in which posture remaining all night, the *Turkish* camp is seized with great terror, the soldiers, who were restrained from fighting, thinking it to proceed from their general's fear, and to be the worst of omens to the *Othman* affairs The Vizir perceiving this, and having got a proper occasion of exposing *Jafer Pasha*, informs the Sultan of the speech and commotions of the soldiers, and makes use of them as an argument how prejudicial the Basha's too great caution had been to the *Othman* interest, and how fatal it would prove, unless immediately obviated. For that there was no hope, that the enemy could be deprived of forage and provisions, since they had the *Danube* open, and were masters of all the towns above them, from whence they might be plentifully supplied. That in the mean while, time was lost, so large an army languished in a fruitless idleness, the treasure was exhausted, and the enemy every day strengthned.

or to besie *Segedin*, wl is approve by the Sul

XLIII Since his Majesty therefore would not engage the enemy in the field, he advised to leave them behind, and march towards the *Tibiscus*, and besiege *Segedin*, since he certainly knew, that this city was not so strongly fortified nor garrisoned, as to be able to hold out against the *Othman* army ten days. That when this town was subdued or destroyed by fire, the whole country between the *Tibiscus* and the *Danube* would be reduced to the *Turkish* obedience, and the neighbouring countries of *Hungary* might be laid waste by the *Tartars* and

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(19) by the *Chaushis**] There are two sorts of *Chaushi** among the *Turks*. Some, who, in time of peace are employed at *Constantinople* in the Vizir's Divan, to receive the petitions of the plaintiffs, to carry the Vizir's orders to the Judge, and to put his sentence in execution. The others, called *Alai Chaushi*, are made in time of war, and their office is much the same as that of *Aides de Camp*, in regular troops. The business of these is to carry, in a battle, the Vizir's orders to the Basha's, to take care that the horse stand in a strait line, to give the signal of battle, to sound the retreat, and the like, in which they are not half so dextrous as the regular *Aides de Camp*.

[illegible]med soldiers. That the *German* army was heavy and so fatigued as not to be [ab]le to follow, much less pursue the *Turkish* troops; and he could not imagine, [th]at if *Segedin* was once besieged, the *German* general would shut up his forces in such a place, where, if any accident should happen, they must perish for want of sustenance. That they might indeed besiege *Belgrade*, but there was a garrison of eighteen thousand men in that city, and a stock of provisions sufficient for three years. Besides, the *Othman* army and fleet were near, and if there should be any urgent occasion, though the enemy should cut off all other passages, supplies might be thrown in by the fleet. That nothing more was required for the security of that city, but the removal of the governor *Amucje ogli Hussein Pasha*, an infirm and weak man, and the placing in his room, *Coja Jafer Pasha*, whose abilities in the defence of cities, sufficiently appeared in the siege of *Temiswaare*. The Vizir suggested this change to the Sultan with this particular view, that he might recover his authority in the army, and remove *Jafer Pasha* from about the Sultan, and afterwards take occasion to put him to death, and by his example, warn the other Bashas not to oppose him too warmly for the future. But the Sultan suspecting the Vizir's design against *Jafer Pasha*, approves of his advice relating to the siege of *Segedin*, but orders *Jafer Pasha* to continue in the camp, since his counsels would be of more use in the army, than in the cities.

The Sultan marches towards *Segedin*

XLIV. On the morrow therefore, which was the 5th of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, at day-break, he commands the drums and trumpets to give the signal, and marches the Janizaries and the rest of his forces the same way, by which the *Germans* had come, toward the *Tibiscus*, and on the first day, having performed nine hours march, pitches his camp near a lake, where the *Germans* had likewise encamped, but allows these troops, who were desirous of proceeding further, the liberty of doing so. On the second day, having left *Kiuchuk* Jafer Pasha* (20) at the bridge over the lake with five hundred chosen horse, he goes on before day to *Zenta*, a castle, little known before, on the banks of the *Tibiscus*, with such expedition, that he seemed to fly, rather than march

Prince *Eugene* follows the *Turks* with great resolution

XLV. Prince *Eugene*, the *German* General, hearing the *Tubulchana*, and imagining the signal to be given, and the *Turkish* army drawn up, had, in the mean while marshalled his forces, and waited without motion for the enemy till noon, but being informed by the *Hungarian* scouts, that the *Turks* had decamped, and were marching to *Zenta*, taking this to be a flight, he orders the *Hungarian* horse to march before, and leaving behind, the heavier and weaker part of his army, with only sixteen thousand men, immediately follows the *Hungarians*, with more courage than prudence.

The *Hungarian* light-armed troops take *Jafer Pasha*.

XLVI. The *Hungarians* that night first lighting upon *Kiuchuk* Jafer*, left to guard the bridge over the lake, find the *Turks* sleeping, and expecting nothing less than the enemy, surround and cut them off, so that of the whole party, only the Pasha's chamberlain escaped by means of the darkness, who immediately flies to the *Turkish* camp, which had already reached *Zenta*, and informs the Vizir that the *German* army was very near, and had destroyed his master, with all the troops under his command.

The Vizir makes a false representation to the Sultan

XLVII. The Vizir, to prevent the report of this misfortune from raising new commotions in the camp, immediately beheads the person, who brought the news, and signifies to the Sultan, that the *Hungarian* horse in the Emperor's service had appeared in the rear, and surprised *Jafer Pasha*, but were afterwards defeated by the *Tartars* and other *Othman* forces. He had scarce told the Sultan this,

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(20) *Kiuchuk* Jafer*] A different person [fr]om the above-mentioned *Coja Jafer Pa[sha]*, who was afterwards slain at the battle [of] *Zenta*. Being taken by the *Germans*, [he sin]cerely gave them an account of the [state of] the whole *Othman* army, and for that piece of treachery was set at liberty after the battle, without ransom. When he returned to the Sultan, he not only received no punishment for his treachery, but was restored to his former dignity; However, he died the next year.

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when several troops of *Tartars*, which had accidentally seen the *Hungarian* horse, come, and report in the camp, that the whole *German* army were pursuing the *Othman* forces with the utmost speed, and were now very near.

XLVIII Whereupon the Sultan commands his men immediately to halt, and those, who were marched before towards *Segedin*, to return, and a bridge as soon as possible to be run over the *Tibiscus*, which was done in four hours, the boats brought in waggons, and by the *Turks* called *Dumbæ*, serving for the foundation. About noon, the Sultan passes over first himself on horseback, whose stirrup, when the Vizir came according to custom to kiss, he is refused by him with a stern countenance; and commanded to take care that the cannon and the whole camp be conveyed safely over, for if the enemy should take but a single waggon, he should for it suffer an infamous death.

The Sultan being informed by the Tartars that the enemy was pursuing him, passes the *Tibiscus* in great terror.

XLIX. The Vizir knowing that every thing could scarce be conveyed over in two days, and perceiving his ruin inevitable, if he should ever appear before the Sultan, at first sends over eight cannon with their ammunition, that he might not seem openly to neglect the Sultan's command, but afterwards stops the rest, allowing the Spahis and Bashas troops to pass, alledging, that the cannon and best part of the army ought to be detained, in order to defend the camp, if the enemy should attack it in the rear. These therefore continue to pass all night and the next day till dinner-time.

The Vizir contrary to the Sultan's intention, consults about fighting the enemy.

L. About noon the Vizir is informed that the *Germans* were advancing, and but three hours distant from the camp, upon which, that he might not perish without his rivals, he sends for all the Bashas, who had already passed over with their troops, under pretence of consulting with them, they, being obliged to obey the Vizir's order, return on foot with only three *Chocadars**, the baggage on the bridge not allowing a passage for the horse. The Vizir seeing them all assembled, except the *Caimacan, Buyukli Mustapha Pasha*, says to them, " The " enemies, brethren, are advancing, and are now in sight We who refused to " fight when we had a convenient place and opportunity, shall now be forced to " do it without those advantages. We have but one happiness left us, the pro- " fession of the *Mahometan* religion, which declares us *Gazi*, if we conquer, " and *Shehid*, if we die valiantly fighting, privileges of inestimable value! Now " as one of these waits for me this day, I thought it unreasonable to defraud " you, my brethren and fellow-soldiers, of such a felicity Behold therefore " Paradise open before you, which I command you by the divine injunction to " enter, and enjoy the delights promised by our prophet. But if you refuse to obey " the law and my orders, my sword (which he shewed) shall deprive you both " of the life, which you desire, and the Paradise, which you despise."

By an artful speech he convinces the other Bashas with him to the *Germans*

LI. All the Bashas, since they durst not in the middle of the camp oppose the Vizir, nor could find any method of escape, pretend consent and obedience, and retire to their stations in the trenches; where perceiving the circuit of them too extensive to be conveniently defended by the forces which remained, they begin to form a lesser trench within the greater, the soldiers indeed complaining and reproaching the Vizir to his face with their imminent danger, but obeying his orders, since their own safety was concerned. While they are thus employed, the *German* army appears, which the Sultan seeing approach, and cover the whole plain, is inraged, and sending frequent *Chatisherifs** to the Vizir, commands him instantly to send over the Janizaries, cannon, and ammunition, and not delay, though all the other carriages should be taken by the enemy. But the Vizir conceals these orders from the Bashas, and answers the bearer, he had rather die fighting valiantly, with his drawn sword, than be shamefully put to death by the Sultan, and stops the Janizaries from passing The Vizir is assisted in this by the negligence of the herdsmen, who seeing the *Germans* advancing, drive at the same time all the cattle, appointed for drawing so many thousand waggons, into the river above the bridge, by which the waters being intercepted, force the cattle against the bridge, which the fearful animals endeavouring to mount, sink three of the boats, and thus overset the foundation, so that but one man, and that with difficulty, could pass upon planks laid across

The Bashas and soldiers murmur, but are obliged to obey

The Imperialists advancing, fall directly upon the Turks.

LII. The infantry of the Vizir being thus separated from the Sultan, the German forces arrive about three hours before night, and without viewing the fortifications of the *Turkish* camp, imagining it only guarded by the carriages, fall directly upon the *Turks*, but are repulsed with considerable loss. The *Germans* perceiving the camp, contrary to their expectation, fortified by a double trench, and two rows of waggons chained together, and that the *Turks* on this side the river were much superior to them in number, desist from their assault, and resolve to attack the enemy another way.

But this method being found dangerous, they try another.

LIII. The western banks of the *Tibiscus* are high and scraggy, the space between which, when the river is swoln by the autumnal or winter rains, is full of water, which in the summer subsides, and leave a sandy piece of ground of thirty paces. Prince *Eugene* orders a trench to be dug here a little below the *Turkish* camp, and several regiments to pass that way, and fall upon the *Turks* within, while he attacked them without. And lest the Sultan should repair the bridge, and send supplies to his army, he plants two cannon near the head of the bridge, and quickly demolishes it. The Sultan likewise places four of the eight cannon, which the Vizir had sent over before the battle, on the bank, and orders *Arnaud Abdi Ktebaya* (21) to fire upon the enemy, but with such confusion, that he had no trench to secure him, and imagined a place covered with reeds, which was before him, would sufficiently protect him from the enemy. But the *Germans* observing from whence the *Turks* fired, immediately plant their cannon against them, after the bridge was destroyed, kill several of the engineers, and wounding others, oblige the *Turks* after one discharge to remove their cannon.

The Janizaries kill the Vizir and the rest of the Bashas.

LIV. And indeed every thing seemed to conspire the destruction of the *Turks*, for the Janizaries themselves having repulsed the enemy from the outer trench, retire into the inner, which though not finished, they had carried in some measure from one bank to the other, and declare their resolution to defend it. The Vizir, with the rest of the Bashas, endeavoring to divert them from their purpose, first by entreaties, and afterwards by force, their despair turning into rage, they fall upon their own friends, and destroy all their officers, Vizirs, and Bashas, and spare none but their Aga, *Deli Balta ogli*.

The Imperialists storm the camp of the *Turks*, and cut them off to a man.

LV. In the midst of these contests, part of the *German* army seize the outer trench, abandoned by the *Turks*, and feign to attack the inner, only with intent to draw the enemy from that side of the camp, which lay towards the river, and by disposing their own men on the bank, render the assault more easy. These appearing suddenly at the head of the bridge, the *Turkish* forces are struck with great terror, and employ their whole strength in that part, in order to prevent the *Germans* from entring. While both sides fight here with equal resolution, the party of *Germans*, which was come from the plain, seize the inner trench, which was negligently guarded, and fall in the rear upon the enemy, fighting at the river. The *Turks*, inclosed and pressed on all sides, fight bravely, though in confusion, and at last, having in vain attempted a passage for escaping, in the space of three hours, are all slain to a man.

The battle bloody on both sides

LVI. However, they did not fall unrevenged; for six thousand of the *Germans* are said to have perished in that expedition: On the other hand, of the *Turks* were

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(21) *Arnaud abdi*] This man was an *Albaman* by birth, and upon that account, had the name of *Arnaud* given him. He was inferior to none of the *Turks* in courage and political knowledge. From a *Chaush* bashi*, he was raised by *Elmas Mehemed Pasha*, to the dignity of *Ktebaia*; and, after the battle of *Zenta*, that the remains of the army might not disperse themselves for want of a commander, and fall into the enemies hands, all the rest of the Basha's having been slain, he was honoured by the Sultan himself with three *Tugs* near *Temisware*, and ordered to conduct the forces to *Belgrade* and as the manner of having the honour conferred upon him, was such as had never happened before to any other Basha (for all the Bashas are created, not by the Sultan himself, but by the Vizir, from whom also they receive the badges of their authority) he obtained upon that account, the name of *Padisha chiragy**. I hear he is still alive, and enjoys the Pashalic of *Mysr* or *Egypt*.

 slain,

slain, as appeared by the lists, fourteen thousand and seventy Janizaries, with their Aga, *Deli Balta ogli* (22), seventy three *Ojak* and *Baluk Agalari*, three thousand seven hundred *Topchi's** and *Jebeji's*, seven thousand *Arnaudi* (23), the Vizir *Elmas Mahomet Pasha* himself, fifteen Bashas honoured with three Horse-tails, the most eminent of whom were *Coja Jafer Pasha, Mysirli ogli*, famous for the taking of *Chios*, *Kiose Halil* Basha of *Diarbekir*, *Fazli* Pasha of *Shercu-li* (24), twenty seven Bashas, honoured with two or one Horse-tail, besides a great number of the usual attendants upon the *Turkish* camps, so that the whole number of slain may be justly computed (25) at above thirty thousand.

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(22) *Deli Balti ogli*] His father was *Janizar-aga*, and he arrived himself to the same dignity, after having passed through the several posts in the army: at last he was, for the sake of his virtues, honoured by the Sultan with three *Tugs*, though the Vizir, the common enemy of all good and great men, murmured at it. For the *Janizar-aga* has commonly but two horse tails, and if any one has three granted him, it is looked upon, as done in prejudice to the Vizir. The sirname of *Deli*, or the *Mad*, was given him on account of his excessive boldness, because he rushed like a madman into all dangers.

(23) *Arnaudi*] Ever since the suppression of the rebellion of *Iskenderbeg* in *Albania*, when almost all the inhabitants of that country were compelled by Sultan *Murad* II, to embrace *Mahometism*, the Sultan have always kept some thousands of them in their camps. They are reckoned, and really are, the bravest and boldest of all men in war, and rush upon the enemies with no less resolution, and much more discretion than the Janizaries and though they are under no regulation, yet have agreed upon some order among themselves, by which they are kept together, and not dispersed, or confounded with others, except when the whole army comes to be routed. They are particularly famous for their skill in shooting at a mark, in which they are so dextrous, that they make nothing of taking an egg or an apple, from off their mother's or wife's head, with a bullet, at two hundred paces distance.

(24) *Fazli* Pasha] A man famous among the *Turks* for his learning and other excellent qualities, whence he had the name of *Fazli*, i. e. *the Learned*. He was, for his fine way of writing, raised by *Elmas Mehemed Pasha*, in the first year of his Vizirship, to the dignity of *Kiehaia*; and afterwards sent with three *Tugs* to *Shehrezulien* Pashalic. He left a very good name behind him.

(25) justly computed] The *Turks* were never known to have fought so stoutly and desperately as in this battle, for not one of them was taken alive. Hence appears the bravery of the conquering army. The victory however would have been very doubtful, had not the Janizaries themselves slain, just before the battle, their commanders, men renowned for their valour; by whom if they had been headed, it is generally thought, that with their assistance, they might easily, either have defeated, or at least repulsed, the *Germans*, who were much inferior to them. And truly, it has sometimes been found by experience, that when the *Turks* are hemmed in, and see no way of escaping, they will fight much more fiercely for life than for victory, and if they have wise commanders upon such an occasion, they will not only fight beyond expectation, but even do such things as seem to exceed human strength. And here I think it may be of use to give some directions about the manner of fighting against the *Turks*, drawn from observations I have made in the expeditions where I have been present, though I well know, that *Busbequius* has given a large account of it, and others have written whole volumes about the same. A General then must consider, whether his forces are equal to those of the *Turks*, if not in number (for that is what the Christian's army can seldom be) yet at least in courage, and whether he has good ammunition, and necessary provisions. If he wants these, he must take care of coming even within sight of the *Turks*. For not only their courage increases, when they perceive the enemy is afraid, or draws back; but they also fight more bravely; and whenever they find, there is no one dares pursue them, even when they fly, they sometimes renew the fight. But if a General knows himself to be a match for them, and is furnished with every thing, let him boldly come and face them, however, let him not hazard an engagement the first day, but remain two or three days in the same place without motion. For almost all the *Turkish* soldiers are seized, at the first sight of the enemy, with an eager desire of coming to an engagement, so that they rush like lions to a battle, of their own accord, and can hardly be restrained by the *Chaushs**: but after the second or third day, this immoderate ardor abates, and if they are kept longer without fighting, it grows so cold, that they must be compelled to fight. It is safer

Bit small the number of escapes.

LVII. The only person who escaped, was *Mahmud ben ogli* (26), Pasha of the *Arnaudij*, and son of that Beglerberg of *Rumelia*, who fell in the battle with *Veterani*. This *Mahmud* being twice wounded, was saved by the strength of his horse, which carried him over the river. I have heard him describing his escape in a very lively manner.

The Sultan abandoning his camp and baggage, retires to *Temisware* in great terror

LVIII. After this misfortune, Sultan *Mustapha*, who was a melancholy, as well as idle spectator of the battle, being seized with a panic, though there was nothing to be feared from the *Germans*, who, fatigued with so much toil, could not repair the bridge in sight of so numerous an army as he had with him, at midnight, without any guide or light, abandons his camp, and directs his course towards *Temiswarе*.

He puts *Capuji bashi*, who gives him better advice, to death.

LIX. *Capuji bashi*, a *Venetian* by birth, who had apostatized from the *Christian* faith, and assumed the name of *Shahin Mahomet*, endeavours to correct the error of the Sultan, and advises him not to leave his camp dishonourably, and by his flight, give the enemy, who had destroyed but a small part of his army, an entire victory. For there was no reason why he should retire with such precipitation, since the enemies were not only tired with so long a march and so many labours, but had no bridge, nor any other means of passing the river. But the Sultan was possessed by such dreadful apprehensions, that he rejected these wholsome advices, and immediately put the author to death, as a disguised *Christian*, bribed by the *Germans* to suggest pernicious counsels, and continued his flight with as much speed as before.

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fer to receive their first onset, than to attack them in their ranks. For when they are attacked, they fight in better order, and defend themselves with more care, besides, the cannon which they always place in their foremost ranks, make a great slaughter among those that dare to assault them. But if, on the contrary, you wait their attack, though it be very fierce, and mixed with hideous cries, yet as they are immediately in disorder, and cannot keep their ranks as they run, they are easily repulsed by the fire of the muskets. And these are the only instruments for gaining the victory, and for quelling the *Othman* fury. For if they come once to close fighting, they make a terrible slaughter among the *Christians*, whose swords are not equal to the sharp *Turkish* scimetars. But when the *Christians* perceive them giving ground, and find their courage abate, they must not stand still, for that the enemies will take for a sign of fear, but they must advance slowly towards the enemies camp. And the retreating Janizaries seeing that, will make their whole camp resound with the confused cry of *Giaur geldy*, the Infidel is advanced; which disheartens the rest of the army, and is the first step to the enemies getting the victory. The Janizaries however do not immediately yield it, but are obliged by their officers to renew the fight. As they are coming on, the *Christians* must receive them with a continual fire, and drive them back, before they can approach: and if that succeeds, they are hardly brought to make a third onset. They being also repulsed the third time, you must not stand still, but march cautiously towards their camp. And then this more horrible and louder outcry is heard throughout their camp, *Giaur basti*, the infidel is come, or hath troden on our heels, after which, I have observed, they can never be brought again to renew the charge. For the moment the Janizaries hear it, they leave their trenches and cannon, and mind only to get a horse or a mule from any one that comes in their way, by which they may save themselves. And the cavalry, who are well acquainted with the Janizaries way, as if placed between two enemies, fly with all speed, and get as far as they can from the foot, for fear of being surrounded, as it generally happens, by the Janizaries, and thrown from their horses. But if a *Christian* General is over-cautious, and, for fear of an ambush, neglects to pursue them when they give way, the Janizaries immediately grow courageous, and, forgetting their defeat, as if they were victorious, the cry of *Giaur corcar*, *the Infidel is afraid*, is spread through their camp, by which means, their last attacks are much fiercer than the first, and they often gain a victory of which the *Christians* have thought themselves secure.

(26) *Mahmud ben ogli*] Beglerbeg of *Rumelia*, whose father, of the same name, was killed, three years before, in the battle with *Veterani*. That family has not only a great estate in *Rumelia*, but is also frequently promoted to Pashalics in that country, and very often, to the dignity of Beglerbeg of *Rumelia*.

LX. The *Turks* had another more grievous misfortune through the darkness of the night, which was so great, that no person could discern the path they were to take, by which means the whole retinue of the Sultan turning too much to the right towards the *Tibiscus*, fall into muddy and marshy ground, from which they were obliged to free themselves, by leaving their horses and baggage behind.

The *Turks* out of fear cast away baggage which they had taken with them

LXI. At last, at sun-rise, the Sultan comes to that place, where, the last year a battle had been fought with the *Germans*, and performing his morning-devotions, changes his horse and habit, and unknown to all, flies with the utmost speed to *Temiswar*.

The Sultan also leaves the army, enters *Temiswar* in disguise

LXII. The army advancing about noon near the same place, and perceiving neither the Sultan, nor any of the great officers with them, are extremely surprized, and this terror is increased by a rumour, the author of which was unknown, spread at the same time through the whole army, that the Sultan was taken by the *Hungarians*, or betrayed by his own soldiers to the enemy. This report is readily received by those, whose minds were prepared by fear to believe any thing, and occasions them to disperse several ways, and every one anxious for his own safety to think only how to escape the *Germans*, whom they every moment imagined to be at their heels.

This occasions a dreadful scene of all among the *Turks*

LXIII. Agitated with these imaginary fears, at last in the evening they reach *Temiswar*, the governor of which shuts the gates against them. As they receive no certain account concerning the Sultan, the rumour of his being taken encreases. For the governor of that city had been commanded by the Sultan to conceal his arrival by all possible methods, lest the *Germans* hearing of it should invest him there.

A rumour spread of the Sultan's being taken

LXIV. Besides this apprehension, those, who had escaped, are attended with the perpetual companion of a defeat, want of provision; the corn had been left in their camp, they having been more sollicitous to preserve themselves than their food. Some few had the good fortune to purchase bread at an excessive price. Their beasts of burthen likewise, as well as themselves were ready to die with thirst, and had no water to allay it. For the morass which surrounds *Temiswar*, was almost dried up through the heat of the summer, and if there were any stinking puddles to be found, those who were strongest (27) seized them, and excluded the rest.

Which is attended with other misfortunes

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(27) were strongest] Whenever I call to mind the miserable confusion at that time, I cannot help being seized with a secret horror. There was then no safety, either from friend or foe, but, on the contrary, the greatest confusion imaginable. The Sultan lay hid three days in the town, unknown to all but the Pasha, while various reports flew through the whole camp of his being taken and betrayed by his subjects. The troops that had escaped, wandered up and down without a commander, without a leader, without discipline, and for hunger, plundered every one they met. The great drought that happened that year, having dried up all the waters, the horses were forced, for thirst, to suck up the very mud, and if a man found by chance any standing water, he was obliged to kill or wound many, before he could come to wet his lips, much less to quench his thirst. Having escaped from the battle, I had brought away my tents and whole baggage, and was come with the rest of the forces, to *Temiswar*, where I had my furniture in a vineyard. Here I found by chance, the mouth of a well, covered with earth, over which, having pitched my tent, and got it cleaned to the bottom, it afforded me very fresh and pure water. After my family and horses had drank, I sent the next morning, about break of day, a servant, with a pitcher of water to the cook, but a soldier meeting him, takes the pitcher from him, drinks the water, and threatens to kill him, unless he would tell where he had found that water. The poor fellow, seeing a naked sword at his breast, is overcome with fear, and confesses that I had found a well under my tent. The soldier, the moment he had received the information, goes to his companions, tells them what he had heard, whereupon they all come, with a sword in one hand, and a bucket in the other, asking every one they met, where my tent was? So perceiving the thing discovered, and no longer to be concealed, I ordered my tent to be removed,

LXV. At last, after the *Othman* army had for three days been like a ship in a stormy sea, without rudder or pilot, the Sultan, finding there was no danger from the *Germans*, with a guard of soldiers which he had received from the Pasha of *Temiswore*, discovers himself to his army, and removes their fears: for all his forces testify their joy upon sight of him, as if he had returned in triumph, and cry out, they regard not their late misfortune, but would take a severe revenge upon the enemy, since they were assured of their Sultan's safety.

LXVI. The Sultan next day leads his troops, now recovered from their despair, towards *Belgrade*, and in his march coming to a place called *Alibunar* (28), is met by *Amucje Ogli Huseim Pasha*, governor of *Belgrade*, for whom he had sent by *Mirachor Cherkies* * *Mehemed Aga*, and as there were present no other Bashas honoured with three *Tugs*, confers on him the Vizirship.

LXVII. After a short stay at *Belgrade*, about the end of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, of the year 1109, he returns with the remains of his army to *Adrianople*. This was the fate of the *Turkish* forces after their defeat. But the Imperialists, after their victory, had continued all night in the place of battle, apprehensive of some stratagem, usual among the *Turks*; but the next day passed the *Tibiscus*, and plundered what *Tekeli* (29) had left in the camp.

LXVIII. After this, being discouraged from the siege of such strong cities as *Temiswore* and *Belgrade*, by the season being too far advanced, they turned their arms against *Bosnia*, took *Dobe* and *Mogle*, set fire to *Serayo*, the capital of the country, and reduced almost the whole province.

LXIX In this distress, the *Turkish* forces appointed to guard that country, not knowing what other method to take, go to *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha* (30),

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removed, and the well to be opened; and to excuse my self, told them, that having found there a dead man, I had hid the well, for fear some person pressed by thirst should, not knowing it, taste of the water before it was purged, and thereby pollute his soul. By this innocent lie, absolutely necessary at that time, I not only escaped the fury of the Barbarians, but received thanks for the good service I had done them

(28) *Alibunar*] The *Fountain of Ali*, a place half way between *Temiswore* and *Belgrade*, where the spies on both sides are wont to resort; for it is very high, and from thence you have a very good prospect of the whole country round.

(29) *Tekeli*] He had accompanied the Sultan in this expedition, and, after the defeat, seeing the bridge broken down, and knowing it could not be repaired by the *Germans* in so short a time, he staid all night in the *Turkish* camp, where he plundered all that was most valuable; and by that means he got greater riches for himself and his family, than he could have done from the Sultan's pension, which was hardly sufficient to maintain him.

(30) *Daltaban Mustapha*] A man very famous among the *Turks* for his warlike virtues. In his youth he was a Janizary, and brought up at the court of the great Vizir *Kioprili Ahmed Pasha*. His successor, *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, promoted him to the office of *Talkhisji* *; but after his death, becoming the sport of fortune, he not only lost his place, but could not come again into play, till *Arabaji Ali Pasha* was made Vizir, by whom he was created *Jamzar Aga*. That post gave him the first opportunity of making his virtues known to the world, for he took a very great care of the publick tranquillity, severely chastised disorderly persons, and instead of riding on horseback, as his predecessors, he used to change his dress, and walk on foot night and day about the city (upon which account he had the name of *Daltaban*, that is, *unshod* or *barefooted*, given him,) which gave all sorts of men a very high opinion of him so that when *Buyukly Mustapha* was raised to the dignity of Vizir, he thought no one so fit to succeed him in his office of *Babadaghy* Seraskier as *Daltaban*. Whilst he enjoyed this post, he applied himself wholly to clear *Moldavia* of the *Poles*, and for that purpose endeavoured to take *Soroka*, which was their magazine in that country, though he could not execute his design for want of a sufficient number of men, (for the greatest and best part of the *Othman* army was sent against the Emperor of *Germany*) yet he so bravely defended the borders of *Moldavia*, that the *Poles* could not make any farther progress, or do any considerable damage to the *Turkish* provinces. He held that employment about four years, in which time he contracted a close friendship with my father; which he not only retained as long as he lived, but also expressed it several ways, after my father's death, to his sons; a thing uncommon amongst Barbarians. When troubles arose in *Asia*, and the country

who then happened to be at *Bicbkie*, a town of *Bosnia*, and offering him the command of the army, force him to take it upon him. Under his conduct the *Turks*

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try began to be infested with robberies, no man appeared fitter to the Vizir to put a stop to them than *Daltaban*. Being sent therefore to *Kiutabia* with the dignity of *Anadol-Beglerbeg*, he not only quelled the seditious in a short time, and restored that province to its former tranquillity, but also revived amongst them military discipline, which had been entirely laid aside, and augmented very much the *Asiatic* forces. The envy of his enemies was the cause of his not perishing at the battle of *Zenta*; for being come that year to *Sophia*, the metropolis of *Bulgaria*, he was by the Vizir accused to the Sultan of having unjustly plundered many persons in *Asia*, and exacted a large sum of money upon the inhabitants of those countries, without and contrary to the Sultan's order, and of having converted it to his own use. To which *Daltaban* answered, that it was true, he had received a larger tribute from *Asia* than his predecessors, but he had not hoarded the money in his own coffers, but applied it in augmenting the forces, and for proof, appealed to all the *Asiatic* troops Notwithstanding this, the Vizir being afraid, if that hero's noble qualities became more conspicuous in the expedition, he would supplant him in the Vizirship, he was, unheard, deprived of his *Pashalic*, and all his riches and employments, and banished to *Bichkie*, a little town in *Bosnia*. I happened about that time to go into the *Kiehaia*'s chancery on some business of my own, where a clerk was ingrossing the mandate for *Daltaban*'s banishment, and chancing to read it over by stealth, as he was an old friend of mine and my father's, I went privately to him, and faithfully told him what I had seen At which, without any emotion, he says "I indeed thank you for "your friendship, and commend you for "being mindful of my services to your fa-"ther But you need not concern your "self about me, for perhaps the divine "Providence will deliver me by this means "from that death and destruction which I "foresee will overtake the Vizir, and the "rest of my enemies." I shall here, for the sake of the curious, give the form of the mandate commonly made use of at the degrading of a Basha. "Thou who art "*Mustapha* (without any mention of his "office or dignity) since thy crimes and "offences are become notorious, thou art "entirely guilty of, and condemned to, "death; but by means of our mercy, "thou art exempted from capital punish-"ment: however, our sublime mandate is "issued, that thou be deprived of the dig-"nity of Vizir, and banished to the town "of *Bichkie*, in the country of *Bosnia*, &c. Now this very banishment proved the cause of *Daltaban*'s advancement; for the Imperialists having, after the battle of *Zenta*, carried their arms into *Bosnia*, and conquered the greatest part of that province; such *Turks* as remained there, being without a general, and knowing not what to do, apply to *Daltaban*, and declare him Seraskier, much against his will, and without the Sultan's knowledge. Having, after he was invested with that office, taken four and twenty castles from the victorious *Germans* on both sides the *Save*, he found it easy to obtain from the Sultan a confirmation of the dignity conferred upon him by the voice of the people Soon after, when the *Arabians*, having revolted, and taken *Bostra*, made incursions into *Mesopotamia*, *Daltaban* was chosen by the Vizir *Amucje Ogli Husein Pasha*, to suppress also this danger, and, besides the dignity of Seraskier, had also the government of *Bagdad* bestowed upon him. When he came thither, with no more than twelve regiments he attacks and defeats an hundred and twenty thousand *Arabs*; in which battle he is said to have killed with his own hand four hundred of the enemies After this victory, he recovers *Bostra*, takes under his protection the *Arabian* troops who implored his clemency, lays a heavier tribute upon them than they used to pay; and so not only restored the *Pashalic* of *Bagdad* to its antient bounds, but also enlarges them, and makes it richer than ever. Whilst he was thus employed, being slandered by *Rami ress effendi*, the Vizir accuses him to the Sultan as a rebel, and favouring the *Arabs*, and prevails with the Sultan to send *Battal Othman Aga*, formerly his master of horse, to *Bagdad* with a *Chatisherif*, to dispatch him out of the way. When he comes to *Daltaban* in his camp near *Bostra*, elated with his late victory, and perceiving that, by reason of the soldiers great affection to him, he could not put the Sultan's orders in execution, he prudently conceals the reason of his coming, and pretends he was sent by the Sultan for no other end but to see whether *Daltaban*'s actions were answerable to his fame. Upon that, *Daltaban* shewing him thirty-two thousand heads of *Arabs*, "Go, says he, and tell my master, "the Sultan, faithfully what you have seen." *Othman Aga*, after having examined every thing, returns to *Constantinople*, and informs the Sultan, how he had found the man whom he had adjudged to death, in the

Turks resume their courage, and not only repress the victorious *Germans*, but [illegible] them to retreat beyond the *Save*, and take from them four and twenty castles, situated on both sides that river.

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the midst of a victorious army, and therefore could not perform his orders. Then he went on to declare what *Daltaban* had done for the good of the *Othman* state, how he had entirely subdued the *Arabs*, freed *Mesopotamia* from their incursions, and rendered all the adjacent provinces entirely safe. After *Othman aga*'s return, *Daltaban*, knowing the covetousness of the Mufti, *Feizullah effendi*, as well as his great interest with the Sultan, sent him by some of his people a present of sixty thousand gold crowns. The Mufti guessing, that such a large of sum of money, which came thus unexpectedly to him, was the interpreter or fore runner of some very considerable request, sent a trusty messenger to *Daltaban*, to know his desires. If he aimed at the dignity of Vizir, that he could easily obtain it for him from the Sultan, because the present Vizir *Hussein Pasha* was very sickly, and had in a great measure lost his character, by reason of his drunkenness. To this *Daltaban* answers, That he thought indeed, the services he had done the *Othman* Empire deserved some recompence: and knowing he could not rise to the dignity that was offered him, without his protection and assistance, he therefore desired him to attach to himself a new and ever-faithful vassal by so important a favour. that he did not want means of making him amends for the same, and accordingly had prepared presents for him much larger than the former. Upon receiving this answer, the Mufti, who was already displeased with *Hussein Pasha*, in order to execute his designs, perswades the Sultan to bring *Daltaban* nearer the court, by making him Pasha of *Kiutahia*. When he heard of his being there, he prevails upon the Sultan to depose *Hussein Pasha*, and to send *Battal Othman aga* to *Kiutahia* with the Vizir's seal to *Daltaban*. Who upon receiving it, comes without delay to *Constantinople*. Having staid till the evening without the walls in the powder-magazines, he receives advice, that *Hussein Pasha* was departed this life, at his country house, about eight hours from *Constantinople*: So he goes thither, and assists at his funeral, and then comes the next day to *Adrianople*, where he receives the Vizir's robe from the Sultan. On the morrow, he sends for *Rami Reis effendi* and *Maurocordatus*, and asks them, upon what terms they had made peace with the *Germans* and [illegible]. They give him a full account of [illegible], what their instructions and orders were; how far they had been able to go; and upon what conditions the Sultan had ordered them to put an end to the war When *Daltaban* had heard their report, he says in a great passion. "You have in-
"deed followed your instructions; but
"surely those instructions were fraudulent-
"ly obtained For the Sultan could ne-
"ver have given such orders, had he not
"been perswaded, the *Othman* affairs were
"in so desperate a condition, as that the
"Empire could not be established without
"a peace upon any terms I suppose he
"did not know, what soldiers, what ge-
"nerals, what bulwarks, the *Othman* state
"had yet to oppose to the enemies he
"doubtless had not been informed, how I,
"with a handful of men, had wrested
"four and twenty castles in *Bosnia* out of
"the enemy's hands, at the expence of
"my blood and what would have been
"the consequence if the managers of the
"*Turkish* affairs had acted as faithfully
"every where, may easily be guessed.
"For what did the *Othman* Empire want
"to enable it, not only to make head a-
"gainst so weak an enemy, but also to
"enlarge its bounds? was it soldiers? ge-
"nerals? or money? It was not surely the
"want of any of these, but either the
"want of brains in your heads, which to
"be stuffed with straw would have been
"better, or your treachery that induced
"you to make so scandalous a peace with a
"weak and exhausted enemy, and perswade
"a Sultan unacquainted with publick affairs,
"to ratify and confirm it by oath. I grant,
"the *Germans*, on account of our sins,
"and encouraged by the laziness and un-
"skilfulness of the *Othman* generals, have
"gained some victories upon us, and have
"taken several towns that could not be
"recovered; but why have you surrender-
"ed to the *Poles*, *Camenec*, a place im
"pregnable both by nature and art, and
"by that, have imprudently lost the best
"part of Sultan *Mahomet*'s conquests? Is
"this what our law teaches us? Are these
"the precepts of our prophet? Is the ho-
"nour of the *Alothman* name preserved
"by such means? The divine vengeance
"will undoubtedly find, in its own time,
"those who have been so injurious to the
"Musulman affairs, and have without ne-
"cessity, delivered to the Infidels, pla-
"ces sanctified by so many Musulmans
"prayers." So dismissing them, he demands lists, of the soldiers, of the treasure, and of the towns, both such as had been

LXX. The *Russians* that summer fortify *Asac* and *Luchieh* with new works, and prepare for a fresh campain, though the enemies give them no opportunity of a battle.

The *Russians* fortify *Asac* *Frederick*, Elector of *Saxony* chosen King of *Poland*

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yielded to the enemies, and such as still obeyed the *Othman* laws; and finds nothing any where that could please him. He publickly blames all the ministers, calls them traitors to the Empire, privately prepares for war, and designs at first to turn his arms against *Poland*, as the weakest part; and that he might have some colour of justice, resolves to put to death the authors of the peace, namely, *Rami Reis Effendi*, and *Maurocordatus*, as traytors, who had granted many things to the Infidels, contrary to the Sultan's orders. And the more to strengthen his party, he enquires by letter of the Chan, and great men of *Tartary*, whether they gave their consent to the peace made by *Iskierlet Ogly*, and to his companion, *Rami Reis Effendi* he knew, he said, and was well satisfied that both, bribed by the Infidels, had acted treacherously, imposed upon the Sultan, and so betrayed rather than promoted the *Othman* affairs. None were more uneasy at these proceedings of *Daltaban*, than the two ambassadors above-mentioned, *Rami Reis Effendi*, and *Alexander Maurocordatus*; for they plainly saw, if *Daltaban* remained in his dignity, they could not avoid punishment; and they were also sensible, there was no hope of a change as long as the Mufti continued *Daltaban*'s friend. After long considering this matter, as there appeared to them no other method of safety, they resolve to go and draw the Mufti, if possible, from *Daltaban*'s party. *Maurocordatus* contrives how the matter should be managed, and instructs *Rami* in what he was to say, and what arguments to use to move the Mufti. *Rami* follows the politic *Skierletogly*'s directions, and takes an opportunity of representing to the Mufti, how he was ordered by the Sultan to make peace with the *Germans* and *Poles*, and had, in compliance therewith, used his utmost endeavours to get terms as advantagious as he could for the *Othman* state, and had granted nothing to the Infidels without an order from the Sultan, and the consent of the Mufti, and of the Vizir, *Huseim Pasha*. But when he thought he had, by these his endeavours, well deserved of the *Othman* state, he found, that he had drawn upon himself and his partner, *Iskierletogly*, the utmost indignation of the new Vizir, *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha*. He had not only treated them in the most abusive manner, though they were altogether blameless, but had also railed bitterly at all those who had contributed, either by their orders or consent, to the making of that peace: nay, he had gone so far as to say publickly, he would purge the honour of the *Othman* name from all internal and external *Giaurs*. Moreover he had, by secret letters, stirred up the *Crim-Tartars*, and the other *Scythian Hords*, to a rebellion; and the more easily to excite them, had spread among them many lies concerning the ill administration of the state. Since these, and the like attempts of *Daltaban*, manifestly tended to the ruin and destruction of those who had spared no pains to restore tranquillity to the *Othman* Empire, and even to the deposition of the Sultan, they had thought it their duty to inform the Mufti of them, because he was the chief instrument of the peace; and to beg of him at the same time, not only to take care of himself, but also to vouchsafe to defend and preserve those who acknowledged him their only patron and protector, against that man's outragiousness. The Mufti, *Feizullah Effendi*, persuaded by this discourse of *Rami* that his own head was in danger, resolves not to wait the blow, but prevent the enemy, and take him in his own net. But the better to conceal the snares laid for him, he sends for *Cara Mehemed Aga*, the chief butcher, a very rich man, who had learned by long experience to hide the barbarity of his nature, and by that means had obtained the Mufti's daughter in marriage for his son. When he was come, "I have some things, "(says he) to communicate to the Vizir, "which I would desire you to go and tell "him, for I know that there is a great "friendship between you. *Rami Reis Effendi* and *Iskierletogly* have been with me, "and have told me many sad things of the "Vizir, as if he was contriving to depose "the Sultan, and put me to death, and "had for that reason publickly ranked "me among the Infidels. Now because "he was, upon your intercession, as you "well know, raised to the dignity of Vizir through my interest, and therefore "is my *Chirag* *, or client, I would not "have a flambeau of my own lighting so "soon extinguished, and the life of a man "taken away, whom a few days before I "raised to the highest dignity the *Othman* "Empire can give. Besides, I am satisfied that *Rami* and *Iskierlet Ogly*, when "they were negotiating a peace, being "bribed by the *Giaurs* with large sums of "money, have, of their own heads, yielded many things to the *Germans* and *Poles*, "that might have remained under the *Othman* dominion; and persuaded the Sultan "and me, by their artful lies, that a peace "could

a battle: in *Poland* the new King *Frederic Augustus*, who was before Elector of *Saxony*, applies himself entirely to warlike preparations, and the gaining of the Nobles, and defers the campain till the next year.

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" could not possibly be made upon other " terms. Wherefore I desire you to ac- " quaint the Vizir, in my name, that I " will not be influenced by the misrepre- " sentations of those knaves, to cease to " be his patron; but shall, whenever an " opportunity offers, persuade the Sultan " not only to confirm him in the dignity " of Vizir, but also to put all his enemies " to death." When *Daltaban* hears this from *Mehemed Aga*'s mouth, he visits the Mufti in the night, and pretends to discover his whole mind to him, as to his patron and benefactor. The Mufti, with feigned applause, extols the Vizir's designs, and promises to use his utmost endeavours to bring them to perfection, and that *Rami*, *Maurocordatus*, and their accomplices, be brought to justice. *Daltaban*, encouraged by these promises, returns home with a chearful countenance, and sending for the *Kiebaia Topal Ibrahim-Aga* (who was afterwards made governor of *Thessalonica*) gives him a particular account of what had passed between the Mufti and him; and adds, at the same time, he acknowledges the Mufti for his patron, being indebted to him for the Vizirship; yet he cannot bear, he should have so much credit with the Sultan, as to make and unmake Vizirs at pleasure: for as he had bestowed the seal of the Empire upon him, after having deposed *Huseim Pasha*, so it was in his power to turn him out, and raise another to that dignity. Therefore, as he could find no way to put him out of favour with the Sultan, who had a great veneration for him, there was a necessity of dispatching him out of the way, unknown to the Sultan; for it would be easier to struggle with a dead than a living man. Accordingly, he proposes this method to put him to death, namely, to invite him to a feast on a *Thursday*, when all the courts of justice and the other offices are shut, and to have him strangled at table with a bow-string, by some faithful persons provided for that purpose; then to send for the Janizaries, and cause them to raise a commotion, acquainting the Sultan at the same time, that they insisted upon having the Mufti's life, and were demanding the heads of *Rami*, *Maurocordatus*, and some others. The treacherous *Kiebaia* approves of the Vizir's project to his face, and commends his design; but at night he changes his dress, and going to the Mufti, tells him his danger. The Mufti, dismissing the *Kiebaia* with very great promises, calls for his chariot at the third hour of the night, goes to the Sultan, and makes known to him what he had learned from the *Kiebaia*; advises him to put *Daltaban* to death, that he might not raise fresh commotions in the Empire, and promises to give a *Fetvah* for that purpose, and says withal, that for fear too much haste in the affair should occasion a sedition among the people, he would find some specious pretence to have him dispatched out of the way without any noise. The Mufti, at his return home, pretends to have the gout in his feet, that he might be hindered from going to the Vizir's house, and sends a *Talkhisshchi* * to desire him to come to him, because he had things of importance to impart to him. Upon the receipt of this message, the Vizir goes thither with all speed, thinking a snare was now laid for his enemies. When he comes, " Thank God, " says the Mufti, the Sultan has granted " all my requests, and promised that he " will put *Rami Reis Effendi* to death, pro- " vided there may be devised some cause of " his punishment. If you will therefore " follow my advice, you will easily find " not only a pretence, but also a just rea- " son for putting him to death. He must " be removed at a distance from court, if " we wish our designs to take effect. As this " cannot be done any other way, you must " offer him, as a reward for his services to " the *Othman* Empire, a Vizirship, with " three *Horse-Tails*, and a few days after " give him some remote government, and " then you will easily find some crime to " render him odious to the Sultan, and to " have him put to death. When he is once " dispatched, you may kill *Skierletoglı* with " as much ease as you would a dog in the " streets." When he had said this, he made *Daltaban* swear not to discover it to any one, not even to his *Kiebaia*. The Vizir, deceived by these specious falshoods of the Mufti, believed he was really his friend, and thought himself now very safe. Wherefore he asks *Rami Effendi*, at first, as it were in jest, whether he should not be glad to be raised higher, and enjoy a Pashalic. The other, as he had been instructed by the Mufti, falls at the Vizir's feet, begs he may not be burdened with that honour; that it was enough for him to be a scribe; and his birth could not give him any pretensions to desire the dignity of Vizir: besides, he was unskilled in the art of governing provinces, and could show his industry and faithfulness no where but in the chancery. *Daltaban*, blaming him for saying these

these words, tells him at the same time, if he did not comply with the Sultan's order, he would lose all those rewards which he had hitherto deserved by his industry, and could not avoid the Sultan's indignation. *Rami Effendi* submitting at last, with a seeming unwillingness, *Daltaban* notifies to the Sultan by a *Talchysh*, that *Rami Reis Effendi* intreated the Sultan's clemency to dismiss him from the *Calem* with three *Tugs*, and prayed that his request might be granted. The Sultan, who was before-hand prepared by the Mufti, easily consented; adding, that on account of his services, he not only gave him three *Tugs*, but also declared him *Caimacan*, and one of his counsellors, and required he should be always near the court. Though this was disagreeable to *Daltaban*, and seemed to defeat all his designs, yet he obeyed the Sultan's orders, and sending for *Rami*, invested him with the Vizir's robe, and gave him the name of *Cubbe nishin*, or *Counsellor*. This unusual and extraordinary promotion of *Rami*, raised the peoples admiration, for it was well known that *Dalbatan* disliked the peace, and sought rather to punish with death, than to confer honours upon, the promoters of it and therefore to such as were unacquainted with what had passed between the Mufti and *Daltaban*, it seemed a mystery, that those for whom punishments were thought to have been preparing, should be exalted to the highest honours. This gave occasion to various, and generally disadvantageous reports concerning *Daltaban*, that he was undone, that his fiddle, (a *Turkish* saying) was thrown upon the ground, that the Sultan, deluded by the Mufti, and the arts of his creatures, *Rami* and *Iskierletogly*, was but a tool to other peoples ambition; that *Rami* had no other merit for his rising in so strange manner from a scribe to a Vizir, but his having sold the honour of the *Othman* name to the Infidels, that finally, this was a certain sign that *Daltaban*, the most famous hero among the *Turks*, the brave defender of the Sultan's honour, was to be condemned to death, or at least to banishment, that there might remain no obstacle to their treacherous designs. When *Daltaban* perceived by these discourses, that the people were on his side, and disliked the Mufti's proceedings, he was confirmed in his purpose, and resolved to kill the Mufti first, then *Rami*, and if necessary, to depose even the Sultan. But that he might strike the surer, he sends for the forementioned *Cara Mehemed Aga*, whom, as being an old friend, he took to be very faithful to him, and enquires of him what the people said of himself, of the Mufti, and of *Rami*; and whether they approved or not what the Sultan had done for *Rami*? *Cara Mehemed*, the better to impose upon the Vizir, and to discover his designs, tells him what the people said; how displeased they were at the honours conferred upon *Rami*; and generally believed that the Sultan, infatuated by the Mufti, had only the name of Sultan, whilst the Mufti was Sultan in reality, and disposed of all affairs at pleasure and this was not only said by the common people, but also by *Erbabi deulet*, that is, the chief of the great men. *Daltaban*, ignorant of the *Casabbashi*'s treachery, could not, upon hearing this, forbear uttering these words: "You shall see, my dear *Mehemed*, what "will be acted one of these days on this "stage;" which saying being carried by him to the Mufti, not only confirmed the suspicions raised in him by the *Kiehaia*'s discourse, but also served to hasten *Daltaban*'s downfall. In the mean time, *Daltaban* makes preparations for the Mufti's destruction. He had in his house a certain Dervise, called *Mahomet*, a *Moldavian* by birth, an old and faithful servant, whom, for his approved fidelity, he had not only raised to the office of *Bashchohadar* *, but also had entrusted with most of his secrets. To him *Daltaban* communicates his designs, ordering him to get a cord rubbed with soap, and when the Mufti should come to wash his hands, to be ready with the rest of the officers to put it round his neck, and strangle him. The man undertakes the business, and promises faithfully to perform his will; saying, he would not refuse even to die, could he but carry his enemies to hell along with him. Things being thus prepared, he sends *Sheikhogli*, who had succeeded *Rami* in the office of *Reis effendi*, to the Mufti, to invite him the next day, which was *Thursday*, and consequently free from all public business, to a feast. The Mufti sent answer, that he was then indeed very lame of the gout, but if his pain abated, he would certainly come the next day. This answer being brought back by *Sheikhogli* to the Vizir, he orders a splendid feast to be made, and bids his *Agalar* to withdraw to their apartments the moment the Mufti came, because he had some private business with him. The next morning as soon as it was light he sends his *Kiehaia*, *Topal Ibrahim Aga*, to invite the Mufti a second time, and to know certainly whether he would come. Accordingly he comes to the Mufti, tells him his errand, but privately advises him to take care of himself, because there were persons appointed and ready to strangle him. Whereupon the Mufti says to the *Kiehaia*, go and tell your master that I am much better to day than I was yesterday, and will certainly be with him about noon; but by God's help, I shall find means to avoid his snares. The treacherous *Kiehaia* comes and brings

[illegible] his master, the Mufti's answer ; at [illegible] the Vizir being highly pleased, and [illegible] he had already in his net the chief [illegible] to his designs, prepares every thing for the tragedy. In the mean while, dinner-[illegible] was now come, and no Mufti appeared ; so that the impatient *Daltaban* was sending the *Reis effendi* a second time to invite him, when the Mufti's *Talkishchi** comes and tells *Daltaban*, that his master was got into his litter to come to him, when he was sent for by the Sultan ; and as he could not excuse himself upon any pretence, was gone thither ; but would send his eldest son, *Nakyb effendi*, in his room, and therefore desired him to put off his feast till the next week ; and he hoped at that very time to find an opportunity of having him confirmed in the Vizirship, and to contrive a way for the destruction of his enemies. Scarce had the *Talkhishchi** brought his message to the Vizir, when *Nakyb effendi* himself arrives, and uses the same excuse for his father. Though *Daltaban* was heartily vexed that the Mufti should thus escape out of his snares, yet, for fear of unseasonably discovering his designs, he receives *Nakyb effendi* with great honour and magnificence, and, contrary to custom, meets him as far as the *Arzoda*, saying, the son's presence was as acceptable to him as the father's ; that the Sultan's orders were surely to be preferred to all private business, and the honour designed him was not lost, but delayed, since he had hopes of seeing the Mufti the next *Thursday*. In the mean time, whilst the son is feasting with *Daltaban*, the father goes to the Sultan with a mournful dress and face. After paying obeysance, he was bid to sit on the *ichram*, or carpet ; and the Sultan speaking first, asked him what was the matter that he came with such a sorrowful countenance, and as if he had been frighted ? The Mufti taking occasion to speak, " I have, says he, " very great reason to be sorry, my most " gracious lord and master. A danger " hangs over all our heads, which, though " secret, is yet very great, and hardly to " be avoided, unless the threatning clouds " are dispersed by the breath of your ma- " jesty, before the lightning falls. What " lies heaviest upon my mind is, that I " have undesignedly contributed to increase " this storm. For hearing of the heroic " actions of our present Vizir, while his " absence or meanness caused his vices to " remain undiscovered, I your servant " thought none fitter than him to be en- " trusted with the administration of the " *Othman* government : and therefore ob- " serving that the negligence and drunken- [illegible]ness of *Husain Pasha* rendered him unfit [illegible] govern the state, I earnestly recom- [illegible] this man to you, and did not " cease to intreat you in his behalf till you " had adorned him with the ensigns of the " Vizirship. As soon as he was raised to " that sublime post, he discovered how art- " fully he had till then concealed the wick- " edness of his heart under a specious out- " side, and shewed himself a professed ene- " my to as many as he thought would ob- " struct his turbulent projects. I could " forgive him, if he had conspired only " against me ; I should be silent, even " though he is, contrary to all divine and " human laws, endeavouring to strangle " me, if my death was to put an end to " the calamities he is endeavouring to " bring on the Empire. But I ought to " speak, when I see that ungrateful man " exciting the Janizaries to a rebellion, in- " viting with the same view the Chan of " *Tartary* into this city ; publickly con- " demning the peace made with the ene- " mies, calling the makers of it infidels ; " breaking treaties that have been confirm- " ed with an oath , and leaving no stone " unturned, at his entrance upon the ho- " nours you have conferred upon him, to " dethrone you, most gracious Emperor, " and to fill your whole dominions with " fresh troubles. Unless you quickly put " a stop to these mischiefs, I am afraid you " will too late repent of your ill timed " clemency."

The Sultan, upon hearing the crafty *Feizullah Effendi*'s speech, moved with anger and fear, asks him how this evil could be prevented ? The Mufti answered, there was no other cure for it but to dispatch out of the way that villain, the author of all the troubles, and to put another Vizir in his room, who should be for maintaining the peace, and also more faithful and submissive to the Sultan ; for the head being cut off, the rest of the members would soon be quiet, though in ever so great agitation and finally, that *Rami Pasha*, of whose faithfulness and prudence he had sufficient experience, must be taken into the council. The Sultan readily complies with his late tutor's advice, and leaves the whole affair to his management The Mufti, at his return home, sent word that very night to *Rami Pasha* to change his dress, and come to him, and concert measures with him about killing *Daltaban*. After some consultation, they resolve to surprize him in the following manner, namely, to persuade *Daltaban* to create *Rami Pasha*, *Babadagby* Seraskier, and the Mufti to advise the Sultan to subscribe in the *Talchysh**, which the Vizir would send him for that purpose ; that he had been thinking of the same thing, because he saw the people and the Janizaries were very much dissatisfied to see a man raised from a scribe to a Vizir : and therefore he judged it necessary to remove him

further from court, hoping thereby to put a ſtop to the murmurs of the people and ſoldiery. Purſuant to this reſolution, the Mufti ſends the next day his ſon *Nakyb Efſendi* to the Vizir, with a ſecond excuſe for not having kept his promiſe, which was owing to the Sultan's ſending for him; and to let him know, that he thought God had thrown, by a ſingular Providence, that obſtacle in his way for he had found an opportunity of perſuading the Sultan to remove *Rami* from court, by making him Seraskier of *Babadaghy*, but that it was neceſſary he ſhould deſire the ſame by a *Talchyſh* of the Sultan, before he changed his mind, and, according to cuſtom, make in it an honourable mention of *Rami*, that he might not ſuſpect any fraud in the caſe, namely, that his faithful ſervices to the Empire rendered him worthy of that dignity, and that he knew none fitter than him to maintain the peace, and watch the motions of the *Giaurs*. When he had ſent this to *Daltaban*, he acquaints, by a *Deskere*, or note, the Sultan, that ſuch a thing would be propoſed by the Vizir, and deſires he would not only give his conſent, but alſo ſend for the Vizir, under pretence of conſulting him about ſome inſtructions he wanted to give *Rami Paſha* The ſcene is carried on as the Mufti directs *Daltaban* ſends a *Talchyſh* to the Sultan, and the Sultan confirms it, by writing over it the uſual form (let it be done,) and orders him, by *Baltajilar Kiehaiaſi*, to come to him. The Vizir obeys, ignorant of the ſnares laid for him, (which had he known, he could not only have eaſily avoided them, but have raiſed the ſame ſedition as afterwards wreſted the ſcepter from the Sultan,) and with the uſual pomp goes to the Sultan Whilſt *Kyzlaragaſi* is entering the room firſt, according to cuſtom, there comes out to him *Baltajilar Kiehaiaſi* from the Sultan, and tells him that the Sultan demanded the ſeal he was intruſted with *Daltaban* being a man of an invincible reſolution and proof againſt all the various turns of fortune, refuſes to ſurrender the badge of his dignity till he had ſpoken three words with the Sultan, with which if he did not mollify him, he would freely loſe not only the ſeal, but even his head. What his deſign might be in deſiring ſo earneſtly to ſpeak with the Sultan, was variouſly conjectured at that time. Some thought he intended to kill the Sultan with a dagger he wore under his clothes, others declared him innocent of ſo deſperate a project, and imagined he had no other intention, than to repreſent to the Sultan the great danger he was in from the Mufti's and *Rami*'s attempts, and to propoſe, what he had often ſaid in private converſation, to recover to the *Othman* Empire in one or two campains all that was loſt through thoſe mens treachery. But ſo infatuated was the Sultan, by the Mufti's artifices, that he not only refuſed to hear *Daltaban*'s advice, but alſo being informed of his deſire, he ordered him to be ſeized, ſtripped, bound as a thief, and immediately put to death at *Babi Humayun*, and his body thrown to the dogs in *Sirikmeidan*. The officers about the Sultan immediately execute his orders, ſeize *Daltaban*, bind him, and lead him to the place of execution. When he was going to loſe his head, *Baltajilar Kiehaiaſi* comes and aſks him in the Sultan's name what he had to ſay to him, adviſing him withal to take the *Abdeſt*, and repent of his faults, that he may not periſh both ſoul and body. *Daltaban* anſwers, that ever ſince he could remember, he had not once mounted his horſe without having firſt purified himſelf with the *Abdeſt*, nor ſuffered ſo much as one hour to paſs without repenting, therefore he did not deſpair of pardon with God and his prophet; nor would his ſoul periſh, though his body ſeemed to do ſo to infidels. As for what he had to ſay to the Sultan, he could impart it to none but him, nor ſhould he now behold without horror ſuch a Sultan's face, as put thoſe to death that faithfully ſerved him, and gave himſelf up wholly to *Kyzilbaſhi's* and wizards; that there remained but one remedy for thoſe corruptions, namely, the divine juſtice, which, he thought, would after his death teach the Sultan how much he was departed from a ſound mind, and from the *Muſulman* faith. When this was told the Sultan, it can hardly be expreſſed how it filled his mind with doubts. That it was a matter of great importance *Daltaban* deſired to communicate to him, he gueſſed, by the undaunted manner in which he ſubmitted to his puniſhment, but, on the other hand, his love to his old preceptor, the Mufti, and the confidence he repoſed in him, hindered him from attending to thoſe things. So, to have the more time to conſider what to do, he reprieved him, and ordered him to be confined in *Capaiaſi*, or the court-priſon. When his enemies, the *Mufti*, and *Rami*, whom the Sultan had already appointed Vizir, came to know this, they were ſeized with freſh fears, leſt the Sultan ſhould be conquered by *Daltaban*'s firmneſs, and reſtore him to his former liberty The next morning therefore early they both go to the Sultan, tell him, that the ſparks of ſedition ſpread by *Daltaban* were kindling into a flame, that confuſion and trouble every where aroſe; and there was no way of preventing a rebellion, but by putting *Daltaban*, the author, to death. The Sultan, terrified at the imminent danger, ordered the priſoner to be put that very hour to death. When *Daltaban* heard his ſentence, he called for the *Abdeſt*, and having

The Venetians have doubtful success against the Turks at sea.

LXXI. Not long after the Venetians send a fleet into the Mediterranean. Kiel Mehemed Beg (31), with his galleys, attempts Tinos; but being repulsed by Bartolomeo Moro, quits that island again. There are several other slight conflicts at sea, but with doubtful success. The Turkish fleet taking three pyrate-ships, carry them to Constantinople. On the other hand, as the Turks, after a short dispute, twice seemed to avoid a battle, the Venetians challenge two victories.

LXXII. Such were the events of this campain. The beginning of the next might be justly said to confirm the Turkish proverb, "an enemy does never perfectly know the state of his enemy." Sultan Mustapha, after his return to Constantinople, makes all possible preparations for war; but with a mind troubled, and foreboding ill success.

The ominous presages of the people.

LXXIII. The Turks, who had before entered voluntarily into the service, are now backward in obeying even the Sultan's command, and inflexible to entreaties or threats. The Sultan, whilst he passes in disguise through the assemblies of the people, frequently hears these words from the citizens and soldiers "for "the Othmans to defeat the Germans, is a thing beyond our power. God has "publickly testified, he is on the side of the Giaurs; he has signified his decree "in that point by sufficient tokens. It is in vain therefore to shed such torrents "of Musulman blood, while we are to contend as well against God as man."

Both Princes anxious for the event

LXXIV. The Sultan also knew how necessary peace was to recover the exhausted state of the Empire, and it was the object of his earnest wishes but he was prevented from proposing it by his superstition and fear lest the enemies should become more elated, and the honour of the Othman Empire diminished. The German Emperor likewise, on his part, was no less impatient for an end of the war; not that he despaired of victory against the Turks, but feared while he was engaged in that war, the King of Spain should die, and the disputes which would arise concerning his succession, put a stop to the successful progress of his arms: however, he thought it dishonourable to desire peace of a conquered enemy, and of his own accord to offer him the palm The Dutch and English ambassadors were present to mediate a peace, but their offers having been so often rejected, they chose rather first to hear peace desired, than to propose it.

The sagacity of Alexander Maurocordato.

LXXV. The chief interpreter of the Othman court, Alexander Maurocordato, perceives the inclination of both parties, and as he was no less sagacious and fond of glory, than devoted to the Othman Empire, resolves to rescue it from destruction, and at the same time to raise himself a great reputation through the whole Empire.

He is the first instrument of settling peace.

LXXVI. His hopes of this were chiefly grounded on the Vizir Husein Pasha's mild and peaceable disposition. Accordingly, in a visit to him, turning the conversation upon the subject of peace, he tells him, that though he had not heard it from any of the ambassadors, yet, by considering the present situation of affairs in Christendom, he could certainly affirm, the Emperor was very desirous of

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ving repeated the usual prayers, said to the executioner: kill, O infidel Musulmans, him whom the infidel Giaurs could not kill. Nor would he suffer himself to be blinded, but with his eyes open, and with his usual steddiness, held out his neck, and received the fatal blow. Such was the end of Daltaban, the bravest soldier the Othman Empire ever produced; and, a man highly renowned both in war and peace. How much concerned the people were at his death, plainly appeared by the troubles that followed soon after. Satyrical verses were immediately thrown into the Esks and other [illegible] all which, as it would be too tedious to describe, I shall only mention what follows? "Come then, my pen, let us fly "this dominion, for peace, honour, and "the law of God, and respect of the Othman "majesty, have already taken their flight."

(31) Kiel Mehemed Beg] There are in the islands many Begs, who have one galley at least, wherewith they trade in time of peace, and exercise piracy in time of war The Beg here mentioned, was famous above all the rest, both because he was richer than ordinary, for he kept three galleys at his own charge, and also because he was a Phocensian pirate, very expert in his business. The name of Kiel was given him for having a bald and scurfy head. By the Grecian sailors he was called κασίδα.

a peace with the *Turks*. The Vizir urges, it was not credible the Emperor, flushed with his late victory, and full of hopes, would accept of peace, though offered, much less desire it. *Maurocordato* replies, it might seem so indeed, but if a week's space were allowed him to sound the ambassadors, he would assuredly promise to procure the Vizir not only the Emperor's consent, but even his request for a negotiation of peace.

His prudent method of proceeding with respect to the negotiation of peace.

LXXVII. Having easily obtained leave, *Maurocordato* waits upon the ambassadors of the Christian Princes, and represents to them, that he had already received so many favours from the Emperor of *Germany*, that he should deserve to be thought highly ungrateful if he did not endeavour to make some return; that he had often sought an occasion to show his readiness to serve the Emperor, and demonstrate the fidelity due from a Christian, but had never met with so ample an opportunity as now; that he knew the Emperor, from his apprehensions of a *French* war, was very desirous of a peace; but would not discover it to the *Turks*, lest he should make them suspect the true reason of it, and render them more haughty and assuming in their demands. But if they would confide in him, and grant a power to manage the affair as he thought proper, he would establish a peace upon such terms, as the Emperor might reasonably desire. In the mean time, it was necessary for them to swear upon the *Holy Gospel* to conceal what he should say to them; otherwise himself and his whole family would be exposed to the utmost danger, since the cruelty of the *Turks* to those who are suspected of the least unfaithfulness, was sufficiently known to the whole *Christian* world. The embassadors reply, that the Emperor would not perhaps reject honorable conditions of peace, yet he would never ask it of the *Turks*. But if the interpreter, in his own name, would propose the affair, he would lay a great obligation upon the Emperor. *Maurocordato* returning to the Vizir, gives him a very different representation, and informs him, he had found by the ambassadors, that the Emperor was not only not averse to peace, but extremely desirous of it, and had requested them by any means to put an end to this destructive war. The Vizir seemed by this speech to be raised from the dead, and embracing the artful framer of lies (32), says to him, "If you execute this divine work, and restore the wish'd-for tranquillity to our Empire, you may be assured, you will highly oblige the Sultan, and for ever endear the memory of your services to the rulers of the *Othman* state."

The mediators of the peace speak it in plain terms.

LXXVIII. By these artifices of *Maurocordato*, both the *Turks* and *Christians* are induced to speak a little more openly concerning the affair of peace, and both parties think they may do it without the least impeachment of their master's honour, because each deceived by *Maurocordato*, imagines the first proposal came from the enemy.

The French ambassador in vain attempts to break off the negotiation.

LXXIX *Feriole* (33), the *French* embassador, hearing this affair publickly talked of, by various arts, bribes, and promises, endeavours to disturb the approaching

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(32) framer of lies] *Alexander*, as a man that had as perfect a knowledge of the eastern languages and poetry, as of the *Othman* court, seems herein to have followed the instructions of the famous *Persian* poet, *Sheikh Saadi*; especially in that passage in his *Giulustan*, where he says, "a lie, "which does a [good] work, is better than "truth, which breeds confusion." And indeed he could not have performed any service that would have more obliged both Empires, or procured him greater rewards; so that he may justly be said, to have killed two birds with one stone.

(33) *Feriole*] While Monsieur *de Chateauneuf* was ambassador from *France* to *Constantinople*, this *Feriol* followed the *Turkish* camp, in order to maintain a private correspondence between the *French* court and the Vizir's; and when *Chateauneuf* was recalled, he was appointed to succeed him, on account of his being supposed to have acquired, by long use, a perfect knowledge of the manners and customs of the *Othman* court. But he behaved in this post quite otherwise than his friends had expected; for, either through his haughtiness and natural obstinacy, or by the treacherous advice of some whom he took for his friends, he not only opposed the *Port* in many respects, but also demanded several things that never used before to be granted to any ambassador,

[illegible] calm, and introduce a new scene of blood, alledging, that his master had only made a short truce under the name of a peace, and when it was expired, would

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ambassador, and were contrary to the usages of the *Othman* court. In the very beginning of his embassy, when he was, according to custom, to have his first audience of the Sultan, he came into the inner room with his sword by his side. *Maurocordato*, who assisted at that ceremony as chief interpreter of the court, friendly told him to take off his sword; for it was an old custom in the *Othman* court, not to suffer any one person armed to come to the Sultan: but he boldly answered, he had received his sword from his King, and would not take it off for any man. The Sultan having notice of it, sends *Feriole* orders to take off his sword, and if he refused, commands he should be thrust out of doors. The *Capuji bashi* execute this order, and rudely push back *Feriole* as he is endeavouring to enter. The ambassador, thus repulsed, in a very great passion makes his interpreters pull off the *Caftans*, which, according to custom, they had put on in the outer court, and, trampling upon them, goes out of the palace. When the Sultan heard of it, he ordered all the presents the ambassador had brought, (and which also he demanded, affirming they had not been sent by the King, his master, but were of his own purchasing) to be restored to him, and would never after give him admittance, especially as he constantly refused to come without a sword. This affair highly offended the court, and yet the fault was not so much in *Feriole*, as in his predecessor, *Chateauneuf*; who having, at his first audience, worn a little dagger privately under his clothes, he set it down in the memoirs of his embassy, that he had audience of the Sultan with his sword by his side. When he was recalled, he received orders from his court to deliver up all his memorials and papers to his successor. *Feriole*, upon reading of them, asked *Chateauneuf*, before his departure, whether that was true? and whether he must also appear himself before the Sultan with his sword? He told him, yes, perhaps because he bore him a grudge. When this deceitful trick of *Chateauneuf* came to be known, *Feriole* might not only have recovered his reputation for prudence, but also have been reconciled to the *Port*, had he not soon after, by other as great outrages against the Sultan's authority, too openly discovered his wilful temper. The Sultan's barge has a tilt over it of purple [illegible], lined with cloth of gold, and supported with four gilt pillars, raised in the form [illegible], and adorned on the top with [illegible] candlesticks placed in breadth. These ornaments no person is allowed to bear, except the *Capudan Pasha*, or admiral, and only when he goes to sea (for then he is reckoned as the *Deryâ Padishahi*, or Emperor of the sea;) and the Vizir himself is permitted to use but a green tilt, supported by ivory pillars, and without candlesticks. But *Feriole*, insisting upon I know not what privileges and liberties of ambassadors, got a barge made like the Sultan's; and when his friends represented to him, that the Sultan would never suffer it, he swore a great oath, and said, he would never come to *Constantinople* in any other barge. When it first appeared in the harbour at *Constantinople*, the *Bostanji bashi* followed it, thinking the Sultan had been somewhere, without his knowledge, when he came up to it, and found it was not the Sultan's, but the *French* ambassador's barge, he took the rowers out, and ordered the *Bostanji* to break it in pieces on the water. Notwithstanding this, *Feriole* stood to his word, and having a house at *Galata*, whenever any urgent business called him to *Constantinople*, he chose rather to take a long and tedious journey by land, than to cross over a much shorter way by water. The last disturbance he raised at *Constantinople*, was in the Vizirship of *Calaily Ahmed Pasha*. He had obtained leave from his predecessor, *Silahdar Hasan Pasha*, to make rejoicings for the birth of the King his master's grandson, by firing guns and making bonfires; and had accordingly got a sumptuous entertainment ready, and made all other preparations for that solemnity. But the very day the rejoicings were to begin, *Silahdar Hasan Pasha* was deposed, and *Calaily Ahmed Pasha* put in his room. *Feriole*, hearing of this change, sends immediately his chief interpreter to the Vizir's house, to procure a confirmation of the former *Ferman*, and not being able to obtain it, by reason of the great concourse of nobles about the new Vizir's door, and loth withal to have all his preparations come to nothing, he resolves to keep the solemnity by virtue of the old *Ferman*. At night, when *Calaily Ahmed Pasha* sees the light of the candles, surprized at such an unusual thing, done without his knowledge, he sends, in the first heat of his passion, and without enquiring into the matter, the *Bostanji bashi* to the ambassador, to command him to put out the candles. *Feriole* refusing to obey, the Vizir sends the same person to him a second time, to advise him in a friendly manner not to lose his honour and his life, through his unseasonable obstinacy, for he had

would in a few years invade *Germany* with a greater force than ever. But the *Othman* court having, by fatal experience, so often found the *French* promises of no effect, the ambassador's efforts prove in vain, and he is ordered to be quiet, and not disturb the negotiation of peace.

LXXX. But though the report of peace was very agreeable to the *Turks*, yet they omit nothing which could be devised in the present situation of affairs, to stop the progress of the enemy, and secure their borders. The Sultan, at the end of the month *Zylcade*, of the year 1109, removes from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*, from whence, on the first of the next month, he orders the Vizir to march with the whole army to *Belgrade*, while he spends the summer in the village of *Akbunar*, near *Adrianople*, expecting the issue of the negotiation of peace.

LXXXI In the mean time both armies, the Imperialists at *Peterwaradin*, and the *Turks* near *Belgrade*, in hopes of peace, continue without motion, and only guard their borders. The same is done by the *Russians* and *Poles*. The *Venetians* have a slight engagement with the *Turkish* fleet near *Mitylene*, and the latter is put to flight, though not without some loss. In *Dalmatia*, they at-

Hon Sult patc Viz. arm H A

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had now a *Ferman* given him to quiet the troubles with his regiment, without further orders, and if the ambassador refused to obey, to extinguish the candles by force, and destroy all his preparations. To this *Feriole* replies, "If you will violently infringe the rights of the King, my master, and the privileges of ambassadors, I, who am bound to sacrifice my own life for my master's honour, will blow up this house with gun-powder, and in it my self and those that come to offer any violence, and will leave the King, my master, to demand satisfaction for the injury done me." During this disturbance, *Feriole*'s chief interpreter, one *La Fontaine*, a man well versed in the affairs of the *Othman* court, privately puts out the candles that were lighted abroad, not in the order in which they stood, but some here, and others there, so that they might seem to have been blown out by the wind and the guests perceiving the danger they were in, withdrew by degrees, so that *Feriole* was forced to do, for want of company, what he would not do for the Sultan's order, that is, put an end to his rejoicings. But, to say the truth, bating this obstinacy, *Feriole* was a man endowed with many virtues, couragious, liberal, an agreeable companion, easy of access, a very strenuous assertor of the King, his master's honour, and above all sincere, and a most constant friend both in prosperity and adversity, of which I had a very singular proof while I lived at *Constantinople*. My perpetual and sworn enemy, *Constantine Brancovan*, late Prince of *Walachia*, had bribed the Vizir, *Damad Hasan Pasha*, with large presents, to banish me to *Chios*. Having been informed of it by my good friend, *Firari Hasan Pasha*, the *Testadar*, three days before the *Bostanji bashi*, who had received orders for that purpose, was to surround my house with his *Bostanjis* about the third watch of the night, I had fled for refuge into the *French* ambassador's house, and was very kindly received by *Feriole*. The Vizir hearing I was hid there, sent one of his Aga's to the ambssador, to desire him to deliver me up: but *Feriole* told him, "I have no *Bogdanbegzade* in my house, and if I had, I would not give him up, neither would I stain the King, my master's honour, with so foul a crime." But he gave a much sharper answer to the Prince of *Walachia*'s *Capukiebaia*, that brought him *Brancovan*'s letter, in which he was required not to keep me, who was his enemy, in his house, and screen me from the Vizir's just sentence. He wondered (he said) with what face *Brancovan* could ask such a thing of him, when he knew that the house he lived in was not his own, but the King, his master's; who had so much kindness and compassion for the afflicted, especially for Christians, that he would make no scruple of concealing and protecting even him against the indignation of the Sultan and Vizirs, if ever he should be turned out of his Principality, that therefore he acted very much against his own interest, in violating the rights and privileges of a house which might, one day, serve him for a sanctuary. A few years after *Feriole* fell into a phrenzy, and was sent to *France* chained; some, who pretend to be better acquainted with his secrets, affirm he was in his senses when he returned home, and that his madness was not real, but feigned, by a peculiar order from the *French* court, because they could find no better excuse for all the disturbance their ambassador caused at the *Othman Port*, than by saying he was mad: but I have many reasons for not believing that account.

[...] to take *Stalaz* by stratagem, but are forced to retire without success. The Seraskier, on the other hand, endeavours to make himself master of *Cing*, in the same province; but upon the approach of the *Venetians*, raises the siege.

The ambassadors of all the Princes meet at Carlovitz.

LXXXII. Having spoken enough of war, let us see what passed with regard to peace. Both sides being, as I have said, inclined to pacific measures, the preliminaries had now been settled at *Constantinople*; the place for the congress appointed, namely *Carlovitz*, between *Belgrade* and *Peterwaradin*, and ambassadors appointed by all the princes engaged in the war. The *Turks* chose *Rami Mehemed Reis Effendi*, and *Alexander Maurocordatus*, honoured with the title of *Beg* and *Mahremi Esrar* (34); the Emperor, Count *Pettingen* and Count *Schlik*, his privy-counsellors; the Czar of *Russia*, *Procopius Bogdan wicz*, *Woznicini*; the *Poles*, *Stanislaus Michelowski*, Weywode of *Posnania*; the *Venetians* (35), *Ruzini*; and *Paget* and *Collier*, the *English* and *Dutch* ambassadors, were to act as mediators of the peace. They all meet about the end of the year 1110 at *Carlovitz*, and pitch their tents on both sides the river *Carlovitz*.

H. 1110.
A. C. 1699.

At first there is a dispute about precedency

LXXXIII. At first there arises a dispute concerning the place of conference, the seats of the ambassadors, precedency, and the order in which they were to visit each other. The *Turks* insisted upon the first place, which was claimed by the Emperor's ambassadors, next to whom the *Polish* plenipotentiary demanded to sit, which was refused by the *Russian* and all the rest, except the *Venetian*, who claimed the next seat to the *English*.

Which is very prudently adjusted by *Maurocordatus*

LXXXIV. This dispute, though it seemed slight at first, grew so high, that all their labour and expence were like to be in vain, if *Maurocordatus*'s prudence had not invented a remedy by which the ambassadors, now incensed against

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(34) *Mahremi Esrar*] i. e. *to whom secrets are discovered*. *Maurocordatus* invented this new name for his office, which was never used before, nor has been since his death granted to any other. He rendered the same into *Greek*, and would fain have been called ὁ ἐξαπόρρητων; and long endeavoured to prevail upon the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, to give him the title of ὁ ἐκλαμπρότατος, *most illustrious*, in their letters, instead of the epithet ἐξοχώτατος, or *most excellent*, which used to be given him, as the chief interpreter of the court; and which, in the patriarchate, and in those princes courts, is not reckoned so honourable as ὁ ἐκλαμπρότατος.

(35) *Venetians*] It will not be improper to insert in this place the famous saying of *Rami Reis Effendi*. For, finding the *Venetian* ambassador spoke something boastingly, and proved harder and more difficult than the rest in agreeing upon the articles of peace, he turned to him, and said, "*Elchibeg* *, you ought not to be so unreasonable, nor so full of your boasts, especially before such an assembly of wise ambassadors as this, who all know how to make a comparison between the condition and strength of the Republick of *Venice*, and those of the *Othman* Empire. For you could never have stretched your fingers, (which nature has made very short) so far, had not the same thing happened, as one of our common stories [...] formerly befell two very stout and famous wrestlers They meet, and in order to contend with more strength, pull off their clothes, and enter the lists naked. While they were engaged, a *Yankesiji*, (which is the name given to pickpockets, and such pilfering rogues) creeping along the ground like a serpent, steals away the champion's clothes At last, when the wrestlers had exhausted their strength, and, according to custom, given each other the kiss of peace, they turned to their clothes, and perceiving they were stolen by a *Yankesiji*, were forced to get other garments to cover their nakedness. Not long after, one of them found the thief dressed in a wrestler's habit, walking in the market place, and pretending to be a wrestler, for fear the other should discover his crime to the people, but the true wrestler told him, the clothes thou hast on are not thine, but mine, for while I was engaged with a strong wrestler, thou didst come like a sly fox and steal them away, and hast not won them by wrestling However, some time or other we two may find an opportunity of encountring one another, and then thou shalt find what difference there is between a lion and a fox, a wrestler and a thief, and I shall try whether thou hast learned as well to fight as to steal, but I am afraid, besides the clothes thou hast taken from me, thou wilt leave thy skin too.

each

each other above measure, were mutually reconciled. He proposes that a round building be run up for the place of conference, with as many doors as there are ambassadors, and each door look towards the country from whence the ambassadors severally came, that the tents be placed in the same manner round the building, from whence, on the first day of the congress, each of them should proceed with an equal pace, and enter the house at the same time, and, saluting each other at the entrance, take the seat next to them.

LXXXV. This being approved by all, they hold frequent conferences concerning the terms of peace; at last, after many disputes, the peace wished for by the whole world, except the *French*, is concluded on the 26th of the month *Rejeb* †, of the year 1110, and the instruments signed by all the ambassadors.

The wished-for peace at last concluded † Ja 15, H 1110. A C 1698

LXXXVI. The Emperor made a truce for five and twenty years upon these conditions. All *Transylvania* should be resigned to him, in the same extent in which it had been held by the last Prince, *Michael Apaffi*, and his predecessors. *Temeswar* was to be left to the Sultan; and lest that city should be blocked up by the adjacent castles, and deprived of provisions, *Lippa*, *Chonad*, *Caransebes*, *Lugos*, *Herconisia*, *Bech* *, *Bechkerek* *, and *Sabbia*, were to have their walls demolished, and neither party allowed to rebuild them, that the navigation of the *Tibiscus* and *Maros* should be free to the subjects of both Empires, and the country between the *Danube* and the *Tibiscus*, called *Bachkab* *, remain in the Emperor's hands; that the boundary of the eastern part of *Hungary*, belonging to the Emperor, should be a right line drawn from the mouth of the *Maros*, through the banks of the *Tibiscus* to the mouth of the *Bossut*, where it falls into the *Save*, that towards the south the *Save* should part the *Turkish* from the Imperial boundaries till it receives the *Unna*, that no new castles, besides *Belgrade* and *Peterwaradin* should be erected or fortified any where within their boundaries.

The articles of the peace between the Sultan and the Emperor.

LXXXVII. The *Russian* ambassador made a truce only for two years, upon the terms of each party possessing what they had taken.

And the Czar.

LXXXVIII. The *Poles* made the same truce as the Emperor, upon these conditions, that they should have *Caminiec*, *Podolia*, and *Ukrania*, in the same extent as that kingdom had possessed before Sultan *Mahomet*'s first expedition into *Poland*, restored to them, and, on the other hand, resign *Soczava*, *Nemoz*, and *Soroka*, in *Moldavia*, to the *Turks*.

And the *Poles*.

LXXXIX. The *Venetians* obtained these conditions, that all the *Morea*, as far as *Hexamilos*, should belong to them and the *Turkish Terra Firma*, with *Naupactum*, *Prevesa*, and the castle of *Romania*, which had been demolished, should be restored to the *Turks*, that the bay of *Corinth* should be common to both, and the *Venetians* possess *Leucade*, with the adjacent islands. The yearly tribute which the several slands in the *Archipelago* had hitherto paid to the *Venetians*, was to be abolished; and, on the other hand, the *Turks* were to declare *Zacynth* free from tribute. In *Dalmatia*, *Knin*, *Cing*, *Cyklut*, *Verlica*, *Duare*, and *Vergoraz*, were to be left to the *Venetians*, and fixed as the boundaries of the dominions of their Republick. The *Ragusians* were to continue free, and the *Venetians* were to retain the castles of *Castelnuovo* and *Risano*, with what they possessed in the neighbourhood. Both parties were to be allowed to fortify their borders with new fortresses, or repair those which were decayed, except *Naupactum*, *Prevesa*, and the castle of *Romania*.

And the *Venetians*.

XC. These articles being unanimously agreed upon, the *Turkish* ambassadors return to the Sultan at *Adrianople*, and, informing him of their proceedings, receive royal rewards for their services. Having thus settled a peace with all his enemies, the Sultan disbands his army, and that same summer departs from *Adrianople* to *Constantinople*, in order to regulate the disordered state of the Empire, and by a prudent administration, repair the losses it had sustained.

The articles of peace being agreed upon, the ambassadors return to *Adrianople*.

XCI. From

XCI. From thence he sends *Haznadar Ibrahim Pasha* (36), as ambassador extraordinary, with an *Ahd Name* to the Emperor of *Germany*, and receives from him in return, by the hands of Count *Toening*, the ratifications of peace signed by him. Having dispatched these affairs, he commits the whole administration of the Empire to the Vizir, *Husein Pasha*, and to relax his mind, removes with his court to *Karyshtiran* (37), where he endeavours to divert, by hunting, his regret for the loss of so many provinces.

XCII. Upon this recess after so many toils, the people, and especially the soldiery, grew uneasy, and imagined that the peace, so earnestly wished for, was granted them for no other end, but to watch narrowly and censure the words and actions of their Sultan. Hence they blushed not to say, in their assemblies, that the Sultan was disposed to imitate his father in all things. For as his father, in the first years of his reign, applied himself to the administration of affairs, and neglected nothing which he thought would enlarge the bounds of the Empire; so *Mustapha*, in the first five years of his reign, had applied himself wholly to the state, and discharged all the duties of a father of his country, and in this respect imitated the virtues of the other; but that now he was resolved to imitate those vices of which his father, in his advanced age, and after extending the Empire, was guilty, namely, the love of hunting and dogs, though he was yet young, and not so conspicuous for his services to the *Othman* Empire. For he had not recovered any thing from the enemy, nor during the whole course of the war done any action to deserve the thanks of the publick, except in preventing the enemy from penetrating farther into the heart of the Empire. Since therefore his father, illustrious for so many victories, was deposed on account of his excessive fondness for hunting, it was to be feared that an equal, if not a worse fate, would attend his son, who was much inferior to him.

Hegira 1111. — 1699

XCIII. To avoid these reproaches, the Sultan takes a method, often used with success by his predecessors, namely, to retire to *Adrianople*. For when he had sent for the Vizir and all the great officers of the Empire to that city, and thereby removed all subject of calumny from the spies upon his conduct, the people are silent, and cease from their usual satyr against their governors.

Sultan ...ves to ...anople to ...the re...hes of ...eople

XCIV. During his stay at *Adrianople*, in the month *Rejeb* †, of the year 1111, the Sultan is informed by letters from the Chan of *Tartary*, that the Czar of *Russia* having changed the habit and religious ceremonies of his country, (one of which points was true, the other false) had introduced those of *Germany*, and raised a very large army out of his whole kingdom, disciplined after the *German* manner; and though he had made a truce at *Carlovitz* for two years,

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† ...cember 1111 — 1700

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(36) *Haznadar Ibrahim*] He was at first treasurer and confident of the prime Vizir, *Cara Mustapha Pasha*, and was on account of that office named *Haznadar*. After *Cara*'s death, having sincerely discovered his pernicious designs to *Atnejı Soliman Pasha*, he came to be highly in favour with him, and was advanced to very considerable posts. At last, when a peace was concluded with the *Germans*, he was sent to *Vienna* with the character of ambassador extraordinary, to confirm it, and at his return from thence was appointed governor of *Belgrade*. He was a prudent man, of a sharp and quick wit, but full of moderation, and very fit to manage embassies, and other political affairs: undoubtedly he would have arrived to the highest posts in the *Othman* government, had he not been supposed to have sullied the honour of the *Mahometan* law, and the *Alıothman* Empire, by his immoderate love of wine, which he learned at *Vienna* to addict himself to. For, upon this account, Sultan *Mustapha* would not suffer him to come to *Adrianople*, nor give him admittance, but ordered him to remain at his government of *Belgrade*, which sat so heavy upon his mind, that in a few months it brought him into a consumption, of which he died.

(37) *Karyshtiran*] a town between *Chorlo* * and *Burgaz*, near the road from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*. There is still to be seen a very fine palace, built by Sultan *Mahomet* IV, for the conveniency of hunting; for the adjacent country is very pleasant, and fit for hunting, being full of hares, famous for their great swiftness.

was

was preparing a fleet with utmost expedition, and building new cities and castles upon the *Tanais*, *Borysthenes*, and other rivers; that these proceedings were no sign of peace, but it was rather to be feared, that the latent flame would shortly break out with great fury and danger; that the Sultan therefore ought to take care, that while he put an end to the war with the *Germans* in the west, a new *Nemche* * *Giaur* from the north did not distress the *Othman* Empire, and bring it into great danger, since nothing could prevent the *Russians* from over-running all *Crim-Tartary* in the first campain, before the *Turks* could come to its relief. It was necessary therefore either to have a firm peace, or immediately to declare war, lest the enemy should have time and opportunity to strengthen themselves. If the Sultan should happen to doubt of the truth of this report, he should send a trusty officer, who might be an eye-witness of what was transacted, and might inform the Sultan of all particulars.

XCV. The Sultan, unknown to the Vizir, sends his master of horse, *Kyblelı Oglı* (38), son to the Vizir's sister, into *Crim-Tartary*, with orders strictly to examine the conduct of the *Russians*, and immediately return, without informing any person of the occasion of his journey. *Kyblelı Oglı*, having received this command, prepares for his journey, but before his departure, secretly goes to his uncle, and acquaints him with the Sultan's commission. The Vizir, lest this spark should become a greater flame than what had been extinguished, directs his kinsman, at his return, to come to him before he went to the Sultan, for instructions what to say. *Kyblelı Oglı* observes his advice, and at his return, before he waits upon the Sultan, goes to the Vizir in disguise, and acquaints him, that the *Russians* had built a large fleet at two places, namely, at *Voroneshy* and *Azac*, and were every day increasing it; that they had fortified *Taganorok* in a surprizing manner, and that above twenty thousand workmen were perpetually employed in building new fortifications; that the works at *Camenzaton*, above the *Borysthenes*, were already finished, and the cataracts of that river opened, and made fit for navigation, that the *Tartars* had nothing left secure beyond the *Chersonensus*, and were perpetually annoyed by the incursions of the *Cosaks*, with many other particulars of the like nature, which were true, and withal, seemed to demonstrate the disinclination of the *Russians* to peace

The Sultan sends a person to observe the designs of the Cz.

XCVI The Vizir considering, that if these things were related to the Sultan, they would occasion a more dreadful war than the former, desires his kinsman to conceal them, and persuade the Sultan, that the Chan of *Crim-Tartary's* account was entirely groundless, and a mere fiction, aggravated according to the usual way of the *Tartars*, for they know they are never regarded by the *Othmans*, except in time of war, and are so accustomed to plunder, that they think they can hardly subsist without it, that the *Russians* had indeed, during the war, began several castles, but had now discontinued their works, and were desirous of nothing so much as preserving the peace inviolate, and the commerce free between themselves and the *Turks*, for which purpose they would soon send an ambassador extraordinary to the resplendent *Port*.

The Vizir, by false representation endeavours to avoid a war with *Russia*

XCVII. *Kyblelı Oglı*, furnished with this fictitious story, the next day pretending to be just come from his journey, without having spoken to any person, goes directly to the Sultan, and tells him exactly what he had been taught. The Sultan, not suspecting his fidelity, is extremely incensed against the Chan, and in a letter severely reprimands him for his false and injurious account. The Chan, perceiving by this that the Sultan had been deceived by the artifice of *Kyblelı Oglı*, answers by letter, that he never durst presume to offer falsities to his majesty; but thought that *Kyblelı Oglı*, bribed by the enemy, had

The Chan being accused of a falsity, clears himself to the Sultan

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(38) *Kyblelı Oglı*] He was sister's son to the Vizir *Amuceje Oglı Husein Pasha*, who loved him so entirely, that, though he was young, he never ceased to importune the Sultan till he had made him *Buyuk imrabor*. I have already given a larger account of him in the body of the history.

[illegible]med him of what he had seen and heard in *Crim-Tartary*, and per[illegible] accused him of falshood, because he had not received such rich pre[illegible] from him as he expected; for that the account which he had given his [illegible]ty in his former letters was as clear and evident as the light of the sun; [illegible] *Kybleli Ogli* would not deny what he had seen, if he should be more strict[illegible] and severely examined.

Kybleli Ogli's fraud being detected, he is put to death, and the Vizir deprived of his post.

XCVIII. This answer of the Chan being delivered by unknown persons to the Sultan, as he was coming out of the *Jami*, he immediately sends for *Kybleli Ogli*, threatning him with death, if he did not frankly confess the truth *Kybleli*, in this dangerous situation, acknowledges that every thing related by the Chan in his former letters was true; but that he had amused his majesty with a different story, by the persuasion of the Vizir, whose commands he could not refuse on account of the authority of his post, and his relation to him, and humbly begs pardon of his fault. The imposture of both being thus detected, the Sultan at first deprives *Kybleli Ogli* of his post, and banishes him from *Constantinople*; but soon after sending *Haseki Aga* with a *Chatisherif*, orders him to be put to death. At the same time he removes *Husein Pasha* from the office of Vizir, and banished him to a village near *Syllebria*, reducing him to a private station, though without meddling with his estate.

H 1113
A C. 1731

The Vizirship vacant

XCIX. After his removal, the Vizirship, by a very rare example, was vacant forty days, till the arrival of *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha* governor of *Babylon*, whom the Sultan had resolved to advance to that office, on account of his subduing the *Arabs*. During this interval, *Silahdar Hasan Pasha*, under the title of *Vekil*, had the administration of affairs.

Daltaban Mustapha Pasha made Vizir

C. When the new Vizir, *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha* was come, he takes upon him the post designed for him, and immediately demands a list of all the castles which the *Othman* Empire was possessed of before and after the last war with the *Germans*

He is extremely incensed against the ambassadors who made the peace.

CI. Finding by this list, that a great many towns beyond the *Save*, which he had taken from the *Germans* while he was Basha of *Bosnia*, were restored to them by the peace, he is extremely provoked, declaring those who had made the peace were no less *Giaurs* than the *Germans* themselves, since they had given up, without any necessity, so many places reduced to the *Othman* obedience by his own blood, and had given *Cameniec*, a city designed by Sultan *Mahomet* for the bulwark of the whole Empire, and for a noble monument of the *Mahometan* religion by the erection of a magnificent *Jami*, in exchange for three towns of *Moldavia* filled with Christians.

He designs to make war upon the Poles

CII. Not content with reproaching the peace-makers, he resolves to break it, and particularly to declare war against the *Poles*. He was in great hopes of better success than before, as well from the weakness of that kingdom, which he had sufficiently observed while Seraskier against them, as from the confused state of *Europe* upon the death of the King of *Spain*, on which account neither the Emperor nor any other of the Christian Princes could assist them

He seeks an occasion of breaking the peace

CIII. But lest the superstitious people should think the truce violated by the *Othman* court, and for that reason fear the event, he carefully examines whether any thing had been done by the *Germans* which might give a colour to declare war.

He threatens the ambassadors, under pretence that the peace was contrary to the precept of the Koran

CIV. But finding no pretence to accuse the enemy of a breach of the peace, he declares that the ambassadors of the *Othman* court had acted contrary to the *Koran* and the Sultan's command, and given more to the enemy than their orders would justify; and for that reason he resolves to put them to death.

He resolves to put the Mufti to death.

CV But perceiving the Mufti's authority would be a great obstacle in this affair, who had not only approved of the peace by his *Fetvah*, but likewise was a singular patron of the ambassadors, he determines to dispatch him privately, because he could not publickly do it out of reverence to his office. For this purpose, he pretends a strict friendship with him, often visiting him in a familiar manner, and discoursing with him concerning the state of the publick affairs; at

at last he invites him to a splendid entertainment, secretly directing some of his chamberlains, that when the water was pouring out for the Mufti to wash his hands, they should of a sudden strangle him with a cord.

His design being discovered, the Mufti escapes the danger

CVI. But the very thing which the Vizir had contrived for the destruction of the Mufti, by his imprudence, turns to his own ruin. For having discovered the secret to his *Kiehaia*, *Ibrahim Aga* (39), the latter, to ingratiate himself with the Mufti, immediately goes with the *Casab bashi* (40), *Cara Mehemed Aga* (41), and informs him of the danger to which he was exposed. Upon this the Mufti pretending sickness, throws himself upon his bed, and in a faint voice answers the Vizir, who was come (42) to invite him to the feast, that he was extremely sorry his sudden indisposition should prevent his coming; but he would send his son, *Nakyb Effendi*, to supply the place of his sick father

The Mufti accuses the Vizir to the Sultan of rebellion.

CVII When the Vizir was gone, the Mufti sends for the *Reis Effendi*, *Rami Mehemmed Pasha* (43), and *Maurocordatus*, and acquaints them with the Vizir's design

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(39) *Ibrahim Aga*] After this treachery to his master, and his death, he was, through the Mufti's application, made Basha of *Thessalonica*, and, on account of his lameness, named *Topal Ibrahim Pasha*, i e *Ibrahim Pasha the Lame*. But he did not long enjoy the reward of his perfidiousness, for, a few months after, he fell ill at *Thessalonica*, and, as 'tis said, in the midst of horrible torments, perpetually calling upon the name of his master, and bellowing like a bull, he dismissed his soul to the mansions prepared by *Mahomet*

(40) *Casab bashi*] The chief butcher, whose business it is to take care that none but sound and fresh meat be brought into the shops, and not be sold above the stated price There is another of the same name employed in time of war to buy cattle for the army, of whom an account has been given in a former note.

(41 *Cara Mehemed Aga*] He was named *Cara* on account of the blackness of his complexion, which I have several times observed to be a name common among the *Turks*. He was the richest *Turk* in his time, so that he often could lend five hundred or a thousand purses, at three days notice, to *Constantine Brancovan*, whose great dependant he was whenever he had occasion He met with the same end, as generally attends all those that have enriched themselves in the *Turk* service for under *Damad Hasan Pasha*, being falsely accused, he was turned out of his place, thrown into prison, and stripped of all the riches and treasures he had amassed

(42) was come] As the Vizir and Mufti both hold the highest degree in their respective orders, they never meet without great previous ceremonies, for the Mufti, before he goes to visit the Vizir, sends his *Talkhysbchi**, which he has peculiar to himself, as well as the Vizir, to enquire whether he is at home? and to let him know he intends to visit him. The Vizir, on the other hand, sends with his *Talkhysbchi** the *Reis Effendi*, to meet the Mufti as far as his house, who going before, the Mufti follows in his chariot, (for he never rides on horseback in the city, and but seldom in the country) When he arrives at the Vizir's palace, the *Kietchudabeg* and *Chaush** *bashi* meet him at the gate, and lead him under the arms as far as the stair-case. The Vizir himself meets him upon the first step, and after the usual salutations, they both go up stairs, the Vizir going first. The Mufti, in the mean time, with a grave countenance, and with both his hands upon his breast, blesses the people on both sides with the customary form used among the *Mahometans*, *Selamun aleikium*, i e. *Peace be with you*, at which they bow the head. When they come into the room, they both sit down, the Vizir on the left hand, as the most honourable place, and the Mufti on the right, and conclude the visit with the same ceremonies

(43) *Rami Mehemed*] He was born at *Constantinople*, in the suburbs of *Eyub*, of parents of mean condition, and there applying himself to learning and poetry, he had the name of *Rami* conferred upon him by the academy of poetry: for it is customary among the masters of that art, as soon as their scholars are able to make verses, to give them new names, which they retain to their death When he had finished the course of his studies, fortune having denied him means of rising higher, he frequented taverns, and as he was very handsom, and had a harmonious voice, and besides understood musick, he got a pretty good livelyhood there, considering his condition He was removed from this way of life by the famous poet, *Nabi Effendi*, secretary to the *Musahib* Divan, by whose good instructions he so improved, that though he had no place at court, because all his friends were dead, yet he passed among the great men for a good writer. At last, *Elmas Mehemed Pasha* made him *Mukabeleji*, and *Husein Pasha* appointed him *Reis Effendi*, in which office he displayed his abilities, while he had jointly

design against them. Having maturely considered the affair, this triumvirate resolve to go to the Sultan, and by a feigned or real accusation of the Vizir, procure him to be removed from his post, and, if possible, put to death. The Mufti undertakes this province, and the next day waits upon the Sultan, informing him that the Vizir was engaged in some new designs destructive to the whole *Othman* Empire; that he had secretly listed a very numerous army, made his dependants officers in it, and ordered them to excite the soldiers to demand publickly the rupture of the peace, and depose the Sultan, if he would not gratify the army's desires.

The credulous Sultan puts the Vizir to death without examining his cause; *Rami Pasha* advanced in his room

CVIII. The Sultan readily believing what the Mufti, for whom he had a great esteem, had falsely charged upon the Vizir, and being extremely incensed against him, orders him to be sent for by *Baltajılar Kiehajasi*, and severely reproaches him; and when he attempted to excuse himself, commands him to be put to death, advancing in his room *Rami Mehemed Pasha*, who, from *Reis Effendi*, a few days before, had been made *Cubbe Vizir*.

The Vizir's death the occasion of a dreadful rebellion.

CIX. But from the Vizir's blood, as from a copious fountain, torrents of human blood flowed. The *Ulema*, citizens and soldiers at *Constantinople*, hearing what had happened at *Adrianople*, begin to complain openly as well as privately of the present administration, declaring that all things were now managed with confusion; that the new Vizir, the Mufti, and other great officers, were traytors; and that their whole conduct tended to the ruin of the Empire, that for this purpose, they had persuaded the Sultan to put to death *Daltaban Mustapha Pasha*, one of the greatest heroes of the age, who, supposing he had been guilty of some misconduct, should rather have been banished, that he might on occasion, like a cooped lion, be let loose upon an enemy. But that they being jealous of this, would not suffer him to live, who had twice signalized his warlike abilities against the *Germans* and *Arabs*; and by their management, had raised *Rami Mehemed Pasha* to the Vizirship, a good scribe indeed, and a man of great learning, but unfit for that office; that this was the very reason of persuading the Sultan to leave his capital, the great bulwark of the Empire, reside at *Adrianople*, and wander in the woods; that *Constantinople* was drained, and *Adrianople* rendered famous; and whilst the inhabitants of the former, by the absence of the court and the tyranny of the governors, was reduced to the lowest poverty, the *Adrianopolitans*, now grown rich and haughty, looked with contempt upon the posterity of so

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jointly, with *Maurocordatus*, the management of the peace. At his return from that embassy, he came to be in great esteem with the Sultan, and had the commendation from him of having well and skilfully discharged his commission. When *Daltaban* endeavoured to put him to death, he not only secured himself by his own and the Mufti's artifices, but also much bettered his condition with the spoils of his enemy. Being a second time sentenced to punishment by the rebels, he saved himself by running away, and lay concealed some time at *Constantinople* among the women. The rebellion being quelled, he appeared again in public under the Vizirship of *Hasan Pasha*, and was first made Basha of *Egypt*, the richest Pashalic in the whole *Othman* Empire, and from thence removed to the government of *Cyprus*, where those persons are commonly sent whom the court has a mind to send out of the way without blood: but the goodness of his constitution being proof too long against the badness of the air, the Kapuji Bashi was sent with a *Chatisherif* to put him to death. However, it was not his fate to die a violent death: for after he had taken the *Abdest*, he expired as he was repeating the prayers commonly said among the *Turks*, by persons condemned to death. The superstitious people, who were of his party, believe that an angel was sent from heaven to receive his soul, and had prevented the injustice of his enemies: but it seems more probable, that he was overpowered and suffocated with fear, and died of a palpitation of heart; for though he outdid all the *Turkish* writers in quickness of wit and elegance of expression, yet he was thought to be weak, fearful, and of an effeminate mind. It has been observed, that he was but a mere tool to *Maurocordatus*, by whose secret persuasion and advice he did many things, which *Maurocordatus*, as being a Christian, could not propose in publick: and therefore many things are falsely ascribed to his skill and penetration, which none but a man of *Maurocordatus*'s discernment and capacity could have invented.

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many *Othman* heroes; that to disgrace the city of *Constantinople* the more, there was appointed for *Caimacan, Kioprili Abdullah Pasha* (44), a youth of eighteen years, who, except the glory of his father, had nothing to recommend him but his marriage with the Mufti's daughter, as if no bounds could be fixed to the Mufti's will, who had already exceeded the limits of his office, and wanted but little of engrossing, with his family, the whole *Othman* Empire; that all the best and noblest *Mollahships* were filled by his young sons, or by those who could purchase them, for his house was become the office of avarice, where justice and ecclesiastical dignities were sold to the rich, and not disposed of to men of integrity and learning. These, and other things, they uttered publickly with great assurance, and gave sufficient marks of their readiness to revolt; but a leader and a proper occasion were wanting: the last is soon given them by the *Caimacan, Kioprili Abdullah Pasha* himself.

The sedition, long concealed, at last breaks out into open rebellion.

H. 1114. A. C. 1702.

CX. For when he, about the end of the month *Muharem*, of the year 1114, with the *Tefterdar* of *Istambol*, distributed the pay to the Janizaries, the *Jebeji*, who are next in order to the Janizaries, go three or four times to the gates of the *Caimacan* and *Tefterdar*, desiring also to be paid; but the *Caimacan* putting them off from day to day, they send about forty of their companions to him, as he is hearing the complaints of the people in the *Divan*, and by an *Arzuhal*, humbly beseech him to grant them their pay in their turn. Having read this petition, his youthful blood is fired, and reproaching the *Jebeji* in very severe and dishonourable terms, bids them wait, because there was no money in the treasury. They, provoked at this treatment, go out of the *Divan*; but upon the very stairs return the *Caimacan*'s reproaches with greater sharpness, and so loud, that the by-standers could hear almost every word. The *Caimacan*, informed of this, commands the *Muhzuri* (45), immediately to follow and seize them, and carry them to their chief officer, that they might be put to death: for it is capital among the *Turks* to contradict or use reproachful terms to any judge, especially to the *Caimacan*, who is supposed to be the Sultan's vicegerent. The *Muhzurs* using force, are resisted by the *Jebeji*, who raise a tumult in the street, and finding themselves over-powered by numbers, in the usual phrase of the soldiers, [*yoldash yokmidur?* are no companions at hand?] call out for assistance.

The *Jebeji* first raised the sedition.

CXI. The *Jebeji*, at this cry, flock together from all parts; rescue their fellows from the *Muhzurs*, drive away the officers of justice, and return triumphantly to their quarters. There they give a particular account to the rest of their body of what they had done, heard, said, and suffered, adding, it was in vain to wait for their pay, while the distribution was in the hands of a youth, whose brains were turned by his high and undeserved dignity.

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(44) *Kioprili Abdullah*] The son of *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*, who was slain at the battle of *Salancamen* in 1691. Having married the Mufti's daughter, he was raised before the usual time to the office of *Cubbe Vizir*, and afterwards to that of *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, which, next to the Prime Vizir, is accounted one of the highest dignities in the *Othman* Empire. But, by his youthful rashness, he did many things amiss, and behaved haughtily, which proved the cause, or at least the occasion, of Sultan *Mustapha*'s being deposed. But afterwards, growing wiser with age, he acted with more moderation, and thereby obtained not only pardon for his past faults, but also was promoted by the present Sultan to the Pashalic of *Sebastia*, after having quelled a rebellion.

(45) *Muhzur*] Their name is derived from *ihzar*, to *bring*, because their business is to guard the Vizir's palace; to bring the guilty, and if any are to be confined, to keep them till the next *Divan*. No certain *Oda* of the Janizaries is set apart for that business, but if any *Chorbaji** is raised to *Muhzur agalyk*, the regiment he commands does the office of the *Muhzuri*: but if he is made *Caimacan* of *Constantinople* in the Sultan's absence, another *Oda* of Janizaries is chosen for that business. To put malefactors to death, there is a select body taken out of the *Muhzuri*, who, from the *Falanga*, or instrument they use in beheading, are called *Falangaji*.

Caraku[sh], at the head of the rebels, attacks the Caimacan.

[CXII]. Their report is confirmed by *Carakush Mehemed*, a man of great boldness, and fond of changes in the government, and the whole assembly excited [him] to revenge the injury upon the *Caimacan*. This is readily agreed to by the rest of the *Jebeji*, who immediately take arms, and run to the *Caimacan's* palace. The *Caimacan*, informed of this affair, escapes through a back-door, and so saves himself, but not the Sultan, nor the Empire, from the danger.

The *Jebeji* joined by the Janizaries and *Ulema*.

CXIII. For after his escape, the *Jebeji* running every where in parties, rouse the Janizaries and *Ulema* with the repetition of their former complaints of the ill administration of affairs. The city being filled with tumults, the next day the leaders of the sedition meet in the *Atmeidan* (46), and resolve either to perish, or destroy the Vizir, Mufti, and other oppressors of the people, confirming their resolution by an oath.

Hasan Pasha made *Caimacan* by the conspirators, who declare their own Mufti and Vizir.

CXIV. In this assembly, *Firari Hasan Pasha* offers to be their leader, and upon the removal of *Kiuprili Abdullah Pasha*, is appointed *Caimacan* by the conspirators. The *Nakib Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi* (47), assumes the office of Mufti, and under that title gives the *Fetvah*. Another person of no note, *Dorojan Ahmed Pasha*, who having been recalled from his Pashalic, lived privately at *Constantinople*, is made Vizir by the rebels. *Kulkiehaia Chalyk* * *Ahmed Aga*, is appointed *Janizar Agasi*, and *Diw Ali Aga* (48), who had been deprived of the post of *Kulkiehaia*, is restored to that office.

They order the gates of the city to be shut.

CXV. By their advice, the conspirators shut the gates of *Constantinople*, to prevent any person from informing the Sultan of their designs, suffer no man to go out of the city, unless sent by themselves; plunder the magazines of arms kept there, to be employed in war, and arm themselves against the Empire.

The Sultan sends an ambassador to the rebels.

CXVI. The Sultan hearing of this, sends *Mustapha Effendi* (49), the chief secretary, as ambassador to the people of *Constantinople*, to enquire the reason of so great a rebellion in the royal city, and to promise that the Sultan would grant all their desires.

He is ill treated by the rebels

CXVII. But when he came to the city on the eighth day of the sedition, the guard at the gate force him from his horse, and carry him bound to the *Atmeidan*, where the chiefs of the rebels had pitched their tents. The people immediately cry out, he is come as a spy, and rushing upon him before their leaders could examine him, or restrain their violence, beat him almost to death, and endeavour, by torture, to oblige him to confess what the Sultan was doing at *Adrianople*. But their outrage, and his own fears, had so taken away his senses

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(46) *Atmeidan*] The *Hippodrome*, built by the Emperor *Justinian*, near St. *Sophia*, and running along the court of the *Jami Sultan Ahmed*. It is at this day put to its original use, that is, to air and exercise the Sultan's horses: but sometimes it serves for a rendezvous to rebels.

(47) *Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi*] He was of the race of the *Emirs*, and had formerly, under Sultan *Mahomet* IV, been raised to the dignity of Mufti. The name of *Kiazibi*, that is, *Lyar*, was given him, because he was thought to be much given to lying; for it is usual among the learned in *Turkey*, (as they have no family-name, and many of them have frequently the same name) to distinguish one another by such epithets [as] there was at the same time another [...] *Mehemed Effendi*, i. e. *Mehemed Effendi* [...], who was raised in his old age by [the present] Sultan to the dignity of Mufti, but was soon after deposed, because at the burial of the Sultan's son, instead of *Jenaaze Namazi*, or the burial-prayers, he had read *Beiram Namaz*

(48) *Diw Ali Aga*] From a common Janizary, he passed through the several degrees to the dignity of *Kulkiehaiasi*; but being afterwards turned out, he lived a private life at *Constantinople* When the sedition was appeased, Sultan *Ahmed* pursuing all the offenders, he was the only one that escaped, and fled, as was reported, to *Jezairi*, (the *Algiers* of the *Europeans*,) so that he could never be found

(49) *Mustapha Effendi*] He was at first, under *Amuceje Ogli Husein Pasha*, the *Kuchiuk* * *Teshkiereji*, and afterwards the *Buyuk Teshkiereji*. After the rebellion was quelled, he was sent with *Tatacadin*, or the present Sultan's nurse, to *Mecca*, but perished by shipwreck before he arrived at *Alexandria*.

and speech, that he could not explain what he was commanded to discover; and being ready to expire, was obliged to be carried to a neighbouring house.

CXVIII. This incensing them more against the Sultan, they prepare an army with great eagerness, and assembling above fifty thousand soldiers on the nineteenth day, leave the city, and encamp first near *Daud Pasha*, resolving, if the Musulmans at *Adrianople* should dare to oppose them, utterly to destroy that city, as the rival of the capital. With this resolution, the sixth day after their departure from *Constantinople* they come to *Hapsa*, a town not far from *Adrianople*, and from thence inform the Sultan, that they had not conspired against him, but the evil ministers of the publick affairs, nor taken arms to fight against Musulmans, but merely to oblige those who, with an infidel mind, had sold the security of the Empire to the enemies, to submit to tryal before the sacred and divine judgment of the *Koran*. But if the Sultan would use the sword in an affair which ought to be tried in a judicial way, they would repell force with force, and he would be accountable to God for the needless effusion of Musulman blood. They likewise privately warn the inhabitants of *Adrianople*, not to appear in arms, if they would save themselves from being plundered, since they were not come to fight with their brethren, but to judge the betrayers and oppressors of the *Othman* Empire according to the law of the *Koran*, and punish them according to their deserts.

The rebels march from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*.

CXIX. The Sultan, informed of this by his *Chaushi* *, assembles his *European* troops with the utmost expedition, and orders them to march under the conduct of the Vizir, *Rami Mehemed Pasha*, against the rebels. For their greater encouragement the Mufti, *Feizullah Effendi* (50), by his *Fetvah*, declares the seditious

The Sultan marches with his troops against the rebels.

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(50) *Feizullah Effendi*] He was born at *Van*, on the confines of *Persia*, and descended of the *Emir* race. In the time of Sultan *Mahomet* IV, when *Muderis*, or master of the *Suleimanié*-school, he was appointed *Shehzade Hoje*, or preceptor to *Mustapha* and *Ahmed*, the Sultan's sons, and after having often changed, contrary to custom, his ecclesiastical employments, was raised to the dignity of *Mufti*, in which he continued seven years, a thing unheard of among the *Turks*. He was a man of no great learning, and more crafty than wise. He had such an ascendant over the Sultan, which some imputed to magic, that the Sultan would neither do nor undertake any thing without first consulting him, and could refuse him nothing. He used in his speech the *Persian* pronunciation, which made the people give him the name of *Kyzyl bashi*. So covetous was he, that he not only took presents with both hands, and if none were given him, would ask for some, but also did, for money, give any *Fetvah* that was desired, right or wrong. He had four sons, who relying on their father's power, committed all kinds of disorders: the eldest, whom he had by the famous *Vanli Effendi*'s daughter, he constituted *Nakyb* On the other three, though they were but young, he conferred very honourable as well as profitable *Mollahships*; and, by his too great indulgence to them, drew upon himself the indignation not only of the *Ulema*, but also of the whole people. One of these, who was *Mollah* of *Kudisherif*, or *Jerusalem*, did, by his arrogance, cause so much uneasiness to *Cherkies** *Mehemed*, governor of that city, that he was forced to leave *Jerusalem*, and retire to *Gaza*. After his departure, the *Mollah* being disturbed in the night with the howling of dogs, and in the day with the buzzing of flies, he ordered the inhabitants to kill all their dogs, and to bring him daily a certain number of dead flies to the court. This being both disagreeable to the people, and also contrary to the law of the *Koran*, which forbids the killing of dogs, and other domestic creatures, except such as are fit for food, they privately sent a deputation to *Gaza* with an *Arzmahzar* to their Pasha, to let him know what burdens were imposed upon them. *Cherkies** *Mehemed*, who certainly excelled all the Barbarians in justice and piety, (if any such thing can be said of *Mahometans*) not being able to believe that so great a crime should be committed by a *Mollah*, sends a trusty person to *Jerusalem* to see whether it was true. When the man came there, he found the whole city in an uproar, and all the inhabitants, having left their employments, were busy in catching flies, and stringing them on a long thread, that they might be told with more ease: so, going back, he gives his master a faithful account of what he had seen and heard. The thing therefore being unquestionably true, *Cherkies**, in order to try first to accommodate the matter in an amicable way, exhorts the *Mollah* by letter not to lay such heavy and useless burdens on the Sultan's subjects,

tion, Infidels and Giaurs, and promises those who should die fighting valiantly against them the crown of martyrdom.

The rebels ... the ... join the rebels.

CXX. But when both armies were in fight, Nakyb Effendi, who acted as Mufti among the conspirators, holds up the great volume of the Koran to the Sultan's forces, and desires them to consider, "that they are brethren of the "same religion, the same blood, and subjects of the same Empire, that the "people of Constantinople have not taken arms to overturn the Empire, or at-"tempt any thing contrary to the sacred law of the Koran, but to punish infi-"dels and contemners of the law agreeably to its precepts. And if they endea-"vour to oppose so pious a design, they will draw upon themselves not only "the indignation of God, but likewise the severest punishments." The ardor of the Sultan's troops is abated by this speech, which so affects them, that, abandoning the Vizir, they all join the rebels, and salute them as brethren

The Vizir, abandoned by his troops, escapes in disguise.

CXXI. The Vizir, in this desperate state, flies with two servants in disguise to *Varna*, and from thence concealing himself, (as some say) among the wo-

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subjects; not to disgrace, by so great a crime, the prophet's laws, for the maintenance whereof he resided at *Jerusalem*; nor expose both his own and his father's honour to contempt; that he was afraid, if the complaints of the inhabitants came to the Sultan's ears, he would incur his utmost indignation. The *Mollah* answered, he might indeed alledge the law of the *Koran*, and lay down moral precepts whilst he lived at *Gaza*, where he was free from flies, and enjoyed profound quiet whenever he pleased; but if he was to live at *Jerusalem*, where the dogs would break his rest in the night, and the flies hinder him in the day, from hearing in court the complaints of the parties, he would be of another mind *Cherkies* Mehemed Pasha*, upon the receipt of this answer, perceiving the man was incorrigible, and not daring, on account of his father's power, to oppose him, he sends the Mufti an account of the whole matter, with petitions from the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* and himself, and the *Mollah*'s letters, and desires him, by his paternal authority, to restrain his son's outragious proceedings. But the means by which he sought another's reformation, had like to prove his own ruin. For the Mufti, who, by reason of his unheard-of indulgence to his sons, may justly be called the *Turkish Eli*, as soon as he had received the letters, falls into a violent passion, not with his son, but with *Cherkies* Mehemed*, and going directly to the Sultan, loads the innocent governor of *Jerusalem* with so many calumnies, that the Sultan immediately dispatched a *Capuji bashi* with a *Chatisherif* to bring his head. But the *Capuji bashi* being a prudent man, and a secret friend to the Basha, pretends to go, but returns privately to *Constantinople*, and going to the Vizir, namely, *Amucje Ogli Husein Pasha*, communicates to him the order he had received, and asks him what he must do? *Husein Pasha*, who had already heard something of *Kudsheriff Mollah*'s ill behaviour, easily guessed by whose contrivance that attempt was made upon the life of *Cherkies* Mehemed*, and so goes without delay to Sultan *Mustapha*, tells him he had heard of such an order against *Cherkies* Mehemed*, and that he wondered at it, because he knew him to be a very faithful and honest man The Sultan thereupon lets the Vizir know what the Mufti had told him, and that, says he, is the reason why I have sent a *Chatisherif* to put him to death The Vizir refuted all the Mufti's calumnies, and gave the Sultan a true account of his son's whole conduct at *Jerusalem*, whereupon the Sultan said he was sorry he had been drawn in by the misrepresentations of others, to order so good a man to be put to death without cause, but he saw no way of recalling the order, because he thought the *Capuji bashi* was now gone so far, that no messenger could overtake him We must try some way or other, says the Vizir, lest through our negligence the guilt of innocent blood fall upon our heads, for I believe that Providence will stop the *Capuji bashi* in the way, and afford us an opportunity of recalling him Having, by this discourse, obtained leave from the Sultan to recall the *Chatisherif*, he returns home, and orders the *Capuji bashi* to pass over in the night-time into *Asia*, and begin his journey, that he might at least appear to have complied with the Sultan's command. The next day he dispatches another *Capuji bashi* with a *Ferman* to overtake the other, and bring him back. And thus the Vizir saved the man by a commendable subtilty, whom the Mufti by a horrible wickedness was resolved to destroy. Many other such villanies were committed by the Mufti's sons, which to relate would be tedious perhaps as well to the reader, as to my self.

men of a certain *Aratjizade*, goes to *Constantinople*, and conceals himself for some time in the suburb of *Eyub*, where he had built himself an house.

CXXII. The rebels, on the other hand, having surmounted this obstacle, encamp under the city, at a place called *Solakcheshmesi** (51), and from thence send messengers to the Sultan to demand the Vizir, the Mufti, with his sons, and *Maurocordatus*.

The rebels demand of the Sultan two Musulmans and one Christian to be put to death

CXXIII. The Sultan, who had foreseen this, had given the Mufti, for whom he had a great esteem, an opportunity two days before of escaping; but sent several *Bostanji's* to attend him, with design to stop his flight, if the danger increased. Finding therefore the rebels more obstinate in their demands, he immediately brings him back to *Adrianople* by means of the *Bostanji's*, and delivers him up with his two sons.

The Sultan delivers up the Mufti.

CXXIV The rebels, as soon as they had him in their power, put him to the most exquisite torture; fix nails into his knees, and, by other horrid cruelties, endeavour to make him discover the immense treasures he was reported to have amassed. Being a man of great spirit, he bears all with singular patience, and does not utter one word, except in desiring vengeance from God upon so impious and ungrateful a people Exhausted with so many torments, he is at last put to death, and his body (52) thrown into the river, as if he had been an infidel, and unworthy of burial.

The rebels put him to a cruel death

CXXV The Sultan perceiving from these circumstances, that the people were more exasperated against him than he had imagined, sends to *Dorojan, Ahmed Pasha* (53), appointed Vizir by the rebels, the seal of the Vizirship, and confirms the other officers chosen by them in their posts, promising to grant all their demands. He informs them, that the Vizir and *Maurocordatus* were fled, and assures them he would deliver them up as soon as they were taken.

The Sultan confirms the rebel Vizir in his post

CXXVI But they growing more presumptuous by the Sultan's indulgence, concert measures to depose him, for which purpose they send a letter to Sultan *Ahmed*, brother of *Mustapha*, desiring him, if possible, to come to the army,

They send for *Ahmed*, the Sultan's brother.

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(51) *Solakcheshmesi**] The fountain of *Solak*, in the middle of a field, an *Italian* mile from *Adrianople*, on the road to *Constantinople*, so called, either because the builder of it was of the order of the *Solaki*, or else because he had lost a hand

(52) his body] As the laws of the *Koran*, and the constitutions of the *Othman* Empire, forbid the putting any *Mollah*, much less a Mufti, to death (for the highest punishment of the whole order of the *Ulema*, and of the *Cadi's*, is banishment) the rebels could never have excused the Mufti's death, but by declaring he was a *Giaur*, that is, an *Infidel*. And to render that pretence the more probable among the people, they would not suffer him to be buried with the rest of the Musulmans, after the *Mahometan* manner, but procured a *Greek* priest to put him into the ground. This man got some persons to drag him along, whilst himself walked before, singing, instead of the burial hymn, these words, σκατα εἰς τὴν ψυχήν σε, *ordure be upon thy soul*, and at last flung it into the river. But before he committed his body to the water, he is reported to have perfumed it with frankincense, repeating these two *Turkish* verses

Ne Sizinder, ne bizinder,
Dosdogru jehennem inder,
i. e.
Neither yours nor ours,
He is gone directly to hell.

Which saying so pleased the *Turks*, that they not only praised the man's ingenuity, but also rewarded him for it.

(53) *Dorojan Ahmed*] He was formerly called *Damad* (son-in-law) *Ahmed Pasha*, because he had married the sister of the Vizir, *Amuсje Ogli Husein Pasha*, and granddaughter of *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*, the handsomest woman in her time, but so lascivious, that she always kept many gallants, especially *Franks*. But he was afterwards called *Dorojan* by the rebels, because he was like *Doroshensko*, Hetman of the *Cosacs*, whose history I have related · for that Hetman was commonly named *Doroshan* by the *Turks* Under the Vizirship of *Husein Pasha*, he was governor of *Ainebacht*, or *Naupactum*, but being turned out by *Daltaban*, he lived a private life at *Constantinople*. He was afterwards banished to *Naupactum*, where he died of grief in a few months. He left but one young son, who, as he was one day playing alone in his garden, fell into a well, and was drowned.

[illegible] the conspirators scrupled to enter the Imperial palace with an armed force [illegible] if he could come out either with or without his brother's leave, the arm[y] would immediately proclaim him Emperor. Sultan *Mustapha* intercepting th[is] [illegible], continues long in suspence whether he should kill his brother, or volun[ta]rily resign the throne to him. Many of his domestic officers advise the fra[t]ricide, alledging the conspirators would be obliged to confirm him in the thron[e] if there were no other heirs to the Empire. but the Sultan abhors such a dee[d] and resolves to commit himself to the divine Providence.

Ahmed first saluted Sultan by his brother, an unusual instance.

CXXVII. He goes therefore to his brother, and, embracing him with gre[at] affection, informs him that he was universally desired to fill the throne, and fir[st] salutes him Sultan. At his departure, he speaks to him as follows "Remem[-]ber, brother, that while I was on the throne, you enjoyed the utmost liberty, I de[-]sire you will allow me the same. Moreover, think that you justly indeed ascen[d] "this throne, as having been possessed by your father and brother; but that th[e] "instruments of your advancement are treacherous rebels, whom, if you suffe[r] "to escape with impunity, they will quickly treat you as they do me at present."

Sultan *Mustapha* deposed

CXXVIII Having said this, he retires to the same chamber in which he ha[d] kept his brother, where, six months after his deposition, having contracted a di[s]temper through melancholy, he departs to the eternal palaces prepared for him by *Mahomet*. He reigned eight years and some months.

His character and person

CXXIX. He was a Sultan of great expectations in the beginning of his reign but fortune afterwards blasted them. He was happier in the first years of his Em[-]pire than in the latter. He had greater advantages from nature than both hi[s] predecessors; for he was of a mature judgment, great application and sobriety neither prodigal nor avaritious in collecting and distributing the publick monies just, a good archer and horseman, and very devout in his religion. He gaine[d] great reputation by the peace of *Carlovitz*, which having been in vain wishe[d] and attempted by his father and uncles, he settled, by wonderfully reconciling all parties He was of a moderate size, his face round, and beautified with red and white; his beard red, thin, and not long; his nose short, and a little turned up; his eyes blue, and his eye-brows thin and yellow. In the spring he used to have spots break out in his face, which disappeared again in the winter He left no son alive, though he had been father of several. He was particularly fond of *Ibrahim* (54), son of his uncle *Ahmed*, whom he always carried with him, and was said to design for his successor, in case he died without issue

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(54) *Ibrahim*] He was a hopeful and good-natured Prince After I left *Constan[t]inople*, I heard he died there.

The End of the Reign of MUSTAPHA II.

The REIGN of

AHMED III, Son of MAHOMET IV.

Twenty-third EMPEROR of the *TURKS*.

BOOK IV. CHAP. V.

I. SULTAN *Mustapha* being deposed, his brother *Ahmed* ascends the throne, who confirms in their posts the Vizir, *Dorojan Ahmed Pasha*, the *Caimacan*, *Firari Hasan Pasha*, the Janizar-Aga (1) *Chalyk* Ahmed*, and the rest upon whom the seditious had conferred offices, appoints the *Nakyb*, whom the rebels had brought with them, *Kiazibi Mehemed Effendi*, Mufti, and by this means causes the conspirators to lay aside all suspicion of him, and even to imagine, that by their rebellion they had gained great favour with the new Sultan.

Sultan *Ahmed* ascends the throne, and confirms the conspirators in their offices.

II. And that he might amuse them the more, and seem to do every thing agreeably to their will, after he had staid at *Adrianople* but twenty days, he returns in *September* to *Constantinople*, where he amply distributes the *Bachshish* which is wont to be given to the soldiers in the beginning of a reign. Having thus appeased the fury of the rebels, he concerts measures for punishing them with *Silahdar Hasan Pasha* (2), his sister's husband, whom, upon the advancement

He concerts measures for punishing them.

ANNOTATIONS.

(1) *Chalyk* Ahmed*] From a common Janizary in the reign of Sultan *Mustapha*, he had passed through all the degrees of that military order, and had been made *Kulkiebaiasi*, but being afterwards turned out, he lived in a private manner at *Constantinople*. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion, being chosen *Janizar-agasi* by the conspirators, he took great care to provide for the safety of the inhabitants, by a laudable, or rather an admirable prudence. For during the nineteen days *Constantinople* was shut up, not one of the inhabitants received the least damage from so great a rabble of desperate and outragious fellows. The third day after the beginning of the troubles, observing that the merchants and tradesmen, remembring the great losses they had suffered in former rebellions, kept within-doors, and durst not come into the market, he strictly commanded, upon severe penalties, that no one should be afraid, but all keep in their shops, and merchandize as before; and that he would be answerable for it, that not a man should lose so much as the value of an egg. He punctually performed what he had promised, and preserved the inhabitants in such safety, that among so many furious soldiers, that breathed nothing but blood and slaughter, they walked about safely, as if the seditious had been in another, and not in their own city. He did also something much more wonderful in his march to *Adrianople*, for he kept the confused mob he headed under such a strict discipline, that no person could complain of having had even a fowl stolen, or taken by force, by any of the soldiers, and whether such a thing can easily be effected, even in a regular and well-disciplined army, let knowing persons judge. Upon these accounts, when he was, by the Sultan's order, thrown into the sea of *Marmora*, almost all *Constantinople* bewailed his sad fate.

(2) *Silahdar Hasan*] A native of *Morea*, who being in his youth taken into the Sultan's

[illegible] *Haſan* [illegible] to the [illegible] of *Teſterdar*, he had made *Caimacan*. [illegible] appeared [illegible] hazardous to ſeize them all at once, now aſſembled at [illegible]*ople*, and [illegible] them to puniſhment, he reſolves, upon various pre[illegible] to diſperſe them into the ſeveral provinces of the Empire.

[illegible] arts and pretences he at last puts them all to death.

III. He therefore firſt diſpatches the leader of the whole rebellion, *Carakaſh Mohemed*, to *Kiabe Sherif* with a *Caftan* and ſword, the uſual preſents of a new Sultan; but orders, that when he is come to *Aleppo*, he ſhould be put to death by another *Capuji baſhi*. He grants *Chalyk* * *Ahmed*, Aga of the Janizaries, the honour of three horſe-tails, and on the third day after, under pretence of delivering him the ſeal of the Vizirſhip, ſends for him in great pomp to the palace, from whence, being expected by all to return with the office of Vizir, he is conveyed through another gate towards the ſea, put on board a galley, and ordered to be thrown into the *Propontis*. A few days after, he deprives the Vizir, *Dorajan Ahmed Paſha*, of his poſt; but it being univerſally known, that he had not ſought that dignity, but been obliged by the rebels to take it upon him, his life is ſpared, and he is baniſhed to *Enibacht*.

Haſan Paſha ſucceeds to the poſt of Vizir

IV. He is ſucceeded about the end of *October* by the *Caimacan*, *Silahdar Haſan Paſha*, by whoſe command, within five months, above fourteen thouſand private ſoldiers, who had been privy to and agents in the rebellion, beſides Baſhas and other officers of the army, are drowned by night in the *Boſphorus*. Only two perſons have the good fortune to eſcape, *Diw Aliaga*, the *Kulkiehaia*, and *Firari Haſan Paſha* The former, foreſeeing the danger, flies in diſguiſe from *Conſtantinople*, and never after could be diſcovered, though carefully ſought for. As to the latter, becauſe from his intereſt with the people, ſome commotions might ariſe, if he ſhould be treated with ſeverity, the Sultan ſends him out of the city, under the character of Seraskier of *Babadaghy*, but orders him, in his journey, to go to *Sophia* with the poſt of *Beglerbeg* of *Rumelia*, and ſome years after, when the ſeeds of ſedition were extinguiſhed, having drawn him to *Conſtantinople* in the Vizirſhip of *Chorylı* * *Ali Paſha*, by the promiſe of conferring upon him that dignity, the Sultan commands him to be put on board a galley, and thrown into the *Propontis*.

Othman Capudan Paſha ſent with a fleet into the *Palus Mæotis*

V. In the mean time *Haſan Paſha* prefers his clients to the places of thoſe who had been put to death, and appoints *Abaza Oſman Paſha* (3), admiral, commanding

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Sultan's palace in Sultan *Mahomet*'s reign, was at length made *Silahdar*, which title he afterwards retained. Being diſmiſſed from that office with three *Tugs*, after the death of *Muſahib Paſha*, he married his widow, the famous *Chatije*, Sultan *Muſtapha*'s ſiſter, who, through her intereſt with her brothers, Sultan *Muſtapha* and Sultan *Ahmed*, obtained not only that he ſhould continue almoſt always in the *Rekiab Caimacanſhip*, or ſome other *Paſhalic* near *Conſtantinople*, but alſo ſhould be daily loaded with new favours She had ſo much intereſt with her brothers, that when her huſband was ſent to *Nicomedia*, ſhe got leave to accompany him thither, though it had never been known before, that a Sultan's daughter or ſiſter went ſo much as half a mile along with her huſband out of the city. When he was deprived of the dignity of Vizir, which was not for any crime but only occaſioned by the clamours of the people, who required that *Calaily Ahmed Paſha* ſhould be made Vizir, he was ſent to the Paſhalic of *Egypt*, as the richeſt in the whole *Othman* Empire; from whence being ſome years after removed to the government of *Tripoli* in *Syria*, he died there.

(3) *Abaza Oſman*] a man of great learning and prudence among the *Turks* Being taken into the palace in the reign of Sultan *Mahomet* IV, and from thence riſing through the ſeveral degrees to the dignity of *Silahdar*, he was diſmiſſed by Sultan *Ahmed* III, with three *Tugs*, and honoured firſt with the poſt of *Rekiab Caimacan*, and afterwards with other Paſhalics and offices. Some ſay, in order to diſparage him, he was born in *Georgia*, but they are miſtaken. For he was of *Abaza*, a nation near the *Chercaſſians**, and, next to theſe, the moſt honorable among the *Turks*. Upon that account, *Cherkies** *Ahmed Paſha*, ſo often mentioned, viſiting him when he had a ſlight fever, and was complaining of the weakneſs of his ſtomach, and want of appetite, told him in a jeſt, that phyſick ſhould be left to thoſe who were born and bred where it is uſed,

4 and

commanding him to sail with the whole fleet to the *Palus Mæotis*, and fortify the streights with new castles *Gierch* * and *Taman*. He executes the orders with the utmost diligence, but in his return lost nine galleys, and the rest, very much damaged, are brought back with great difficulty to *Constantinople*.

Hasan Pasha being removed, is succeeded by Calaily Ahmed.

H. 1115.

A. C. 1703.

VI. At last *Silahdar Hasan Pasha*, in the tenth month of his Vizirship, is removed on account of the people's complaints, and *September* 14 succeeded by *Calaily Ahmed Pasha* (4) a man remarkable for nothing but his luxury and cruelty to the Christian subjects of the *Othman* Empire.

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and that he ought to take nothing but *Pasta*, which is a very wholsome food made by the *Abaza* with pounded millet, cleared of the husks.

(4) *Calaily Ahmed Pasha*] He was born at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, of *Armenian* parents, who were Christians; but being in his youth brought to *Constantinople*, and abjuring the Christian Religion, he was admitted into the order of the *Baltaji*; where, concealing his natural vicious inclinations under a virtuous outside, he was made *Baltajilar Kiehaiasi*, and from that office was sent with two *Tugs* to the Pashalic of *Jita*, which is the last the *Turks* have on the *Red Sea*. After that, he obtained the dignity of *Capudan Pasha*, then was *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, and had other Pashalics in the *Othman* Empire. Though he so behaved in all these employments, as to pass with all wise men for a foolish and ridiculous person, yet because he pretended a mighty zeal against the Christians, and seemed besides to be an observer of justice and equity, he gained among the ignorant and superstitious mob the reputation of a *true Musulman*. To cause the Christians to be universally abhorred, he ordered, whilst *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, that they should all have their cloaths made of a very coarse black cloth, that in the baths they should not wear wooden shoes, as is customary to guard the feet against the heat of the marble, and that they should have little bells fastned to one of their arms, that by the sound of them the *Musulmans* might be distinguished from the *Giaurs*, and some other the like things But this proving very detrimental to the *Jami's*, whose *Vakf* most of the baths are, because, on account of this ignominious distinction, none of the Christians would wash publickly, complaints were immediately carried to the Sultan; by which indeed was obtained the removal of *Calaily Ahmed Pasha*, and a revocation of his orders, but they could not hinder the voice of the people, who desired to have him for Vizir. It happened shortly after, as the Sultan was walking in the market-place in disguise, he heard the repeated sighs of the people, lamenting the corruption of manners, and saying, there would be no reformation unless *Calaily Ahmed* were made Vizir. The Sultan, who knew not the man, guessed, from the peoples commendations, that he was a valuable person; and fearing the sedition which had broke out the year before, and was hardly yet extinguished, should from this spark be re-kindled into a flame, he resolved to yield to the people; and so turning out *Hassan Pasha* without any cause, under pretence that his *Kiehaia Ismail aga* had committed some fault, he sends for this *Calaily* out of *Crete*, where he was then Basha, and makes him Vizir. When he came to be placed in this exalted station, he could no longer conceal his failings which he had hitherto disguised with so much art, but suffered them to break out in a torrent. The first day of his Vizirship, when he came to his palace with the Vizir's seal, all persons waiting to know what he should first order, (for by that, as much as by the Sultan's first words, do the *Turks* judge of a Vizir's future administration) he sends for a taylor. When he comes, he bids him make him an under-garment, called *Enteri*, of cloth of gold, which is not only unusual among the *Turks*, but also, as I have elsewhere observed, contrary to the laws of the *Koran*. It being brought him the same day in the evening, he puts it on, and goes to show himself to his wives and concubines, viewing himself on every side, to see whether his new garment became him. The women, to please their husband and master, praising the handsomness of the garment, he resolves to go to the *Galibe Divan*, and present himself in it before the Sultan. Moreover, that he might, by some new invention, increase the marks of honour used by the Vizirs, and render them more conspicuous, he invented some new ornaments about the *Tiara*, which, as I have before observed, the Vizirs are wont to wear, ordering the silk which is folded round it, and the golden plate, to be doubled, and drawn in the form of a cross. Thus, dressed like a buffoon, he calls the *Chaush* * *bashi*, and asks him whether every thing requisite for the procession was ready. He replies, all is ready *without*, but many things are still wanting *within*: The Vizir asking him the reason of so unexpected an answer, he adds, your magnitude has dressed its self in so ridiculous a manner, that if it appears so before the Sultan, it will not only be deprived of its dignity

[illegible] the Sultan having endured his ill conduct three months, and shown the [illegible] real character of the man whom they had so earnestly desired for Vi[illegible] removes and banishes him to the isle of *Coos*, advancing *Baltaji Mehemed* [illegible] (5) at the end of the year to that post. But sixteen months after, by the arts

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dignity, but also the honour of us all be in the utmost danger. For you know your self, without my saying it, what a hard matter it is to introduce new customs into the court, and how pernicious they generally prove to the authors: but I would have you know, that unless you change your clothes a little, I, nor the rest of your officers will wait upon you to the Sultan. The Vizir stands out a good while, and endeavours to defend the novelty by the authority of his office; but at last, being over come by the *Chaush* * *bashi*'s firmness, he yields to sound advice, and so goes to the Sultan. The next week after he invites the Sultan to a feast, as is usual for the Vizirs. When the Sultan comes among the officers, standing in two rows according to custom to do him honour, he observes a one-eyed man near the *Tefterdar*, with a haughty look, and asks the Vizir who he was? What, says the Vizir with some surprize, doth not your majesty know this man? The Sultan answers, it is impossible for him to know every particular person. But, replies he, this is no Plebeian, but *Kior Ali aga*, who has a fine *Chyftlyk**, (*i. e.* Farm) near *Constantinople*, which yields him so many geese, chickens and turkeys every year, that he has not only enough for his own table, but has as many to spare as may be sold for a great sum; as to his office, he is *Bashbakikulu* (which is a place of no great consideration in the *Tefterdar*'s court.) The Sultan took then no notice of the man's silliness, but when he was gone out of the room to give directions about the feast, turning to *Kyslar agasi*, "Have you, *Ismail* "says he, heard what this monster has told "me of this *Kior Ali aga*? For my part, I "discovered his folly three days after I "made him Vizir; but, that they who so "earnestly desired his promotion to that "dignity, may also be sensible of it, I "will let him wear the badge of the Vizir"ship for some months, especially as every "thing is now quiet, and he can by his impru"dence do no considerable damage to the "public affairs." He was an implacable enemy to the Christians, and not only renewed, after he was Vizir, the edict about their wearing of black clothes, which he had made whilst he was *Caimacan* of *Constantinople*, but daily invented new ways of vexing them; and omitted no kind of cruelty towards such of them as were guilty of any crime. sometimes however he was kind to some one of them, but it was only out of hatred to some other, or else it proceeded from his wonted fickleness. *Abaza Othman Pasha*, (whom he extremely hated, with all those that were wiser than himself, but could not hurt, because they were protected by the Sultan) being *Capudan Pasha*, or admiral, had taken in the *Euxine Sea*, and condemned to the gallies, a *Raguzæan* merchant, who, after having turned bankrupt, had engaged in the service of the Emperor of *Russia*, and was hiring some *Grecian* sailors, whom he intended to conduct to *Azac*. *Calaily*, in the first days of his Vizirship, visiting, according to the Vizirs custom, the *Tersana*, or Admiralty, where the Sultan's *Paizans* are kept, when he came to this man, asked him what was the reason of his being condemned to that punishment? The *Tersana Kiehaia* answered, that he was taken by *Othman Pasha*, with some sailors, whom he had assembled for the service of the *Russians*, and condemned as a spy to the gallies. *Calaily* hearing this; "Ah, (says he) how "miserably have those inconsiderate rascals, "that deserve imprisonment and the most "shameful punishments, prostituted the "honour of the *Othman* Empire. They "have taken a poor wretched *Greek* for a "spy, and sent him to the gallies, as if "the safety of the whole Empire depended "upon the informations such men can give "the enemies Take off his chains quick"ly, that with them may perish the re"membrance of this infamy" Then turning to the galley-slave, "Go, says he to "him, all over *Constantinople*, examine "every thing, and give an account of it to "whomsoever thou wilt." And so the poor wretch of a merchant obtained his liberty and life, which he would probably have ended in the *Tersana*, had he not met with a senseless master. At last, when the people began to perceive this Vizir's folly, and publickly to call him fool, he was deposed by the Sultan; and because his faults had not proceeded from malice, but want of understanding, his life was not touched, but he was banished to *Istankoi*, (which I have before observed to be the *Coos* of the ancients, and the native place of *Hippocrates*) with an allowance of three hundred *Aspers* a-day, and there he died of grief.

(5) *Baltaji Mehemed Pasha*] He was in his youth inrolled among the *Baltaji*, and, for the sweetness of his voice, was sirnamed *Pakche** *Muezin*, or the *Sweet-singer*. Afterwards, in

acts of his wife, with whom the Sultan was said to be deeply in love, he is also removed; but sent however with honour to be Basha of *Aleppo*.

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in the reign of Sultan *Mustapha* II, being arrived to the degree of *Bichakchi** *Baltaji*, or senior *Baltaji*, he was made page to the Sultan's brother, *Ahmed*, who now sways the *Othman* scepter; and from that post was, by a notable accident, raised to the highest honours in the *Othman* Empire. The *Valide Sultana*, mother to *Mustapha* and *Ahmed*, had for her *Cutuji*, or treasurer, a *Circassian* virgin of singular beauty, and of an excelcent wit. As *Ahmed* had liberty to walk about the palace, he happens to see her, and immediately falling in love with her, bribed his mother's *Bash aga*, and by letters gained her affection. The *Valide Sultana* discovering it, sends for the *Cutuji*, chides her severely, and threatens her with terrible punishments, she, on the other hand, excuses herself with great resolution, and without blushing denies she was in love with *Shehzade Effendi*, or that she had ever talked with him upon unlawful subjects. if he happened to love her, it was not her fault, but the Prince's, and if she was so ordered, she would avoid even the very sight of him. The *Valide Sultana*, thus repulsed, sends for her son, and advises him mildly to acknowledge his brother's goodness, in granting him his liberty contrary to the custom of his ancestors; and not to deprive himself of that privilege, by falling in love, contrary to the constitutions of the *Seraglio*, before he came to the throne but if ever he should succeed his brother, she would give him not only that virgin, but also many others for his pleasure. *Ahmed* ingenuously owns his passion to his mother, but says, whatever might be the event, he could not conquer it. The mother, concerned for her son's safety, and perceiving him to be incorrigible, resolves to deprive his flame of its fuel, by marrying the virgin, and putting her out of the Seraglio For that purpose, she sends for her chief physician, *Nuh Effendi*, and after having discoursed with him about several things, at last tells him, that having experienced his faithfulness, she was determined, as a reward of his services, to give her treasurer in marriage to his son. *Nuh Effendi* returns the *Sultana* thanks for so great a favour, (for the *Valide Sultana's Cutuji* are generally married to Vizirs with three *Horse tails*, or to persons of the like dignity) and upon his return home makes preparations for the wedding. At night the *Cutuji* is sent from the Seraglio to the bridegroom's house with her portion. The *Valide Sultana's Bash aga*, whom I observed before to have been a pimp, as soon as he saw the preparations for her dismission, runs to *Ahmed*, tells him that the *Chercassian** was going to be sent away, but he knew not whither. *Ahmed*, full of concern, orders his *Baltaji Mehemed aga* to watch where she went. He punctually obeys the order, and perceiving she went into the chief physician's house, he comes running to his master, and tells him what he had seen. Upon that *Ahmed* writes a letter to *Nuh Effendi*, to this purpose: "Know that the virgin which is come to "your house has touched my heart. Keep "her safe, and let none belonging to you "meddle with her; if you do otherwise, "you shall not escape the fatal destiny that "will overtake you and your family in "time" Upon the receipt of this letter *Nuh Effendi* thought himself between the anvil and hammer To disobey the *Valide Sultana*'s orders, was to expose himself to certain ruin, if he complied with them, the Prince's letter threatned him with the utmost danger, though at a distance. To extricate himself out of both these perils, being of a *Grecian* extraction and wit, for he was a native of *Crete*, he invented this contrivance to please at once the *Sultana* and the Prince. Having assembled the guests that were invited to the wedding, he causes the *Nikiah*, or *marriage-ceremony*, to be solemnly performed by the *Iman*. That being over, when the new-married couple were to be led into the nuptial-chamber, he spoke to his son to this purpose. "My son, we "are in great danger, though unknown to "all *Shehzade Effendi* is in love with the "virgin which the *Valide Sultana* has given "you for wife, and how great is the vio-"lence of his passion you may guess by "this letter. If therefore you desire your "father's blessing, and the prosperity of "our house, abstain from that forbidden "fruit, and taste not of a dish which is re-"served for a Prince's table. Fancy that "you have a sister given you, and not a "wife; kiss her in private as your sister, "in publick call her your wife, but never "use her as such. In case lust excites you "to disregard my admonitions, know, that "you will utterly ruin our family, and "bring my curse upon yourself." The son promises to obey, and the bride giving also her consent, she was left in that room, and the bridegroom went and lay in another. All this was done so privately in the women's apartment, that neither the domesticks, much less *Ahmed*, could have any knowledge of it. Some days after the wedding, the bridegroom was appointed *Mollah* of *Smyrna*, whereupon the wives of the Vizir and other Bashas came to wish his wife joy.

Ahmed

[illegible] and [illegible] on the [illegible] Not long af- [illegible] history, break- [illegible] *Mustapha* is [illegible] his [illegible] without allow- [illegible] defence. The [illegible] the cause of the [illegible] he was ready to die, [illegible] might have leave to say one [illegible] Sultan in private concerning [illegible] having obtained leave, he is [illegible] the Sultan's inner-chamber, [illegible] account of the whole mat- [illegible] he would not refuse to be put [illegible] if she was not as good [illegible] out of the Serag- [illegible] overjoyed at so unex- [illegible] orders the matter to be im- [illegible] by some eunuchs, and [illegible] untouched, confers great ho- [illegible] the chief physician, and desires [illegible] her in the same name, and with [illegible] care as before, till further orders; [illegible] was resolved to take her into the Se- [illegible] and use her as his wife. But his mo- [illegible] very much against it, and advi- [illegible] in the beginning of his [illegible] there still remained in several [illegible] Empire many of his brother's [illegible] contrary to the laws of the Se- [illegible] is expressly enjoined, that [illegible] out of that place, [illegible] he desisted from his re- [illegible] give his mistress in marriage [illegible] *aga*, whom he had [illegible] master of the horse: but, not- [illegible] he very frequently went [illegible] her; and, what was very un- [illegible] known before, had her often [illegible] great pomp into the Serag- [illegible] woman was the cause of *Mehe-* [illegible] For, shortly after, she [illegible] to honour her husband with [illegible] give him a place that should [illegible] far from *Constantinople*; [illegible] becoming for her, that was [illegible] great an Emperor, to be [illegible] To which the [illegible] you consult indeed your [illegible] not mine: however, [illegible] with you as a just judge, [illegible] with him equally; [illegible] that will oblige him to [illegible] and fix [illegible] office of admiral, [illegible] the Janizaries [illegible]

[illegible] dignity of [illegible] he was, upon account of the Sultan's love for his wife, sent first to the Pashalik of *Erzerum*, and then to that of *Aleppo*. From this last he was recalled, to be invested a second time with the Vizirship, and was General of the *Turks* in the expedition against the *Russians*; when, perceiving he could not break into their camp, he made a peace with them upon terms very advantageous to the *Othman* Empire. But this very thing, by which he thought to have highly merited the Sultan's favour, proved the cause of his ruin. For the Sultan hearing what great want of provisions the *Russian* army laboured under, thought they might have been reduced to such streights, that the *Russian* Emperor himself, with his whole camp, might have been forced to surrender to the *Othman* troops; and therefore he imagined that the Vizir, by granting him an unseasonable, though advantagious peace, had been bribed by the enemy. The Vizir, on the other hand, being informed by his friends that his proceedings at the *Hierasus* were displeasing to the Sultan, he stayed with the army at *Adrianople*, putting off, under various pretences, his return to *Constantinople*, though the Sultan earnestly desired it, till the Sultan's anger might be in some measure appeased by the Mufti's *Silahdar*, *Ali Pasha*, the same who was afterwards Vizir, and in 1716 was slain in a battle near *Peterwaradin*: but this rather increased the Sultan's anger and suspicions against him. For he was afraid lest the Vizir, if he perceived he could not return to *Constantinople* without fear of punishment, might raise commotions, especially as he had the *Sanjak Sherif*, and the whole army's affections at command. For that reason, thinking there was no time to lose, in order to prevent all seditions, he privately dispatches *Haseki aga* to the commander of the Janizaries, *Yusuf aga*, with a *Chatisherif*, wherein he was ordered to take with him the *Ojak* of the Janizaries, and beset the Vizir's house, and then go in and demand the imperial seal of him, and keep it till further orders; but to send, without a moment's delay, the Vizir to *Constantinople*. *Yusuf aga* having read this order, places the Janizaries round the house, but at such a convenient distance, as not to give room for suspicion: then he goes in himself, and finds the Vizir playing at chess with *Effendi Omer*. The Vizir, turning to him, salutes him, and desires him to stay till the game is over, which is so difficult, that he must own he had never seen the like. When it is over, the *Janizar-aga* comes to him, and, after some excuses, discovers to him the Sultan's order: to which the Vizir submits, and [illegible]

VIII. He is succeeded *April* 3, 1705, by ***Chorluly* Ali Pasha* (6)**, a man of mean birth, but most acute genius, and very sollicitous to maintain peace. During

[Ahmed's vizir being removed, is succeeded by Chorluly* Ali Pasha. Hej. 1117. A. C. 1705.]

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the Sultan many things that tended to his justification. Thus the Vizir, deprived a second time of his dignity, was banished first to *Lemnos*, and then to *Rhodes*, where, as was commonly reported, he died a natural death. Many, however, say he was privately put to death there by the Sultan's order; and that the report of his dying a natural death was spread about for this reason, because he was extremely beloved by the people and soldiery for his great humanity.

(6) *Chorluly* Ali Pasha*] born in *Chorlo**, a town of *Thrace*, which is the *Tyrilois* of the ancients, and from thence named *Chorluly.** His parents being mean and poor, had bound him apprentice in his youth to a barber. *Cara Bairam ogli*, a *Capuji bashi*, happens about that time to go from *Constantinople* to *Adrianople*, (where Sultan *Mahomet* IV then resided) and lodges by the way at his father's house, as he generally used to do. Observing the good countenance of the young man, he asks him whether he would follow him, and become an *Othmanly*, i. e a courtier? The young man embraces the offer, but his parents are against it, on account, as they pretended, of their poverty However, *Ali* goes even against their will with the *Capuji bashi* to *Adrianople*. Being put to school by him, he made such great progress in a short time, that *Cara Bairam Ogli* thought it more adviseable to bring him into the Sultan's palace, as a spacious theatre, in which his virtues might shine, and, by being his patron, enlarge one day his fortune, rather than keep him in his own house employed in servile offices By this means being admitted into *Seffer Odasi*, he passed in few years through all the court-offices, so that when Sultan *Mustapha* II came to the throne, he was one of the inner chamberlains of that order which is called *Hasne Odasi*. At which time his parts, concealed under the former morose Sultans, or, to speak more properly, now come to maturity, began to display themselves at court. For, Sultan *Mustapha* observing his great dexterity and readiness above all others in giving answers, not only made him one of his chief favourites, but also imparted to him his secrets, and began to ask his advice: by which means passing through several posts, he was, in the space of two years, (a thing very uncommon) raised to the place of *Chocadar agalyk**, which is the second dignity in the *Othman* court. After he became possessed of this office, he so won the affection of the Sultan, by his prudent behaviour, that whatever he asked was granted; and though he was inferior to the *Silabdar aga* in order and dignity, yet he was much superior to him in authority: but when he became *Silabdar aga*, he not only governed the court as he pleased, which is the proper business of the chief sword-bearer, but he had also such an ascendent over the Sultan, that, unless the Mufti interposed, he would do nothing without asking his opinion. At last he was dismissed from court by the Sultan with three *Tugs*, and constituted *Cubbe Vizir*, obtaining at the same time a promise of marriage with the Sultan's daughter that was three years old. He continued in the same degree of favour during the remainder of Sultan *Mustapha*'s reign; but, after his being deposed, he came to *Constantinople* with Sultan *Ahmed*, as an unknown person, and shortly after was sent to the Pashalic of *Tripoli* of *Damascus* At the end of two years he is recalled to *Constantinople*, to celebrate his marriage with Sultan *Mustapha*'s daughter, and by his fair speeches so softens the Sultan, that, under various pretences, he put off his departure from day to day, though it was often desired. In this condition he so behaved, as to acquire among the great men the reputation of uncommon prudence, and among the people the commendation of being a just and uncorrupt judge. Indeed, to satisfy the Sultan's unbounded avarice, he was sometimes forced against his own inclination to oppress the people, and to lay very heavy burdens upon them; but he did even that with so much art, that neither he nor the Sultan were censured for it. He was desirous of enlarging the bounds of the Empire, but so however as not to expose the state to danger for an inconsiderable advantage. For the same reason he was averse to war, having sufficiently learned by former battles, of how little service fury and numbers are against a disciplined army of Christians. The *Russians* he did not love, nay, he had in times past, endeavoured to hurt them several ways; but he kept fair with them on purpose to divert the war which the King of *Sweden* was earnestly urging. At last, being accused by the King of *Sweden* of treachery, and deposed for the reasons mentioned in the history, he was at first permitted by the Sultan to live privately in a palace which he had in the suburbs *Eyub*. Being visited there by persons of the first rank, he reflected with too much boldness upon the Sultan, and, among other things, said he was not sorry for having been deprived of the Vizirship, which he really considered

[During] his administration, the *Othman* Empire received such guests as it had [never] yet seen, nor perhaps ever will see again, namely, *Charles* XII, King of *Sweden*,

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considered as a very heavy burthen; but was only sorry for having lost his soul for the Sultan's sake, and reduced many rich citizens to the utmost poverty, and yet could not content his insatiable avarice. These things the Sultan so interpreted, as if they had been spoken with design to excite a rebellion; and what inclined him the more to believe it, was, that during the five years of his Vizirship, he had entirely gained the affections not only of the soldiery, but also of the whole people. So, three days after, he sends a *Capuji bashi* with a *Chatisherif* appointing him Basha of *Bender*; but when he was on his journey, he dispatches another *Capuji bashi*, *Nemche** *Yusufaga*, to bring him back, and, after loading him with reproaches, orders him to be banished to *Mitylene*. There he kept him almost a whole year, with design that if the war begun with the *Russians*, should prove unsuccessful, he might entrust him again with the government of affairs, and make use of his prudence to repair the losses he should suffer. But when the Sultan was sure of good success, he required a *Fetva* of the Mufti, declaring that man worthy of punishment, who had deceived his master by false Fears, and thereby hindered him from attacking the enemy, at a time when he had an opportunity of subduing their whole dominions. The Mufti pronouncing that such an offence deserved death, the Sultan sends a *Chatisherif* to order his head to be cut off, and publickly exposed in the market-place before *Babihumayun*, or the outer gates of the palace. But I have heard, he often repented afterwards of depriving the *Othman* Empire of so great a man, upon such a trifling account; for he was really endowed with such natural parts, that if I should say there was none like him in the *Othman* Empire, nay, even in the whole World in his time, I should not exceed the bounds of truth. Though he had not studied the liberal arts, yet no one could hear him speak without admiring his eloquence, and his exquisite judgment. Whatever he said, he immediately proved by just and regular arguments, which a perfect Logician would perhaps have been puzzled to find. Scarce could any thing be proposed even upon the common occurrences of life, but he would speak very pertinently about it; which [rea]diness all *Constantinople* stood the more [amaz]ed at, because he had spent all his life [in the] palace, where the courtiers being as [it were] shut up, neither see nor learn any [thing but] ceremonies, and such like things, which they are taught by the masters. If any point of law was proposed, though he did not understand *Arabic*, in which the niceties of the *Mahometan* processes are recorded, yet he could answer so properly and ingeniously upon every subject, that the most learned Mufti must have been silent in his presence. In giving advice, in discovering the designs of any person, in foreseeing the Event of things, he was another *Ulysses*; and whenever his counsels were neglected, fatal errors ensued. The first time Monsieur *de Feriol*, the *French* ambassador, came to wait upon him, after the conference was over, and *Feriol* gone out, I heard the Vizir saying to those about him, *Bu Giaur ya deli dur*; *ya az zemanden songra deli olur*, i. e. "This Infidel is mad, "or else will be so within a few days, "which, he said, he guessed by the frequent motion of his eyes, by the agitation of his body, the levity of his gesture, and his perpetual sighing." That his prediction was true, the event showed within a month or two, for he was seized with so violent a lunacy, that they were forced to bind him with chains; and the physicians having for several days endeavoured in vain to cure him, the *French* merchants come to the Vizir, and tell him, that their ambassador was out of order, and therefore they desired him to confirm a person of their own body, whom they should chuse to take care of their concerns. But he told them, that the cause of his illness could be nothing but madness; and that it was so, came soon after to be publickly known in *Constantinople*. He had a most excellent memory, so that, amidst great variety of business, he could, after three or four years, remember causes that came before him; and, what is more, give a very particular account of them. When he was sitting in the *Divan*, no one could behold him without admiration; for he was a person of so much quickness and dexterity, that he could attend to three things at once, as if he had divided himself into three parts. For the quicker dispatch of business, he ordered two petitions to be read at the same time by both the *Teskereji*, and understood each cause as perfectly as if he had heard it three or four times, giving thereupon a suitable sentence. In the mean time, he hearkned to others that were pleading before the *Kadiulaskier*, and delivering back the *Arzuhal* to him; told him what sentence he was to give. He was so great a lover of justice, that many affirm he never gave an unjust sentence. The *Othman* Empire

Sweden, and *Stanislaus*, who had been advanced, though unjustly, to the Crown of *Poland*.

IX. For a war arising between the Kings of *Sweden* and *Poland*, the *Swede* gained the advantage, and engaged the *Poles*, who were before inclined to a change, to depose their King *Augustus*, and chuse *Stanislaus*, *Waywod* of *Posnania*, in his room. And, not content with this, to destroy the source of the war, he entered *Saxony*, the King of *Poland*'s native country, raised vast sums of money thence by unheard-of exactions, and by that means obliged *Augustus* to abdicate the Kingdom of *Poland*, and acknowledge *Stanislaus* for King.

The Kings of *Sweden* and *Poland* entertained by the Sultan.

X. This enemy being removed from his borders, he marches with his whole army against *Peter* I. Czar of *Russia*, who had been *Augustus*'s ally, and threatning nothing less than to depose him, at first pretends to penetrate into *Russia*, near *Plescow*; but afterwards, induced by the promises of *Mazeppa*, Hetman of

The *Swedes* make a bold irruption into *Russia*

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pire had indeed in former times many not inferior to him for this virtue; but it has not hitherto produced any one equal to him in skilfulness at finding out truth. one instance of which will not, I hope, be tedious to the reader. A *Turkish* merchant at *Constantinople* went, according to custom, to a bath before morning-prayer, and at his return from thence, as he was going to the *Jami*, lost in the street his purse out of his bosom with two hundred pieces of gold, called *Turali*. At his coming out of the *Jami*, after prayers were over, finding his bosom lighter, and perceiving he had lost his money, he immediately goes to the cryer, and orders him to cry a purse with such and such marks, and so much money in it: the owner whereof intreated the person that had found it, for God's sake to return it to him, and he would freely give half the money for a reward. Fortune had happened to throw it in the way of a *Levend*, or *Marine*, who, when he heard that the owner offered a reward of a hundred *Turali* was stung with a remorse of conscience, and chose rather to get honestly the half of what he had found, than to keep the whole under an appearance of theft: for if any person hears a thing cried that he has found, and keep it, if it comes to be known, he is, by the law of the *Koran* adjudged to be guilty of theft. So the man goes to the cryer, owns that he had found what was lost, and that he intended to keep a hundred *Turali*, according to the bargain, and to restore the other hundred to the right owner. The owner immediately comes, but when he saw that his money was entire, he attempts to recede from his promise; and perceiving he could not do so without some ground, he invents a lye, pretending there were in the same purse emerald ear-rings worth seven hundred crowns; and them he demands also from the marine. The man denying it, and calling God, the prophet, and all that was good and sacred, to witness, that he had found nothing but the two hundred *Turali*, he is drawn before a *Cadi*, or inferior judge, and accused of theft. The judge, either out of negligence, or because he was bribed, absolved indeed the marine of theft, but ordered him to go away without a reward, for having lost a thing of that value by his carelessness. The Marine, not only disappointed of his expectation, but also undergoing the scandal of being a thief, represents the whole matter in an *Arzubal* to the Vizir, who summons the merchant with the money in dispute, and the cryer, to appear before him in judgment. Upon hearing the case, the Vizir first asks the cryer, what it was the merchant had ordered him to make an enquiry after? he ingenuously owned, that it was only the two hundred *Turali*. The merchant thereupon putting in a word, said, that he had caused no mention to be made of the emerald earrings, for fear that if the purse had fallen into the hands of an unskilful person, and who knew not the value of *Jems*, when he should discover what a great treasure he had found, that might be a temptation to him to keep it all. The marine, on the other hand, making oath that he had found nothing in the bag but the money, *Ali Pasha* passed the following sentence: "Since the "merchant, besides two hundred *Turali*, has "lost also some emerald ear-rings in the "same purse, and since the marine has de-"posed upon oath that he has found no-"thing but the money, it is plain that the "purse and money which the marine has "found were not lost by the merchant, but "by somebody else. Let the merchant "therefore have his things cried, till some "persons fearing God, that has found them, "restore them to him; and let the Marine "keep that money by him for the space of "forty days, and if no body comes and "claims it within that time, then let it be "his." Thus the covetous merchant lost his credit, and half his money; and the marine went away joyfully with both to his ship.

[illegible], who had offered to surrender to him his province and forces, bends [illegible] march towards *Ukrania.*

[illegible]XI. During this march, *Ali Pasha*, glad of an opportunity of depressing the [Czar] of *Russia*, the most inveterate enemy of the *Turks*, without any danger or disadvantage to the *Othman* Empire, orders *Caplan Gierai*, Chan of *Crim Tartary*, by letters, to confirm *Mazeppa* in his design by all possible methods, and promise, that as soon as he heard of the *Swedes* having entered the country of the *Cossaks*, he would come to their assistance with a numerous army of *Turks* and *Tartars*, and with united forces destroy their common enemy, but fully restore the *Cossaks* to their former liberties.

[illegible] alliance against the *Russians*.

Mazeppa, Hetman of the *Cossaks*, joins the *Swedes*

H. 1121.

A. C. 1709

XII. *Mazeppa*, Hetman of the *Cossaks*, confiding in these promises of the Chan, sends an invitation to the King of *Sweden*: but the King was so long amused with the vain assurances of the Vizir and Chan, till on the fifth of the month *Jemaziul evvel*, of the year 1121, he was defeated by the Czar at *Pultowa*, and sustained an irreparable loss.

The *Swedish* army routed at *Poltowa*, sustain an irrecoverable loss. The King takes sanctuary among the *Turks*

XIII. After this defeat, the King of *Sweden* retires to *Bender* to the *Turks*, whom he thought to be his confederates. The next year *Stanislaus* flies to the same place with the *Waywod* of *Kiow*, and other *Polish* Nobles of his party, whom *Augustus*'s return, upon the news of the King of *Sweden*'s defeat, obliged to leave the Kingdom.

The *Turks* entertain the Kings with great civility, but retract their promises

XIV. They are both received with very great honour, but when they desire the assistance promised them against their enemies, they are amused by the Vizir with ambiguous answers. For as soon as he heard that the *Russians* had not only driven the *Swedes* from their borders with a great slaughter, and taken most of their army prisoners, but likewise subdued *Livonia*, the strongest bulwark of *Sweden*, he determines to keep the peace inviolable with the *Russians*, and to preserve the *Othman* Empire from all danger.

The *Turks* confirm the peace with the Czar

XV. For this purpose, he confirms the former articles of peace at the request of *Tolstoi*, the *Russian* ambassador, notwithstanding the endeavours of the *Swedes*, *Stanislaus*, and the *French* to the contrary.

The King of *Sweden* charges the Vizir with being a traytor

XVI. At last the King of *Sweden*, finding the Vizir deaf to his petitions, by his ambassador, *Poniatowski*, presents privately a remonstrance to the Sultan himself, complaining that the Vizir was bribed by the enemy, and a traytor to the Empire, since he had excited him, by the Chan of *Tartary*, with many and great promises, to carry on the war, when the *Russians* were inclined to peace; but now shuts his ears to his petitions, and had made such a peace with the common enemy, as the *Russians* themselves could scarce have wished for.

But in the present situation of affairs can obtain nothing

XVII. The Sultan, according to custom, sends these letters to the Vizir, and orders him to give an account of what had been hitherto done with the *Swedes*. The Vizir is extremely incensed with the Chan and the King of *Sweden*; but not being able to gratify his resentments against the latter, he discharges his whole fury upon the former. He gives the Sultan such an account as he thought proper, full of falsities, laying all the blame upon the treachery of the Chan, by which means he procures him to be deposed, and banished to *Tanopolis*.

The *Turks* determine to confirm the peace with *Russia*, and to oblige the King to depart.

XVIII. The Nobles again hold a private consultation, in which it is determined to maintain the peace with *Russia*, to grant the King leave to return home, and to take care that he might have a safe passage through *Germany*. On the other hand, the King receiving this answer, refuses to depart, declaring he would stay and see how affairs would go, since he was sure the next summer the *Turks* would be engaged in a war with the *Russians*, though they should endeavour to avoid it; and then the Sultan would perceive too late, he had not falsely charged the Vizir with being a traytor. But the Vizir despising these remonstrances, per[sists] in his opinion, and sends the Chan, *Deulet Gierai*, into *Crim Tartary* with [great] honour, ordering him to endeavour by all means to maintain the peace with [the] *Russians*, and if they should make any attempt to the contrary, to send the *Othman* court information.

XIX. When the Chan came to the *Chersonesus*, that he might load his predecessor, *Caplan Gierai*, he informs the Sultan, that he had not only lost, by his misconduct,

conduct above thirty thousand *Tartars* in the expedition against the *Charcassians* *, but likewise occasioned the revolt of the *Cossaks* under *Mazeppa*, to whom he had promised liberty and assistance in the name of the *Othman* court. The Sultan having received this account, sends for the Vizir, and enquires what letters had been sent to the Chan of *Tartary* concerning his assisting the *Swedes*. The Vizir denies there had been any, and affirms it to be a fiction of the Chan. The Sultan suspecting what was really the case, sends a trusty messenger privately to *Caplan Gierai* at *Tanopolis*, to enquire whether he had writ such a letter to *Mazeppa* *Caplan Gierai*, not thinking the Vizir's resentments were to be feared, frankly acknowledges the truth, that he had made such promises to the *Hetman* of the *Cossaks*, but that it was by the command of the Vizir. The Sultan being informed of this, sends again for the Vizir, charging him with falshood, and, in a passion, says to him, "such letters ought not to have been sent during a truce; but when "once sent, ought not to be retracted, nor the King of *Sweden* deceived, nor "the honour of the *Othman* Empire and the Musulman faith prostituted be-"fore Infidels."

Ali therefore being removed from the post of Vizir, is succeeded by Kioprili Nuuman Pasha

XX. He therefore deprives *Chorbily* * *Ali Pasha* of the Vizirship, and advances in his room *Kioprili Ogli Nuuman Pasha* (7), a man more eminent for justice and learning, than for warlike abilities. These were only sparks and indications of that flame, which, from several other causes, soon after broke out.

The King of Sweden, by surprising methods, engages the Sultan to break the peace with the Russians.

XXI. For the King of *Sweden*, upon the removal and banishment of his enemy, *Ali Pasha*, opens more boldly by his ambassador, *Poniatowski*, his designs to the *Othman* court, and perswades them to a war with *Russia*. He alledges, the States of *Poland* were in league with him and *Stanislaus*, and that the *Waywod* of *Kiow* was universally desired for general of the army, that forty thousand select men were raised by his officers in *Pomerania*,

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(7) *Kioprili Nuuman*] A man very famous among the *Turks* for his justice, learning, and piety, but of no experience either in political or military affairs. for his father, the great and so often commended *Kioprili Mustapha Pasha*, had brought up all his sons more to learning, than to the knowledge of state-affairs. to the end that they should slight court-honours and preferments, which he knew to be attended with great danger, and devoting themselves to an ecclesiastical life, might quietly spend their days free from the fear of the Ax, or other violent death. In that state they would also have continued, had it not been for their relation, *Husein Pasha*, who drew them out of it, and, though they were but young, raised them to the highest dignities in the *Othman* court. However, this *Nuuman Pasha* being grown up before *Husein Pasha* came to the Vizirship, and having been initiated into the profound learning of the *Arabians*, he always retained, even in the midst of his public employments, a love for reading, and the study of the laws; but, by applying himself too closely to his lucubrations whilst he was at *Constantinople*, he contracted such a ridiculous fancy, as to imagine that there was always a fly sitting upon his nose, which indeed flew away when he feared it, but returned again immediately to the same place. All the physicians then in *Constantinople* were consulted upon that occasion, and, after they had long used in vain all their endeavours, one *Le Duc*, a *French* physician, found means to apply a suitable remedy to the distemper; for he did not go about, as the rest, to argue with him that it was all a fancy, and there was nothing in it, but when he was brought to the sick man, and asked by him whether he saw the fly that was sitting upon his nose? he said he did; and by that prudent dissimulation, induced the disordered person to place the utmost confidence in him. After which, he ordered him several innocent juleps, under the the name of purging and opening medicines, at last, he drew a knife gently along his nose, as if he was going to cut off the fly, and then shewed him a dead fly which he had kept in his hand for that purpose: whereupon *Nuuman Pasha* immediately cried out, this is the very fly which has so long plagued me: and thus he was perfectly cured of that whimsical fancy.

 who

[illegible] would without any difficulty enter *Poland*, as soon as the *Turkish* or [illegible] light-armed troops should appear in the confines of *Podolia*; that the [illegible], who were in alliance with the *Russians*, had been defeated by his ge[illegible] with such loss, that it was thought they could hardly bring an army again [illegible] the field for several years. He likewise sends the Sultan a picture of the Czar, engraved at *Amsterdam*, with this inscription:

PETRUS PRIMUS RUSSO-GRÆCORUM MONARCHA.

To these were added other accounts brought from the borders of the Empire, that the *Russians* had carried off a great number of *Swedes* from the villages of *Moldavia*; that the Czar was building a great fleet in the *Tanais*, and had already finished the port of *Taganrous*; in short, that every thing threatned war in those parts. These things strangely disturbed the mind of the Sultan, especially that the *Russians*, who had been before entirely ignorant of naval affairs, had now gained such knowledge therein, that they ventured to send their ambassadors to *Constantinople* in ships of war.

The Sultan's judgment of the Czar.

XXII. He sends therefore for the Vizir, *Kioprili Ogli Nuuman Pasha*, and is reported to have said to him: "This enemy (meaning the Czar) cannot "correct his extravagant designs; for I easily guess, from his past actions, that "he, like another *Alexander the Great*, aspires to the monarchy of the whole "world. This infidel therefore must be chastised, before he be able to annoy "us; otherwise, if no notice be taken of his attempts, it is to be feared when "we are engaged in war with other nations, he will give us a trouble"some diversion."

The Vizir's answer to the Sultan.

XXIII. To this *Nuuman Pasha* replies, some misfortune is to be dreaded from the growing greatness of the Czar; but since a peace is established, it ought not to be broke without a just cause. He would send for the Czar's ambassador, and enquire what were the intentions of his master. But if the *Russians* should unexpectedly attack the *Turks* before the expiration of the truce, God would assist the just cause of the *Musulmans*.

The Vizir's discourse with the ambassador.

XXIV. The Vizir upon his return, sending for the ambassador, enquires for what purpose the Czar had ordered so many ships and galleys to be built in the *Tanais*; that if he were desirous of a peace, there was no occasion for a fleet, since it was of no use against any other enemy, there being no passage for it into the *Caspian* sea, or the ocean. The Czar's ambassador answers, his master had built no new ships, but only thought proper to finish those which had been begun before the peace, lest they should rot; that he would be hostage, that the Czar should not use any hostilities before the truce was expired without urgent necessity.

The Sultan removes the Vizir from his post for opposing his opinion.

XXV. Notwithstanding this was told him by the Vizir, the Sultan resolves to make war upon the Czar, for which purpose he orders the Vizir to raise money, and lay heavier taxes than usual. The Vizir declares it impossible, and that nothing could be levied upon the subjects but what the law and the prophet himself prescribed; that an army was to be listed according to his directions, which, though inferior in number, yet being hired with that money, would be of much more service than a greater body of forces. But if this advice was disagreeable to the Sultan, he desired him to chuse another Vizir, who should be better skilled in the arts of oppressing the people.

Baltaji Mehemed again appointed Vizir.

XXVI. The Sultan grants his request, and, taking the seal of the Vizirship from him, delivers it again to *Baltaji Mehemed Pasha*, his mistress's husband, sending *Nuuman Pasha* to the government of *Eubea*. Under the new Vizir, warlike preparations are made more openly, and with great application soldiers are raised, and every thing is ready for an early campain.

XXVII. The

XXVII. The *Venetians*, terrified at this, and not knowing the design of these preparations, but imagining the *Turks* would attempt the *Morea*, make large presents to the Mufti, and other great officers; but the *Russian* ambassador depending upon the peace lately made and confirmed, is more negligent in his conduct, thinking it unnecessary to seek that by bribes, which was settled by the articles of peace The Vizir taking this for avarice, in the month *Sheval* †, of the year 1122, holds a council with the Chan of *Crim-Tartary*, whom he had sent for, and the rest of the *Cubbe Vizirs*, about a war with the Czar; a campain is almost unanimously resolved, agreeably to the Sultan's inclination. Orders are immediately sent throughout the Empire to raise men for the ensuing expedition; the Czar's ambassador is confined in the *Seven Towers*; all his effects which could be found are confiscated, and sentence of death passed upon him as an impostor, which the Sultan would also have put in execution, if the Vizir had not interposed, and assured him, if he should violate the laws of nations in such a manner, he would fix an indelible mark of infamy upon his reign.

XXVIII. On the other hand, five hundred purses are immediately sent to the King of *Sweden*, under the pretence of a loan, who is likewise presented with six and thirty horses, part with, and part without furniture, and other royal gifts, and he is assured of the protection of the *Othman* court.

XXIX. In the mean time, the Sultan is informed by *Mazeppa* and others, that *Constantine Brancovan*, Prince of *Walachia*, held a secret correspondence with the Czar; was concerting a revolt from the *Othman* Empire; and had promised the Czar, if he could penetrate into *Moldavia*, thirty thousand men, with provisions for many years, and was already made a knight of St. *Andrew* in confirmation of his alliance. This being supported by the accounts of several other Basha's, the Sultan, before he declared war, resolves to seize this domestic enemy, and cure the *Othman* Empire of this wound.

XXX. But perceiving it to be very difficult to be executed, on account of that Prince's great power and authority, he orders the Chan of *Crim-Tartary* to consult with the Vizir about it, and inform him what he thought necessary for the interest of the Empire. The Chan persuades the Vizir not to attempt any thing against *Brancovan*, but to draw him into the snare by means of the neighbouring Prince of *Moldavia*. If the present Prince was improper for that purpose, he knew that *Demetrius Cantemir* would be more fit, whose fidelity the Sultan had experienced both in peace and war.

XXXI. The Sultan approves of this advice, and having deposed *Nicholaus Maurocordato*, appoints *Cantemir*, Prince of *Walachia*, under the title of that of *Moldavia*, and, presenting him with a sable vest in the month *Sheval*, of the year 1122 †, sends him into *Moldavia*, with orders to seize *Brancovan* under colour of friendship, alliance, or any other pretence which he thought proper, and send him alive or dead to *Constantinople*; and when he had possessed himself of the Principality of *Walachia*, to take upon him the government of it: but that he should appoint another Prince of *Moldavia*, and refer his choice to the approbation of the court. For the readier and better execution of this design, he ordered the Chan immediately to grant *Cantemir* as many thousand *Tartars* as he should require. On the other hand, the Sultan promised *Cantemir*, that the Principality should be *Ebedi*, and no tribute nor *Pishkesh* demanded while he should continue in *Moldavia*.

XXXII. These promises being confirmed by a *Chatisherif*, *Cantemir*, with the Chan of *Tartary*, goes to *Moldavia*, about the end of *November*; but a few days after his arrival, he is directed by letters from the Prime Vizir's *Kiehaia*, *Osman Aga* (8) to send immediately to the Sultan and Vizir the *Pishkiesh* usually given

ANNOTATIONS.

(8) *Osman Aga*] before the Vizirship of *Baltaji Mehemed Pasha*, he was *Giumrukchi* *, or overseer of the customs, and was universally esteemed, because the Vizir was thought to have a particular regard for him. After the conclusion of the peace with the *Russians*,

Prince's entrance into his government, to collect a great quantity of ... for the *Turkish* army, finish the bridge with the utmost expedition, ... the *Swedes* and *Cossaks* who were with the King of *Sweden*, in winter-quarters, and march himself with his forces about *Hydgreez* at *Bender*, with many other almost intolerable burthens.

Cantemir offers his faithful service to a faithful monarch.

XXXIII. From these first fruits, *Cantemir* perceiving how little faith was to be expected from the infidels, throws off his attachment to the *Turkish* interest, and esteeming it better to suffer with Christ, than wait for the deceitful treasures of *Egypt*, sends a trusty messenger to the Czar, with an offer of himself and his Principality.

The Czar marches with his army to *Jassy*, the capital of *Moldavia*.
H. 1123
A. C. 1711

XXXIV. Having mutually exchanged their faith, the Czar sends before out of *Poland* his general, *Borius Petrovicz Skeremetew*, with part of his forces to seize the bridge over the *Danube*, himself following soon after with the rest of the regiments, and in the month *Jemaziul Evvel*, of the year 1123, encamps at the *Hierasus*, near *Czuczora*. Having joined the *Moldavian* troops, he marches with a few of his officers to *Jassij*, religiously visiting the churches and monasteries for three days, and waiting for the provisions promised by the Prince of *Walachia*.

Brancovan, Prince of *Walachia*, breaks his solemn promise

XXXV. But having observed that his ambassador endeavoured only to amuse him with empty ceremonies, instead of discharging what had been promised, and being now assured of his treachery, he is in great doubt whether to proceed, stand his ground, or retire. For famine, a misfortune fatal to the Christians engaged in the war in *Moldavia*, had now begun to distress the *Russian* army, because the generals depending upon *Brancovan*'s promises, had brought but twenty days provisions, and the locusts had destroyed all the grass in *Moldavia*.

The Czar sends part of his army to forage in *Walachia*

XXXVI. Upon this account, the Czar sends General *de Roenne* and Count *Thomas Cantacuzenus* into the borders of *Walachia* with part of the army, to seize by force what *Brancovan* had refused to grant of his own accord, and therewith to refresh the soldiers. Those troops having passed the mountains of *Moldavia*, first assault *Braila*, and after four days siege, oblige the *Turkish* garrison to surrender. As they are marching further, in order to penetrate into *Walachia*, they are recalled by the Czar's letters, in which they are commanded to restore *Braila* to the *Turks*, and return.

The Czar marches to seize the passage over the *Danube*

XXXVII. For after their departure from the camp, the Czar with his whole army had marched to *Czuczora*, with design to seize the bridge over the *Danube* before the arrival of the *Turks*; but when he came to the hill of *Rabie* he is informed the Vizir with his whole army, reported to be two hundred and twenty thousand men, had already passed the *Danube*, and were marching with great expedition towards *Falczij*.

He sends part of his army to prevent the Vizir from passing the river,

XXXVIII. Upon this he sends *Taceus*, the *Russian* general, with seven thousand of his own soldiers, five hundred *Moldavians*, and several hundred *Cossaks* to *Falczy*, to prevent the *Turks* from passing the river

Who being surrounded by the enemy, is in great danger.

XXXIX. But before he came to *Falczij*, near the village of *Barsenij*, on the eastern bank of the *Hierasus*, he sees the whole army of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, of which he sends an account to the Czar by a courier. While he is waiting for an answer, the *Turkish* forces pass the river a little lower in the night, without opposition, and surround his troops with their horse. In th

ANNOTATIONS.

Russians, the Vizir sent him before to pacify the Sultan, who received him kindly, (lest by unseasonably discovering his designs, he should give the Vizir an occasion of raising a sedition,) and made him chief governor of the court, which office he enjoyed as long as the Vizir continued in his dignity, but after the Vizir was deposed and banished, there being no longer an danger of a rebellion in the army, *Osm* *aga* was treacherously drawn in by *Bostan* *bashi* into *Kavak*, or the castle of the *B*... *phorus*, and there beheaded by order of t... Sultan: for it was thought, that he bei... bribed by the *Russians*, had been the ch... adviser of the peace made by the Vizir.

distr...

distress there comes a *Moldavian*, with orders from the Czar to retire to his camp; upon which *Janus* throwing his troops into a square, retreats slowly, and bravely resists the numberless forces of the enemy, whenever they attack him.

XL. When he was not far from the camp, and strongly pressed by the enemy, *Cantemir*, Prince of *Moldavia*, with his troops, marches to his assistance, and for three hours withstands sixty thousand *Turkish* and *Tartarian* horse, and repulsing them not without loss, returns to the camp at *Stanilesti*.

Cantemir with his troops comes to his assistance.

XLI. But the Czar finding himself in such a situation, that he could not open his ranks, nor march forward on account of the enemy's forces, and the want of provisions, changes his resolution; and about the second hour of the night setting fire to the empty and superfluous carriages, because the whole camp could not be conveyed away by the soldiers, marches his army back toward the hill of *Rabie*.

The Czar removes his camp on account of the disadvantageous situation of the place.

XLII. The *Turks*, at day-break, seeing the *Russian* camp abandoned, and imagining them to fly, follow with the utmost speed, and endeavour to stop their march with their whole force. But this not succeeding, and perceiving that the *Russians* were advanced about noon to the place designed, they encamp likewise on both sides the river, and annoy the enemy that day with continual but slight skirmishes.

The enemy imagining them to fly, attacks them with great vigour

XLIII. The day after the Vizir, with the Janizaries and best part of the army, comes up, and with four hundred and seventy cannon fires upon the enemy's camp, after which the Janizaries make a vigorous assault upon the *Russians*, which they repeat seven times with great fury. The *Russians*, though they had but thirty cannon, and were extremely distressed for want of provisions, and especially forage, bravely repel the Janizaries, and oblige them to retire with great loss to their trenches.

The Vizir, surrounding the *Russian* camp, assaults it with great fury.

XLIV. Having fought thus for three days with doubtful success, at last, on the fourth day, contrary to all hope and expectation, a sudden peace shines forth amidst the storms of war. This is more readily agreed to by the *Turks*, because their camp resounded with the complaints of the soldiery, and the Janizaries who had escaped, refused to return to an engagement, in which they had sustained so great loss, and had been in the most imminent danger.

Great hopes of peace appear.

XLV. These pacific measures are indeed opposed by the King of *Sweden*, who the day before came from *Bender* to the camp, and he uses his utmost efforts to prevent the peace, but meets with a repulse from the Vizir, who had a greater regard for the *Othman* interest than the King's.

The King of *Sweden* endeavours in vain to disturb it

XLVI. The conditions of peace being agreed upon, the Czar sends *Peter* Baron of *Shafirow*, vice-chancellor of the *Russian* Empire, and *Michael Borisovicz Sheremetew*, captain of the guards, as ambassadors extraordinary to *Constantinople* for the confirmation of the peace.

Ambassadors sent to confirm the articles of peace.

XLVII. These being sent to the *Turkish* camp, the next day the Czar marches his army towards *Mohilow*, and there passing the *Tyras*, returns through *Poland* to his capital of *Petersburg*.

The Czar returns with his army

XLVIII. In the close of this narration, it will not be improper to add a heroical saying of *Peter the Great*, Emperor of *Russia*, worthy the imitation of all Christian Princes. For when he sent ambassadors to make peace with the *Turks*, the Vizir's first demand was, that *Cantemir*, the rebel Prince of *Moldavia*, should be delivered up to him. The ambassadors acquainting him with this demand, and many of the courtiers perswading him not to lose so numerous an army for the sake of one man, he answered with a truly royal spirit, "That "he could resign all the country as far as *Curska* to the *Turks*, since there "was hope of recovering it again; but could by no means violate his faith, and "deliver up a Prince, who had abandoned his Principality for his sake, because "it was impossible to repair honour once forfeited." The *Turks* hearing this, desisted from their demand, and made peace upon other conditions, so well known, that we think it needless to insert them in this Volume.

The heroic saying of *Peter the Great*.

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ERRATA.

Page 3[illegible] Line 25. and 364. l. 33. for *Chateau-nouveau*, read *Chateau-neuf*. p. 276. dele the note at the bottom of the page. *Ske* is a diminutive in the *Tartarian* language. Thus *Doroſhensko* is a diminutive of *Dorotheus*.

FINIS.

The LIFE of

DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR, Prince of *MOLDAVIA*.

PRINCE *Demetrius Cantemir* was born *October* 26, 1673. His father, *Constantine Cantemir*, was then but *Serdar*, that is, governor and general of three districts of *Moldavia* *. 1673.

In the year 1684 his father was made Prince of *Moldavia*, and the *Port* demanding one of his sons in hostage, he sent his eldest son, *Antiochus*, attended with six young Nobles, to *Constantinople*. Three years after *Demetrius Cantemir* was ordered by his father to go and relieve his brother. At that time *Constantine Brancovan*, mortal enemy of the *Cantemir* family, was Prince of *Walachia*. *Brancovan*, on the arrival of *Demetrius* at *Constantinople*, in order to destroy his father's credit with the *Port*, insinuates to the Prime Vizir that *Demetrius* was not Prince *Cantemir*'s second son, but a youth procured by him to draw his true son, *Antiochus*, out of the hands of the *Turks*. Whereupon the Vizir, to examine the affair, sending for *Demetrius*, the moment he appeared, said, *Brancovan* has invented the blackest of calumnies; for old *Cantemir* is very visible in the person of young *Demetrius*. In a word, *Demetrius* shined in such a manner in this his first appearance before the prime minister of the *Othman* Empire, and afterwards gave so many proofs of a ripe understanding and a prudent conduct, that he rendered himself a son worthy of his father. 1684. 1687.

He remained at *Constantinople* till 1691, when, relieved by his brother *Antiochus*, he returned to his father. During his stay at *Constantinople*, he studied the *Turkish* language and *musick*, in which he afterwards excelled to such a degree, that he was the first introducer of *musical notes* among the *Turks*, and composed several pieces of musick which are sung to this day with great pleasure. 1691.

In the year 1692 *Daltaban*, the Seraskier, having besieged *Soroca*, he followed his father to the army, and received a great deal of respect from that *Turkish* general. 1692.

The next year his father died on the thirteenth of *March*. On his deathbed he sent for his son and nobles, and desired them, before he expired, to chuse a successor. The nobles unanimously declare *Demetrius* for their Prince. The dying father was delighted with this news, flattering himself that his son's election would be confirmed by the Sultan; but money was more prevalent at the *Port* than the father's services and the son's merit, so another was appoint- 1693.

* *Constantine Cantemir* had four wives, of which the third was mother of our author.

... was obliged to leave his country, and retire to his ... Constantinople*.

... this he was, by the Prime Vizir's order, at the battle of *Zen* ... he was only a voluntier, he was not in the battle, and, flying with the ... remained with the remains of the army to *Constantinople*.

Brancovan continuing his enmity to the family, persecuted the two bro... the utmost of his power. *Demetrius*'s merit had inflamed his hatred, for h... great esteem with all the ministers at court. He had not only made himsel... of *Turkish*, but also of *Arabic* and *Persian*; and his affability and chearf... ...er rendered him the delight of the best company in the metropolis. *Br*... therefore believing *Demetrius* was the only person whom he had to fe... ...al, spared no pains or money to cause him to be removed from the ... at last by a great sum obtained, though in vain, his enemy's banis... *Demetrius* having notice of it, concealed himself at the house of ... who not only entertained him and his family with great civility forty d... procured a revocation of the sentence, and the means of his appearing ... with more lustre than ever. This was a great mortification to *Brancova*... had some reason for his proceedings: for *Demetrius* so ardently wi... the Principality of *Walachia*, that he twice refused that of *Moldavia*, ... however, by his recommendation, was both times given to his ... *Antiochus*.

When his brother went first to take possession of his Principality, *De*... accompanied him, and at that time married *Cassandra*, daughter of *Serb*... *tacuzenus*, who had been Prince of *Walachia*. By this marriage, *Demetr*... a daughter in *Moldavia*, and shortly after was forced to quit that country, ... turn with his brother, who was deposed, to *Constantinople*, where he bec... father of another daughter and four sons.

During this third residence at *Constantinople*, *Demetrius*, having nothi... ter to do, employed himself in building his house, and studying the custo... usages of the country. He had many years leisure, for he departed n... *Constantinople* till the year 1710, when *Peter the Great*, Czar of *Musc*... clared war with the Infidels. Upon this monarch's approach with his a... wards the borders of *Moldavia*, the *Port* thought proper to appoint *Demetriu*... of that Province, because the present governor, *Nicolaus Maurocordatus*, ... a learned man, and in great repute at the *Turkish* court, was not a fit p... a time of war, having neither courage nor skill in military affairs. *D*... was forced to accept of this dignity both by the Vizir and the insinuation... Chan of the *Tartars*, who had intimated to the *Port*, that he was the on... stian capable of doing signal service on this occasion Hence it was that *D*... was so far from making the usual presents to the Sultan and the *Turk*... sters, that he was allowed by the *Port* twenty purses towards his expen...

He was no sooner arrived at *Jassy*, metropolis of *Moldavia*, but he ... orders from the *Port* to build a bridge over the *Danube* for the passage... *Turkish* army; and withal, was commanded by the Vizir to send him the ... due to him and the other officers for his advancement to that Principalit... *metrius* was extremely incensed with the last order, and from that mon... solved to be revenged of the Vizir, and embrace the present opportunity o... his country from the *Turkish* yoke.

By good fortune, *Peter the Great* sent to him at this time a *Greek* pl... named *Policala*, with very advantagious proposals. Whereupon, as th... of a Christian Prince, and the happiness of his own people were concer... soon came to an agreement with that Monarch; by which, 1. *Moldavia*, ... its antient extent, was to be under the protection of *Russia* 2. Th... his people were to swear fidelity to his Czarish Majesty as soon as the ... was entered *Moldavia*. 3. The Prince at the same time was to ... ...ces with the Czar, and act in concert against the *Turks*. 4. The P...

* It must be observed, that the sons of the Prince of *Moldavia* and of *Walachia*, as well as the depo... ...lled by the *Turks*, *Mazul*) are obliged to live at *Constantinople*.

well as his successors, were to enjoy for ever the sovereignty of *Moldavia* under the auspices of the *Russian* Monarchs. 5. No other person could be admitted to the Principality till the *Cantemir* family was entirely extinct. These, with some other conditions, were ratified by the Czar at *Lusk* in *Poland*, the thirteenth of *April* 1711, under the seal of the Empire, and sent by an express to the Prince. Pursuant to this agreement, *Demetrius* continued to give the Czar proper advices concerning the forces he was to bring with him, and the methods he was to take in the enterprize.

Mean while, he failed not to go on with the bridge over the *Danube*, the direction of which, at the charge of the *Turks*, *Moldavia* and *Walachia* finding timber, was wholly committed to him: so that he could easily retard the work, which he did to the utmost of his power, without incurring the least suspicion of corresponding with the *Russians*, and continually pressed the Czar to hasten his march before the finishing of the bridge. Unfortunately his advices, as of a man whose fidelity was not yet approved, were not readily followed; and the Czar, deceived by the hopes given him by *Brancovan*, Prince of *Walachia*, came too late to hinder the *Turks* passing the *Danube*. The Czar arrived at *Jassy* in *June* 1711, where the Nobles and People of *Moldavia* acknowledged him for sovereign, and, with their Prince, publickly swore fidelity to him. As this expedition is related at large in the history, it suffices to say that the Czar was, for want of necessaries, obliged to make a disadvantagious peace with the *Turks*; but, to his immortal honour, refused to deliver up Prince *Cantemir*, though himself, family, and army, were in the utmost distress. His minister was ordered to tell the *Turks* the Prince was not in his camp, he being, during the treaty, shut up in the Czarina's coach, which was known only to a servant who brought him his victuals.

1711.

The Prince, seeing he could not remain in *Moldavia*, obtained a patent from the Czar, by which the Czar promised him and the *Moldavian* Nobles amends for their losses, and a refuge in his dominions. By this instrument (dated at *Mogilof*, the first of *August* 1711) he created *Demetrius* and his Heirs Princes of the *Russian* Empire, with the title of *most serene Highness*, and gave him the privilege of being accountable only to the Czar himself, and the *Moldavians* that should retire into *Russia*, to him alone.

Upon this agreement, he removed his family and goods from *Jassy*, and followed the *Russian* camp, attended with above a thousand *Moldavian* Nobles and Officers, who abandoned their country for his sake.

The Prince with his followers retired to *Charcof* in *Ukrania*, which was appointed for the habitation of himself and people. He remained there with all his family till 1713, when he removed to *Moscow*. At his request, the Czar not only divided the lands he had given him in *Ukrania* among the *Moldavian* Nobles, but gave him also a thousand farm-houses belonging to the Crown. These lands had ever been in the possession of the Czars, and both for situation and number of inhabitants, are reckoned the best in the Empire. His majesty moreover allowed him a large annual pension, which was paid as long as the Prince lived.

1711.

1713.

Soon after *Demetrius*'s arrival at *Moscow*, his wife, *Cassandra*, continually grieving for the loss of her country and relations in *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, where her own and husband's effects were seized by the *Port*, fell sick of a fever, and, by the ignorance of the Apothecary, who gave her a too strong purging potion, was sent out of the world, after a few days illness, in the flower of her age, being but thirty years old. She was a woman of great prudence and sense, much given to reading, and withal very mindful of her family-affairs, and the education of her children. Her beauty, of which she had a good share, was her least ornament. She was buried at *Moscow* in a *Greek* cloyster, where the Prince, her husband, had contributed to the building of a fine Church.

May 11, 1713.

The next year *Demetrius* came to *Petersburg* with his third son, *Serban*, but seven years old. The boy, on *Easter* Day, made a speech in *Greek* before the Czar, for which the Czar gave him a handsome present, and listed him in his own regiment.

1714

... Czar travelled the next year into foreign countries, *Demetrius* t... ...iy to visit his territories, where he stayed till 1716. At that ... ...s History of the *Othman* Empire, begun at *Constantinople*.

1716. ...1716, *Demetrius* exercised the power given him by the Czar over t... ...*ian* Nobles, among whom the villages of *Ukrania* had been divided. ...ds frequently meeting at entertainments, happened one time to fall out ...ups, and, drawing their sabres, two of them were unfortunately killed, ...veral wounded. Whereupon complaints were brought to the Prince, who ... the offenders to appear before him, after a tryal, condemned three to dea... some other to the galleys: but afterwards changed the sentence of death into corporal punishment, which was executed, and the whole approved by th... This perhaps is the only instance in the *Russian* History of a subject's exerci... power of life and death in his own name.

1717. In 1717, the Czar being called home by the troubles excited in his c... *Demetrius* returned also to *Moscow*, where he was often with his Maje... 1718. even received frequent visits from him. At the Czar's departure to *Pete...* he was ordered to attend him, but his family remained at *Moscow*, his ... daughter, *Smaragda*, being seized with a phthisick.

When he came to *Petersburg*, he happened to see, at a publick assembly ... Nobles held regularly every winter, the third daughter of Prince *Trubezk...* present Field Marshal of the *Russian* forces, the greatest beauty of her tim... falling in love with her, demanded her in a few days of her father in ma... He obtained his request, and married her the beginning of the winter. A lit... fore the nuptials, he shaved his beard, and changed his *Moldavian* for the ... habit. The Czar was pleased to come in person, and conduct him to the C... where the ceremony was to be performed, and led him back to his house, p... ing him by the way with a rich sword.

After the nuptial-feast, which lasted three days, and at which his Majesty ... the Empress, Princesses of the blood, and all the Nobles at *Petersburg*, we... sent, he was made a privy-counsellor.

His children had now followed him to *Petersburg*, except his daughter *Sm...da*, who daily growing worse, died the fourth of *July*, in her seventeenth... But her loss was supplied by a daughter which his second wife bore him the ... of *November*, the same year, to whom the Czar and Czarina stood Godfath... Godmother, and named her also *Smaragda*.

1720. The next year he was ordered to follow the Czar into *Persia*, with Coun... *stoi* and Admiral *Apraxin*. In this expedition *Apraxin* commanded the arm... *Tolstoi*, with *Demetrius*, had the direction of the civil affairs, these three co... sing his Majesty's council.

He accompanied the Czar to *Colomma*, a town ninety *verst* from *Moscow*, ...ted at the mouth of the *Moscua*, which runs into the *Occa*. Here he foun... family, which followed him by water, and embarking, pursued his journ... 1721. *Astracan*, where he arrived the fourth of *July*.

He had but just left *Colomma*, when he begun to feel a pain in his reins, a light fever, attended now and then with such a weakness, that he was forc... keep his bed three or four days. However, it did not prevent him from em...ing himself in setting up a *Turkish* press to print the Czar's declarations of ... which he had a mind to publish in *Persia* in that language. The flat vess... which he sailed were very proper for this project: so that by the time the ... arrived at *Astracan*, every thing was ready for printing the declarations. In ...*gust*, *Demetrius* embarked at *Astracan* on board a frigate of twenty guns, to fo... the Czar into *Persia*. The whole army crossed the sea with his Majesty, and ... few days safely arrived at the place where the fort of the *holy Cross* is since bu...

As *Demetrius* was obliged to accompany the Czar by land to *Derbent*, he ... his frigate with his baggage and servants to wait for him there. But unhap... this vessel was thrown by a storm on a sand-bank, and, excepting the crew, e... thing was lost. Among other things, the Prince lost his cabinet with his pa... particularly a manuscript history from *Mahomet* the false Prophet, to *Othman*

firſt *Turkiſh* Sultan; a work which ha[illegible] a great deal of [illegible] better fate.

The Prince's illneſs daily increaſed, and neither himſelf nor the phyſicians [illegible] find out the cauſe. He continued his journey however to *Derbent*, and, in [illegible] interval of eaſe, viſits the famous wall on the mountains of *Caucaſus*, of which Profeſſor *Bayer* has given a particular account in the ſecond volume of the *Acts* of the Academy at *Peterſburg*.

In his return from *Derbent*, *Demetrius*'s diſtemper was found to be a *Diabetes*, which ſo weakned him, that he could not mount his horſe. Believing himſelf near death, he made his will, which he delivered into the Czar's hands, whom he appointed his executor and guardian of his children. His three eldeſt ſons were with him, but his wife, daughter, and youngeſt ſon, were left at *Aſtracan*. The Czar proceeding to that city, left *Policala*, the Empreſs's phyſician, to take care of him.

Demetrius came in *Auguſt* to *Aſtracan*, ſo waſted, that his friends hardly knew him. The beginning of *December* he was in ſuch danger, that he believed it neceſſary to *confeſs* and *communicate*, expecting death every moment. Admiral *Apraxin*, Count *Tolſtoi*, and Prince *George Trubezkoi*, haſtned to take their laſt leave of him. His wife, children, and family, ſtood round him in tears, whilſt he with uncommon reſolution comforted them, recommending them to the three miniſters, and exhorting them to mutual love and firm union after his death.

In this extremity, it was remembered that Mr. *Englert*, a phyſician in the army, had not been conſulted. He was immediately ſent for, and by his skill ſo far conquered the diſtemper, that *Demetrius* had ſtrength to go to the Cathedral of *Aſtracan* on *Chriſtmas*-Day. Finding himſelf daily grow ſtronger, he reſolved to leave *Aſtracan*, and repair to his lands, for which he obtained the Czar's leave.

He began his journey in *January* 1723, which was very tedious, not only on account of the great diſtance, but alſo by the returns of his diſtemper. However, he arrived at laſt, in *March*, in pretty good health. He ſpent his time in the uſual diverſions of the country, in ſettling his domeſtic affairs, and in building a Church, dedicated to St. *Demetrius*, when his health permitted him. At laſt, on the fifteenth of *Auguſt*, he was ſeized with a ſlow fever, and his *Diabetes* increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he died the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, aged forty-nine years, ſeven months, and five days.

He had by his firſt wife ſix ſons and two daughters, and by his ſecond an only daughter. One of his daughters and two ſons died in his life-time, and he left behind him two daughters, *Maria* and *Smaragda*; and four ſons, *Matthew*, *Conſtantine*, *Serban*, and *Antiochus*, who are all alive. The laſt is now Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the Czarina to King *George*, and brought with him into *England* the *Latin* manuſcript of his father's *Othman* Hiſtory, from whence the *Engliſh* Tranſlation was made.

Demetrius was of a middle-ſize, rather lean than fat. He had an agreeable countenance, and always ſpoke with affability, mildneſs and caution. His cuſtom was to riſe at five in the morning, and, ſmoaking a pipe of tobacco over a diſh of coffee after the *Turkiſh* manner, he retired to his ſtudy till dinner, which was conſtantly at noon. He generally dined upon one diſh, his favourite diſh being ſmall chicken with ſorrel. At his meals he always drank water with his wine. Drunkenneſs was his mortal enemy, for, after once drinking too much, he was ſick a fortnight. He ſlept a little after dinner, and the reſt of the day was ſpent in his ſtudy till ſeven in the evening. Then he ſaw his family, and ſupping at ten, went to bed at twelve. He was obliged to alter his way of living after he had been made Privy-Counſellor by the Czar, and had married a young wife; for the affairs of ſtate, and the charms of a beautiful young ſpouſe, frequently took him off from his ſtudies.

His father's death, when he was but a youth, his long ſtay at *Conſtantinople* without employ, and the ſhort continuance of the government of his Principality, did not allow him to ſhow his capacity in civil affairs, and his courage in military, though he wanted neither. His whole ſedentary life was employed in cult[illegible]

[illegible] in [illegible], the chief whereof are

[illegible]

[illegible] growth and decay of the *Othman* Empire, in *Latin*, a [illegible]

[illegible] of the *Mahometan Religion*, written and printed in *Russian*, by the [illegible] *Peter the Great*, to whom it is dedicated by the Author, in *Folio*.

[illegible] *The World* and *the Soul*, printed in *Moldavia* in the *Greek* and *Moldavian* [illegible]; it is a book of morality in dialogues.

[illegible] The antient and modern history of *Dacia*, a large *Folio*, written in the *Moldavian* language, a manuscript. The same book in *Latin* was lost in the *Caspian Sea*.

[illegible] Present State of *Moldavia*, in *Latin*, with a large map of the country. It is now printing in *Holland* in *Quarto*.

[illegible] History of the Creation, with physical observations, in *Latin*. A manuscript in *Folio*, intitled, *Theologo-Physica*.

[illegible] The History of the two houses of *Brancovan* and *Cantacuzenus*, in the *Moldavian Tongue*; a manuscript, in *Quarto*.

[illegible] History of the *Mussulmans*, from the time of the false Prophet *Mahomet*, to the first *Turkish* Emperor, lost in the *Caspian Sea*.

[illegible] A book of *Turkish musical Airs*, in *Quarto*.

[illegible] Introduction to the *Turkish* musick, in the *Moldavian* language, in *Octavo*.

Besides his compleat works, he has penned several imperfect treatises, mostly [illegible] morality and history, originals of which are preserved.

He spoke *Turkish*, *Persian*, *Arabic*, modern *Greek*, *Latin*, *Italian*, *Russian*, and *Moldavian*; and understood very well antient *Greek*, *Sclavonian*, and *French*.

His principal study was History, though he made a good progress in Philosophy and the Mathematicks, of which Architecture pleased him most. The Churches he built in three of his villages, are of his design and manner.

He was member of the Academy of *Berlin*, and at the same time the news of his death reached *Petersburg*, the Emperor of *Germany*'s Resident received for the deceased a patent creating him *Prince of the Roman Empire*, which he sent back to his master.

F I N I S.